Encyclopedia of World Cultures

Volume VI

RUSSIA AND EURASIA / CHINA

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WORLD CULTURES

David Levinson
Editor in Chief

North America
Oceania
South Asia
Europe (Central, Western, and Southeastern Europe)
East and Southeast Asia
Russia and Eurasia / China
South America
Middle America and the Caribbean
Africa and the Middle East
Bibliography

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Volume VI

RUSSIA AND EURASIA / CHINA

Paul Friedrich and Norma Diamond
Volume Editors

G.K. Hall & Company

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MEASUREMENT CONVERSIONS

When You Know	Multiply By	To Find
LENGTH		
inches	2.54	centimeters
feet	30	centimeters
yards	0.9	meters
miles	1.6	kilometers
millimeters	0.04	inches
centimeters	0.4	inches
meters	3.3	feet
meters	1.1	yards
kilometers	0.6	miles
AREA		
square feet	0.09	square meters
square yards	0.6	square meters
square miles	2.6	square kilometers
acres	0.4	hectares
hectares	2.5	acres
square meters	1.2	square yards
square kilometers	0.4	square miles
TEMPERATURE		
°C = (°F − 32) ÷ 1.8		
°F = (°C × 1.8) + 32		

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Preface

This project began in 1987 with the goal of assembling a basic reference source that provides accurate, clear, and concise descriptions of the cultures of the world. We wanted to be as comprehensive and authoritative as possible: comprehensive, by providing descriptions of all the cultures of each region of the world or by describing a representative sample of cultures for regions where full coverage is impossible, and authoritative by providing accurate descriptions of the cultures for both the past and the present.

The publication of the *Encyclopedia of World Cultures* in the last decade of the twentieth century is especially timely. The political, economic, and social changes of the past fifty years have produced a world more complex and fluid than at any time in human history. Three sweeping transformations of the worldwide cultural landscape are especially significant.

First is what some social scientists are calling the "New Diaspora"—the dispersal of cultural groups to new locations across the world. This dispersal affects all nations and takes a wide variety of forms: in East African nations, the formation of new towns inhabited by people from dozens of different ethnic groups; in Micronesia and Polynesia, the movement of islanders to cities in New Zealand and the United States; in North America, the replacement by Asians and Latin Americans of Europeans as the most numerous immigrants; in Europe, the increased reliance on workers from the Middle East and North Africa; and so on.

Second, and related to this dispersal, is the internal division of what were once single, unified cultural groups into two or more relatively distinct groups. This pattern of internal division is most dramatic among indigenous or third or fourth world cultures whose traditional ways of life have been altered by contact with the outside world. Underlying this division are both the population dispersion mentioned above and sustained contact with the economically developed world. The result is that groups who at one time saw themselves and were seen by others as single cultural groups have been transformed into two or more distinct groups. Thus, in many cultural groups, we find deep and probably permanent divisions between those who live in the country and those who live in cities, those who follow the traditional religion and those who have converted to Christianity, those who live inland and those who live on the seacoast, and those who live by means of a subsistence economy and those now enmeshed in a cash economy.

The third important transformation of the worldwide cultural landscape is the revival of ethnic nationalism, with many peoples claiming and fighting for political freedom and territorial integrity on the basis of ethnic solidarity and ethnic-based claims to their traditional homeland. Although most attention has focused recently on ethnic nationalism in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, the trend is nonetheless a worldwide phenomenon involving, for example, American Indian cultures in North and South America, the Basques in Spain and France, the Tamil and Sinhalese in Sri Lanka, and the Tutsi and Hutu in Burundi, among others.

To be informed citizens of our rapidly changing multicultural world we must understand the ways of life of people from cultures different from our own. "We" is used here in the broadest sense, to include not just scholars who study the cultures of the world and businesspeople and government officials who work in the world community but also the average citizen who reads or hears about multicultural events in the news every day and young people who are growing up in this complex cultural world. For all of these people—which means all of us—there is a pressing need for information on the cultures of the world. This encyclopedia provides this information in two ways. First, its descriptions of the traditional ways of life of the world's cultures can serve as a baseline against which cultural change can be measured and understood. Second, it acquaints the reader with the contemporary ways of life throughout the world.

We are able to provide this information largely through the efforts of the volume editors and the nearly one thousand contributors who wrote the cultural summaries that are the heart of the book. The contributors are social scientists (anthropologists, sociologists, historians, and geographers) as well as educators, government officials, and missionaries who usually have firsthand research-based knowledge of the cultures they write about. In many cases they are the major expert or one of the leading experts on the culture, and some are themselves members of the cultures. As experts, they are able to provide accurate, up-to-date information. This is crucial for many parts of the world where indigenous cultures may be overlooked by official information seekers such as government census takers. These experts have often lived among the people they write about, conducting participant-observations with them and speaking their language. Thus they are able to provide integrated, holistic descriptions of the cultures, not just a list of facts. Their portraits of the cultures leave the reader with a real sense of what it means to be a "Taos" or a "Rom" or a "Sicilian."

Those summaries not written by an expert on the culture have usually been written by a researcher at the Human Relations Area Files, Inc., working from primary source materials. The Human Relations Area Files, an international educa-

tional and research institute, is recognized by professionals in the social and behavioral sciences, humanities, and medical sciences as a major source of information on the cultures of the world.

Uses of the Encyclopedia

This encyclopedia is meant to be used by a variety of people for a variety of purposes. It can be used both to gain a general understanding of a culture and to find a specific piece of information by looking it up under the relevant subheading in a summary. It can also be used to learn about a particular region or subregion of the world and the social, economic, and political forces that have shaped the cultures in that region. The encyclopedia is also a resource guide that leads readers who want a deeper understanding of particular cultures to additional sources of information. Resource guides in the encyclopedia include ethnonyms listed in each summary, which can be used as entry points into the social science literature where the culture may sometimes be identified by a different name; a bibliography at the end of each summary, which lists books and articles about the culture; and a filmography at the end of each volume, which lists films and videos on many of the cultures.

Beyond being a basic reference resource, the encyclopedia also serves readers with more focused needs. For researchers interested in comparing cultures, the encyclopedia serves as the most complete and up-to-date sampling frame from which to select cultures for further study. For those interested in international studies, the encyclopedia leads one quickly into the relevant social science literature as well as providing a state-of-the-art assessment of our knowledge of the cultures of a particular region. For curriculum developers and teachers seeking to internationalize their curriculum, the encyclopedia is itself a basic reference and educational resource as well as a directory to other materials. For government officials, it is a repository of information not likely to be available in any other single publication or, in some cases, not available at all. For students, from high school through graduate school, it provides background and bibliographic information for term papers and class projects. And for travelers, it provides an introduction into the ways of life of the indigenous peoples in the area of the world they will be visiting.

Format of the Encyclopedia

The encyclopedia comprises ten volumes, ordered by geographical regions of the world. The order of publication is not meant to represent any sort of priority. Volumes 1 through 9 contain a total of about fifteen hundred summaries along with maps, glossaries, and indexes of alternate names for the cultural groups. The tenth and final volume contains cumulative lists of the cultures of the world, their alternate names, and a bibliography of selected publications pertaining to those groups.

North America covers the cultures of Canada, Greenland, and the United States of America.
Oceania covers the cultures of Australia, New Zealand, Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia.
South Asia covers the cultures of Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and other South Asian islands and the Himalayan states.
Europe covers the cultures of Europe.
East and Southeast Asia covers the cultures of Japan, Korea, mainland and insular Southeast Asia, and Taiwan.
Russia and Eurasia / China covers the cultures of Mongolia, the People's Republic of China, and the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.
South America covers the cultures of South America.
Middle America and the Caribbean covers the cultures of Central America, Mexico, and the Caribbean islands.
Africa and the Middle East covers the cultures of Madagascar and sub-Saharan Africa, North Africa, the Middle East, and south-central Asia.

Format of the Volumes

Each volume contains this preface, an introductory essay by the volume editor, the cultural summaries ranging from a few lines to several pages each, maps pinpointing the location of the cultures, a filmography, an ethnonym index of alternate names for the cultures, and a glossary of scientific and technical terms. All entries are listed in alphabetical order and are extensively cross-referenced.

Cultures Covered

A central issue in selecting cultures for coverage in the encyclopedia has been how to define what we mean by a cultural group. The questions of what a culture is and what criteria can be used to classify a particular social group (such as a religious group, ethnic group, nationality, or territorial group) as a cultural group have long perplexed social scientists and have yet to be answered to everyone's satisfaction. Two realities account for why the questions cannot be answered definitively. First, a wide variety of different types of cultures exist around the world. Among common types are national cultures, regional cultures, ethnic groups, indigenous societies, religious groups, and unassimilated immigrant groups. No single criterion or marker of cultural uniqueness can consistently distinguish among the hundreds of cultures that fit into these general types. Second, as noted above, single cultures or what were at one time identified as single cultures can and do vary internally over time and place. Thus a marker that may identify a specific group as a culture in one location or at one time may not work for that culture in another place or at another time. For example, use of the Yiddish language would have been a marker of Jewish cultural identity in Eastern Europe in the nineteenth century, but it would not serve as a marker for Jews in the twentieth-century United States, where most speak English. Similarly, residence on one of the Cook Islands in Polynesia would have been a marker of Cook Islander identity in the eighteenth century, but not in the twentieth century when two-thirds of Cook Islanders live in New Zealand and elsewhere.

Given these considerations, no attempt has been made to develop and use a single definition of a cultural unit or to develop and use a fixed list of criteria for identifying cultural units. Instead, the task of selecting cultures was left to the volume editors, and the criteria and procedures they used are discussed in their introductory essays. In general, however, six criteria were used, sometimes alone and sometimes in combination to classify social groups as cultural groups: (1) geographical localization, (2) identification in the social science literature as a distinct group, (3) distinct language, (4) shared traditions, religion, folklore, or values, (5) mainte-

nance of group identity in the face of strong assimilative pressures, and (6) previous listing in an inventory of the world's cultures such as *Ethnographic Atlas* (Murdock 1967) or the *Outline of World Cultures* (Murdock 1983).

In general, we have been "lumpers" rather than "splitters" in writing the summaries. That is, if there is some question about whether a particular group is really one culture or two related cultures, we have more often than not treated it as a single culture, with internal differences noted in the summary. Similarly, we have sometimes chosen to describe a number of very similar cultures in a single summary rather than in a series of summaries that would be mostly redundant. There is, however, some variation from one region to another in this approach, and the rationale for each region is discussed in the volume editor's essay.

Two categories of cultures are usually not covered in the encyclopedia. First, extinct cultures, especially those that have not existed as distinct cultural units for some time, are usually not described. Cultural extinction is often, though certainly not always, indicated by the disappearance of the culture's language. So, for example, the Aztec are not covered, although living descendants of the Aztec, the Nahuatl-speakers of central Mexico, are described.

Second, the ways of life of immigrant groups are usually not described in much detail, unless there is a long history of resistance to assimilation and the group has maintained its distinct identity, as have the Amish in North America. These cultures are, however, described in the location where they traditionally lived and, for the most part, continue to live, and migration patterns are noted. For example, the Hmong in Laos are described in the Southeast Asia volume, but the refugee communities in the United States and Canada are covered only in the general summaries on Southeast Asians in those two countries in the North America volume. Although it would be ideal to provide descriptions of all the immigrant cultures or communities of the world, that is an undertaking well beyond the scope of this encyclopedia, for there are probably more than five thousand such communities in the world.

Finally, it should be noted that not all nationalities are covered, only those that are also distinct cultures as well as political entities. For example, the Vietnamese and Burmese are included but Indians (citizens of the Republic of India) are not, because the latter is a political entity made up of a great mix of cultural groups. In the case of nations whose populations include a number of different, relatively unassimilated groups or cultural regions, each of the groups is described separately. For example, there is no summary for Italians as such in the Europe volume, but there are summaries for the regional cultures of Italy, such as the Tuscans, Sicilians, and Tirolians, and other cultures such as the Sinti Piemontese.

Cultural Summaries

The heart of this encyclopedia is the descriptive summaries of the cultures, which range from a few lines to five or six pages in length. They provide a mix of demographic, historical, social, economic, political, and religious information on the cultures. Their emphasis or flavor is cultural; that is, they focus on the ways of life of the people—both past and present—and the factors that have caused the culture to change over time and place.

A key issue has been how to decide which cultures should be described by longer summaries and which by shorter ones. This decision was made by the volume editors, who had to balance a number of intellectual and practical considerations. Again, the rationale for these decisions is discussed in their essays. But among the factors that were considered by all the editors were the total number of cultures in their region, the availability of experts to write summaries, the availability of information on the cultures, the degree of similarity between cultures, and the importance of a culture in a scientific or political sense.

The summary authors followed a standardized outline so that each summary provides information on a core list of topics. The authors, however, had some leeway in deciding how much attention was to be given each topic and whether additional information should be included. Summaries usually provide information on the following topics:

CULTURE NAME: The name used most often in the social science literature to refer to the culture or the name the group uses for itself.

ETHNONYMS: Alternate names for the culture including names used by outsiders, the self-name, and alternate spellings, within reasonable limits.

ORIENTATION
Identification. Location of the culture and the derivation of its name and ethnonyms.
Location. Where the culture is located and a description of the physical environment.
Demography. Population history and the most recent reliable population figures or estimates.
Linguistic Affiliation. The name of the language spoken and/or written by the culture, its place in an international language classification system, and internal variation in language use.

HISTORY AND CULTURAL RELATIONS: A tracing of the origins and history of the culture and the past and current nature of relationships with other groups.

SETTLEMENTS: The location of settlements, types of settlements, types of structures, housing design and materials.

ECONOMY
Subsistence and Commercial Activities. The primary methods of obtaining, consuming, and distributing money, food, and other necessities.
Industrial Arts. Implements and objects produced by the culture either for its own use or for sale or trade.
Trade. Products traded and patterns of trade with other groups.
Division of Labor. How basic economic tasks are assigned by age, sex, ability, occupational specialization, or status.
Land Tenure. Rules and practices concerning the allocation of land and land-use rights to members of the culture and to outsiders.

KINSHIP
Kin Groups and Descent. Rules and practices concerning kin-based features of social organization such as lineages and clans and alliances between these groups.
Kinship Terminology. Classification of the kinship terminological system on the basis of either cousin terms or genera-

tion, and information about any unique aspects of kinship terminology.

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY
Marriage. Rules and practices concerning reasons for marriage, types of marriage, economic aspects of marriage, postmarital residence, divorce, and remarriage.
Domestic Unit. Description of the basic household unit including type, size, and composition.
Inheritance. Rules and practices concerning the inheritance of property.
Socialization. Rules and practices concerning child rearing including caretakers, values inculcated, child-rearing methods, initiation rites, and education.

SOCIOPOLITICAL ORGANIZATION
Social Organization. Rules and practices concerning the internal organization of the culture, including social status, primary and secondary groups, and social stratification.
Political Organization. Rules and practices concerning leadership, politics, governmental organizations, and decision making.
Social Control. The sources of conflict within the culture and informal and formal social control mechanisms.
Conflict. The sources of conflict with other groups and informal and formal means of resolving conflicts.

RELIGION AND EXPRESSIVE CULTURE
Religious Beliefs. The nature of religious beliefs including beliefs in supernatural entities, traditional beliefs, and the effects of major religions.
Religious Practitioners. The types, sources of power, and activities of religious specialists such as shamans and priests.
Ceremonies. The nature, type, and frequency of religious and other ceremonies and rites.
Arts. The nature, types, and characteristics of artistic activities including literature, music, dance, carving, and so on.
Medicine. The nature of traditional medical beliefs and practices and the influence of scientific medicine.
Death and Afterlife. The nature of beliefs and practices concerning death, the deceased, funerals, and the afterlife.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A selected list of publications about the culture. The list usually includes publications that describe both the traditional and the contemporary culture.

AUTHOR'S NAME: The name of the summary author.

Maps

Each regional volume contains maps pinpointing the current location of the cultures described in that volume. The first map in each volume is usually an overview, showing the countries in that region. The other maps provide more detail by marking the locations of the cultures in four or five subregions.

Filmography

Each volume contains a list of films and videos about cultures covered in that volume. This list is provided as a service and in no way indicates an endorsement by the editor, the volume editor, or the summary authors. Addresses of distributors are provided so that information about availability and prices can be readily obtained.

Ethnonym Index

Each volume contains an ethnonym index for the cultures covered in that volume. As mentioned above, ethnonyms are alternative names for the culture—that is, names different from those used here as the summary headings. Ethnonyms may be alternative spellings of the culture name, a totally different name used by outsiders, a name used in the past but no longer used, or the name in another language. It is not unusual that some ethnonyms are considered degrading and insulting by the people to whom they refer. These names may nevertheless be included here because they do identify the group and may help some users locate the summary or additional information on the culture in other sources. Ethnonyms are cross-referenced to the culture name in the index.

Glossary

Each volume contains a glossary of technical and scientific terms found in the summaries. Both general social science terms and region-specific terms are included.

Special Considerations

In a project of this magnitude, decisions had to be made about the handling of some information that cannot easily be standardized for all areas of the world. The two most troublesome matters concerned population figures and units of measure.

Population Figures

We have tried to be as up-to-date and as accurate as possible in reporting population figures. This is no easy task, as some groups are not counted in official government censuses, some groups are very likely undercounted, and in some cases the definition of a cultural group used by the census takers differs from the definition we have used. In general, we have relied on population figures supplied by the summary authors. When other population data sources have been used in a volume, they are so noted by the volume editor. If the reported figure is from an earlier date—say, the 1970s—it is usually because it is the most accurate figure that could be found.

Units of Measure

In an international encyclopedia, editors encounter the problem of how to report distances, units of space, and temperature. In much of the world, the metric system is used, but scientists prefer the International System of Units (similar to the metric system), and in Great Britain and North America the English system is usually used. We decided to use English measures in the North America volume and metric measures in the other volumes. Each volume contains a conversion table.

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Introduction to Russia and Eurasia

The territory of Northern Eurasia (roughly Macro-Russia, the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS], or the former USSR) covers more than one-sixth of the earth's land surface. Much of it is blanketed by seemingly endless forest. It is inhabited by people speaking over one hundred languages and constitutes the third most populous geopolitical entity in the world. It extends from the Arctic Sea to the deserts of Turkestan and includes maximum and minimum degrees of temperature, elevation, precipitation, wind, land and mineral resources, and ecological, cultural, and linguistic variation.

The cultures of this huge area may be divided roughly into four parts that overlap—for example, the Jews and Gypsies, each with significant subcultural variation, range from the Baltic Sea to the Pacific Ocean. The four major culture areas are: European Russia, with its Slavic, particularly Great Russian, majority and many Tatar and Uralic minorities; Central Asia, with its predominantly Turkic, Muslim peoples, notably the Kazakhs and the Uzbeks, spread over vast steppes and desert ranges; Siberia, with its many small indigenous groups such as the northernmost Nganasan and a huge Russian (Siberiaki) majority mainly in the cities from the Urals to Vladivostok; and the Caucasus, where the density and multiplicity of cultures (e.g., Daghestan is known as "the Mountain of Languages") coexists with many shared patterns and traits.

In terms of more analytical dimensions, northern Eurasia includes at least three kinds of cultural entities (if by "culture" we mean a broad constellation of ecological, economic, social, and religious factors): ancient and self-conscious peoples with a complex class structure, a literary tradition, and a developed economy, of which Georgia, Armenia, Kazakhstan, Ukraine, Tajikistan, and Russia proper are good examples; relatively large ethnic groups with much historical identity that have or have had considerable political standing such as in the Baltic states, the Udmurt and other Finno-Ugric groups near the Volga, the Tuvans, and Yakut (Sakha); and relatively small groups—such as the Even, Gagauz, and the peoples of Daghestan—often tribally organized, in some cases shamanic in religion, that in recent times have been politically subjugated to a degree; some, like the Kalmyks, have been pushed toward oblivion, and others, like the Yukagir, into it.

(1) *European Russia*, occupied mainly by Slavs, runs from the Baltic Sea and the Polish border east to the Ural Mountains and from the White Sea south to the Black Sea, the southern Russian steppe, and the Caucasus. It is basically a vast plain interrupted by rivers, lakes, and ranges of hills and ravines. The three main subdivisions of the East Slavs—the Russians proper, the Ukrainians, and the Belarussians—although differing significantly from each other, also share many basic cultural patterns such as reliance on grains in the diet, the importance of the somewhat extended nuclear family, the steam-bath complex, long and elaborate weddings, a village commune (*mir*) tradition, and certain annual holidays that have carried over from earlier times, notably Easter and Christmas.

Over half the East Slavs live in villages, but about two-thirds of the 150 million Russians proper or "Great Russians" are urban. This urban population shares certain patterns. The majority now live in large, crowded, dilapidated apartment houses and work in foundering, inefficient factories or service trades while being imperfectly assisted by public health and social security amid an unending sequence of shortages, inflation, and breakdowns of transportation, heating, and food delivery. Nonetheless, some aspects of urban culture preserve earlier (even czarist) levels of quality, notably education in mathematics and certain arts (ballet and poetry). Urban life is made more feasible by dense personal networks (often by phone), by patterns of informal exchange (often by barter), and by traditions shared with the village such as the local steambath. There is a remarkable similarity, incidentally, between urban apartments and the interiors of rural dwellings. There are, moreover, long-standing, strong, and continuing traditions of peasants working in the cities, of wealthier city folk having country cottages and cabins, and of all social classes maintaining familial and other personal ties with the countryside. Additional processes of ruralization today are resulting in the migration of city dwellers (especially Russians from non-Russian states) to villages and a large increase in truck farming (family plots) near cities.

The Russian area is conveniently and realistically subdivided into three parts: the southern "black earth" zone, with large villages and the raising of many kinds of grains in fairly open country; the central "industrial" zone of rolling fields, low hills, and groves, with its mix of diversified agriculture (e.g., dairy and truck farming), local arts and crafts, and many heavily industrialized cities and their huge sectors of skilled and semiskilled workers, intellectuals, and bureaucrats; and the large northern and northeastern zone, with many lakes, streams, and rivers, extensive forests (mainly of birches and conifers), and small villages, typically with large homesteads—in the northeast there is also much lumbering, min-

ing, and some heavy industry. Well over half the Great Russian population is nominally Russian Orthodox and probably a larger proportion believe in spirits of various kinds (e.g., house spirits, forest spirits, river nymphs, etc.) in a system of partly pagan beliefs that is strongly supported by folklore (e.g., proverbs, sayings). Kinship networks, village communal organization, and a bureaucracy (although the latter is inefficient) help to maintain a semblance of social order.

There are two other major East Slavic groups. Ukraine has a population of 51 million, of which 37 million are actually Ukrainian. It is the breadbasket of the Slavic area and produces wheat, maize, and other cereals in prodigious quantities; half the Ukrainian population, concomitantly, still consists of peasants who live in villages of 1000 to 5000 in population that are laid out in cluster, chain, ribbon, or grid patterns. The great cultural center of Kiev, with its many legendary bells, rivals the northern capitals of Moscow and St. Petersburg. Many western Ukrainians belong to the Uniate church. The black-soil plains and steppes, as in Russia, are crosscut by large rivers, notably the Volga, the Dnieper, and the Bug, all critical for transportation. Farther to the west the much smaller Belarussian population of about 8 million, much of it heavily Russified, lives in an industrialized, urban environment, in cities such as Minsk, or in a countryside that is often marshy and low-lying. Here are Belarussian peasants in their small villages of 5 to 100 households, each typically consisting, as among the other Slavs, of a dwelling, a granary, a feed barn, a livestock barn, and a cold cellar. Fishing is important in the north, as it is among the northern Great Russians.

Elements of chauvinism notwithstanding, the culture of the East Slavs is highly syncretistic, involving native Slavic, Finno-Ugric, Turko-Tatar, Mongol, Greek (e.g., Byzantine), western European, and, most recently, American components.

In cultural terms the East Slavic mass includes all its outliers and diaspora in neighboring states and regions, where they often form large minorities (e.g., one-third the population of Estonia and a large fraction of that of northern Kazakhstan). The Siberian Russians (and Ukrainians) are scattered across a continent to the east although centered in western Siberia, notably in Kurgan and near the coal mines of Novosibirsk. Despite their distinctiveness—their character as "Siberiaki"—they are more Russian (or Ukrainian) than anything else in language and customs. To the south and southeast are several groups of Cossacks such as the Don Cossacks of the Don River area, who, while retaining associations with cavalry and choruses, are today grain farmers, miners, and members of the intelligentsia.

Within, among, and adjoining the East Slavs, there are many minorities. The Tatars include the now partly repatriated Crimean Tatars and the Volga Tatars with their great cultural heritage and intense national consciousness (which includes a reformist Islamic revival). Several Finno-Ugric groups are dispersed in the central Volga area, often not far from the river itself. The Udmurt, the Mordvinians, and, more to the northeast, the Komi, although heavily Russified, are tending more and more to revitalize and restore their indigenous cultures. Between Ukraine and Romania are found the Romanian-speaking Moldovans, and, within Moldova, almost a quarter million (Orthodox Christian) Gagauz Turks. Despite problems of classification, cross-reference, and marginality, the area we are calling European Russia, including its minorities, is integrated in many critical ways by culture, politics, economy, and a shared history, and it is demarcated by bodies of water, the Urals and the boundaries of neighboring states. The Baltic groups constitute the exception: the Estonians, Karelians, Latvians, and Lithuanians, although influenced by Russia's traditions and political economy, are primarily associated with western Europe and are relatively marginal to the area in question in terms of culture and political attitudes (e.g., the Lithuanians are Roman Catholic, the Latvians Lutheran).

The mosaic and synthesis of cultures today reflects a long and tragic history—from primeval beginnings of dispersed hunters and fishermen intermingling with Finnic peoples, to the gradual emergence of Slavic polities, to conquest by the Varangians (Vikings) in the ninth century, to conversion to Christianity under Vladimir (988) with subsequent Byzantine influence, to the emergence of the mainly southern principalities of today's Ukraine, to the often genocidal conquest by the Mongols (thirteenth century), to the rise in the Middle Ages of the Muscovite State in the north (notably under Ivan III and Ivan the Terrible), to the rapid imperial expansion and explosive economic growth during the eighteenth century, to the high culture and world-power status of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, to the First World War and the Russian Revolution, and then the Soviet period, the Second World War, and finally the chaos and regeneration of *perestroika.* Throughout these years the boundaries often shifted but the basic process was imperial expansion at the cost of Turk, Pole, Tatar, and Siberian native; the colonial exploitation of subject peoples such as the Volga area Finno-Ugric groups; and the creation of culturally and politically defined national entities, particularly of Russia and, later, of Ukraine and Belarus.

(2) The *Caucasus,* occupying the south-central portion of the area, runs from the southern Russian steppe to the borders of Iran and from the Black to the Caspian seas. Apart from some tropical coastal areas in the west and parching deserts in the northeast and flatlands here and there, this is largely a region of mountains (including some of the highest in the world) and of lush, fruit-tree-filled valleys.

The Caucasus may be discussed in terms of five cultural classifications: Georgia, in the west, with at least seven Georgian subdivisions, all of them Georgian Orthodox in faith (except the partly Islamic Ajarians and the non-Georgian Abkhazians), an ancient, high cultural tradition, a complex and diverse economy, and a strong national polity over a thousand years old; Armenia, in the south-central Caucasus, with Eastern and Western subdivisions, also with an ancient high culture, a national (Monophysite) church, a sense of identity as a nation-state, and large numbers in diaspora; Azerbaijan, in the east, Turkic-speaking and mostly Shiite Muslim, with a complex economy in which the oil industry predominates; the Northern Caucasus, roughly north of the Caucasus mountain range, ranging from the Circassians, some of them near the Black Sea, to the Chechen and Ingush in the center, to the Avars near the Caspian Sea; and the Daghestan area that contains over fifty distinct groups, some of them small, occupying a single valley, others, notably the Avars, numbering in the tens or hundreds of thousands and having a strong sense of history, a high rate of literacy, and a complex social structure.

In terms of history and prehistory, by the end of the Stone Age the three main indigenous groups may well have been in place: the Northwest Caucasian or Abkhaz-Adyghe peoples occupying an area from the Black Sea to the Sea of Azov and inland to the Kuban River; the Northeast or Nakh-Daghestanian peoples living in an area extending from somewhere north of the Terek River south along the Caspian Sea into what is now Azerbaijan; and the South Caucasian or Kartvelian peoples in what is now Georgia and some adjoining areas, particularly Turkey. Some or all of these regions were successively subjugated or at least influenced by the Greeks under Alexander (fourth century B.C.) and, later, by Byzantine Greece (c. sixth century A.D.); the Persians (e.g., the Sassanids [third to seventh centuries]); the Arabs and the Muslim expansion (mainly in the seventh and eighth centuries); the Mongols (thirteenth century); then Tamerlane (fourteenth and fifteenth centuries); the Ottoman Turks; and, finally, the Russians (starting mainly in the eighteenth century). At present the Caucasus is being drawn in conflicting directions toward the Russians to the north, Europe to the west, and the Turkic and Muslim worlds to the south.

Linguistically, the North Caucasian languages are usually divided into the Northwest, the North Central, and the Northeast (e.g., the Chechen-Ingush); according to some views, they are related to each other, but, according to other views, even the Northeastern group may not constitute a family; according to yet other theories, the North Caucasian languages as a set may have been related to Proto-Indo-European. Indo-European-language speakers on the scene today include the Armenians, who, by one hypothesis, occupy the original Indo-European homeland area, and the Iranian Ossetes in the northern mountains. There are some half-dozen Turkic languages such as Kumyk in the northeast corner of the area and Azerbaijani, the language spoken by the largest Turkic group in the Caucasus; some form of Turkic (or "Tatar") serves as a lingua franca in much of the area, particularly Daghestan. The dominant or characteristic linguistic fact is the great diversity, ranging from Georgia, where eight or more dialects of Georgian are spoken, to Daghestan, which, although about the size of Illinois, contains groups speaking over thirty distinct languages and a vastly greater number of dialects. The Caucasus displays far more linguistic diversity than all of western Europe.

Despite the overt fact of cultural and, in particular, linguistic heterogeneity, various large subsets of the cultures of the Caucasus share a number of patterns, some of them worth itemizing here: a large porch as the locus for many family activities; centering the home on a cooking pot suspended on a chain over the central hearth, and/or the pattern of a decorated pole in the center of the main room; national foods made of grains and milk or meat (for example, *khinkal*—spiced meat in a dough pouch); men's fur caps, several typical jackets and coats, daggers, and women's complex jewelry and many-storied headgear; marked segregation and division of labor between the sexes; variously compacted villages (e.g., the "beehive model"); patrilocal and patriarchal family organization combined with strict taboos for the in-marrying woman; extraordinarily developed patterns of ritual kinship and of hospitality; kissing or at least touching the breast of an unrelated woman in order to be accepted into her clan as an honorary member (resorted to in some communities to end a feud); clan (*tukhum*) endogamy in Daghestan but exogamy elsewhere. Although there are large modern cities such as Makhachkala, Baku, Erevan, and Tbilisi, most people live in regional centers and mountain hamlets.

In terms of religion the Caucasus includes a remarkably vital substratum of indigenous (pagan) practices including, variously, animal sacrifice, shamanism, and rainmaking ceremonies. Islam brought with it Sharia (the code of Islamic law), which now complements the traditional *adat* (customary norms) of the northern Caucasus and Daghestan, various elements from Christianity, and, of course, the secular laws.

(3) *Central Asia* occupies the vast expanses that extend from the southern Russian steppe and the Caspian Sea eastward to and into the Altai Mountains and the Pamirs and from southern Siberia south to the borders of Iran, Afghanistan, and China. There are hilly or low mountainous areas in the core, as in Kazakhstan, and true mountains on the eastern peripheries; most of Tajikistan consists of mountains and narrow valleys. But much of this is a flatland consisting of treeless steppes and deserts that are marked by frequent dust- and sandstorms and continental extremes of cold and heat (up to 50° C in the Kara Kum) and of aridity and drought—the latter reaching ecologically disastrous proportions as in the partial dessication of the Aral Sea. In such an environment, the great rivers of the Amu Darya, Syr Darya, and Ili, serving as linear oases, have played a crucial role (e.g., in the Ferghana Valley).

The population of what used to be Russian Central Asia now exceeds 50 million. In some of the former republics, such as Kazakhstan, the eponymous Turkic peoples actually constitute less than half of the population, but these groups have been growing explosively in recent decades, often creating severe social problems of unemployment, ethnic conflict, and the like. The entire region can be subdivided into six parts: Turkmenistan in the southwest corner around the Kara Kum Desert (population about 3 million, almost all Turkmens); Uzbekistan, with 200,000 Uigur in its south-central zone, 400,000 Karakalpaks around the Red and Black deserts, and some 14 million Uzbeks in a polity of 19 million—the Uzbeks are thus the most numerous Turkic group in Northern Eurasia; Kazakhstan, spread all across the north and center (about 5 million Kazakhs within a population of 15 million); Kyrgyzstan in the southeastern corner (almost 2 million Kyrgyz within a population of 4 million); also in the southeast, the non-Turkic Tajiks, who are Iranian (about 3 million); yet farther east, the likewise Iranian Pamir peoples on the "Rooftop of the World"; the Pamir Mountains are also home to the Ichkilik (or Pamir-Kyrgyz) Turks, and there are other minorities in Russian Central Asia as a whole (e.g., the Shiite Ironis descended from Iranian slaves). There are many millions of Russians and tens of thousands of other minorities (e.g., Germans, Siberian Estonians)—who have been rapidly leaving Central Asia for their own titular regions since about 1985.

All the major eponymous groups are Sunni Muslims of the Hanafi rite, observing such major holidays as Ramadan and the Korban (the great sacrifice of Abraham) and often visiting Muslim holy places or belonging to Sufi brotherhoods (*tariqa*) or localized semi-Muslim burial shrines. The principal exceptions are the Pamir peoples, most of whom are Ismailis of the Nizarot rite (followers of the Aga Khan), the Bukharan Jews, and the Russians and Ukrainians. A strong attachment to traditional Islamic values is exemplified vari-

ously: by the early marriages of girls, by respect for elders, and by the importance of the Quran. Today the rapid breakdown of Muslim values in some quarters is competing with the rise of Islamic fundamentalism, which seeks to revitalize or even exaggerate these same values: many consider themselves members of the Islamic community, the *umma*, without being either fundamentalist or particularly observant. Speaking more generally, Central Asian religions still bear the mark of pre-Islamic practices contributed by ancient Iranian and Mesopotamian religions, such as Zoroastrianism, Manichaeism, Gnosticism, and Nestorian Christianity, not to mention the shamanism indigenous to Siberia and Central Asia. In Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan Islam grew to prominence only in the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries, roughly corresponding to Muslim missionizing promoted by the Russians via the Tatars.

Russian Central Asia is dominated symbolically by speakers of Turkic dialects: those entering into the (relatively artificial) divisions of Kazakh, Kyrgyz, and Karakalpak; the Turkmen dialects (close to Azeri); and the Uzbek and Uigur languages; the three belonging, respectively, to the Kipchak, Oguz, and Chagatay branches of the Ural-Altaic Language Family. Almost all (96 percent to 99 percent) of these Turkic peoples classified their languages as primary (as against Russian). The writing systems, after a switch from the Arabic script to the Latin (in the 1920s) and to the Cyrillic (in the 1930s), today are reassuming Latin forms (although some people are advocating the Arabic script). The languages are the vehicles for a renowned oral (mainly epic) literature as well as, in the case of Uigur, a sophisticated written tradition going back to the Middle Ages. In addition to verbal arts, the Turkic peoples of Central Asia, in particular the Uzbeks, have highly developed dance, theater, classical music, and, especially among the Turkmen, a tradition of nearly peerless carpet weaving.

The long history of this area may be summed up briefly as an early period of indigenous and shamanic Tengri and Zoroastrian cultures, followed by the Islamic conquests, then the Mongol invasions led by Chinggis (Genghis) Khan and his successors (thirteenth century), the empire of Tamerlane (fourteenth century, centered in Samarkand), then annexation by Russia during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and, finally, the period of Soviet domination beginning in 1919–1921. In the course of these phases, local polities were overlaid with imperial power, followed by combinations of fairly autonomous tribes with various khanates (e.g., of Bukhara and Samarkand)—which were conquered by the Russians and replaced by administration through regions and districts—often to the extreme economic disadvantage of the colonized populations (a situation that is changing rapidly today).

Central Asia as a whole was for a long time a region of mixed (semi-) pastoralism characterized by transhumant patterns of (mobile) tent dwelling combined with sedentary agricultural villages of orchards and extended families living in clay or stucco houses built around courtyards and surrounded by orchards. In the late 1920s and early 1930s the pastoral side of society was assimilated to or converted into state-run villages with catastrophic consequences (e.g., the death of millions of Kazakhs through famine). Both types of society were ordered into larger clans or tribes in terms of the patrilineal principle (typically reckoned as far as seven or more generations). Sometimes, on an informal as well on an administrative level, women took on a relatively greater role in family decision making, especially in pastoral zones. For the most part, however, particularly later in Central Asian history, Islamic values involving sex roles eclipsed more egalitarian aspects of society.

The cultures of the region are known for a heavy reliance on mutton, grain, and dairy products and a rigid sexual division of labor and spatial segregation. In addition to intense and productive agriculture, notably in the Ferghana Valley, cotton is raised on a massive scale using "modern methods" such as chemical fertilizers with results that, depending on the area, range toward outright ecological disaster. Against the backdrop of former pastoralism, contemporary village collectives, and mechanized agriculture, there stand the many-storied cities with their complex economies and sophisticated urban ways: Bukhara, Tashkent, and Samarkand, as well as relatively modern centers such as Dushanbe. The gold mines of Uzbekistan rank among the richest in the world.

(4) *Siberia*, occupying about 7.5 million square kilometers, from the Ural Mountains to the Pacific Ocean and from the Arctic Sea to the borders of China and Mongolia, contains a population of approximately 35 million divided into forty or more ethnic groups (depending on one's criteria for counting them) speaking dozens of distinct Uralic, Turko-Tatar, and Paleosiberian languages and many more dialects—usually, today, with Russian as a lingua franca of sorts. The age-old pattern of intermarriage and genetic intermingling between these groups and other immigrants, particularly Russians, is continuing today. Large populations, mainly Slavic, are concentrated today in and around cities such as Omsk, Yakutsk, and Vladivostok and in industrial and/or mining areas such as Krasnoyarsk, in more or less urban (and often ecologically catastrophic) conditions. But the basic and initial demographic profile of Siberia is of small groups living in relatively simple conditions, thinly scattered and often migrating over great spaces (most extremely, the Evenki with about 17,000 individuals scattered over an area larger than western Europe).

Geographically, Siberia consists of four main zones: treeless tundra along and in from the Arctic coast; south of that a broad strip of taiga (mainly coniferous forests mixed with birch, larch, and aspen); a more complex landscape of steppe and hill country (e.g., the steppes of northern Turkestan); and the regions of mountains sometimes rising to over 1.6 kilometers in elevation (where the Tofalar of the Sayan Mountains, the Altai of the Altai Mountains, and the Tuvans of the Tuvan mountain range live). Siberia is intersected by many great rivers, which, unlike most of those of European Russia, run northward: the Ob, the Irtysh, the Yenisei, the Lena, and others have always been vital for travel and transport (east to west transport being served today in more southern areas by the Trans-Siberian railroad). Most of Siberia is subject to extreme cold—from -20° C in wintertime in many areas to world-record lows of -90° C or more in the north—necessitating extraordinary adaptive measures in clothing and housing, notably many-layered fur garments, tents of hides, insulated log cabins, and semisubterranean dwellings (which housed up to 100 persons among the Itelmen of yore). Yet many parts of southern Siberia are temperate enough to allow for prosperous agriculture, not only

truck gardens near the city, but, particularly in the southwest, extensive dairy and wheat farming.

Until the sixteenth century the population of Siberia consisted mainly of scores of indigenous groups ranging in size from a few hundred to several tens of thousands, which lived in relative economic, political, and cultural independence, traded ubiquitously, often mixed socially, and sometimes warred with each other. Some regions were governed by local khanates or similar polities. Between about 1500 and 1598 Siberia was gradually conquered (mainly by Cossacks), secured by lines of forts, and gradually colonized and exploited by Russian commercial and governmental forces that exacted a tribute (*iasak*), usually in furs (often taking over existing tribute systems). During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries southern Siberia witnessed explosive industrial development, particularly of mines. Russian Siberia evolved a distinctive character, which enabled a few larger groups such as the Yakut and the Tatars to maintain some degree of economic and cultural viability. Siberia was the scene of bitter and brutal civil war after the 1917 Revolution; it was first controlled by the Whites (notably the Cossacks) and then taken by the Reds. From the 1920s to the 1970s Siberian history combined sensational economic buildup (e.g., in industry, mining and "virgin land" agriculture) with religious persecution, cultural destruction, and ecological ruination. Since the middle 1980s the area as a whole has been gripped by a new cultural and political consciousness, exemplified by everything from refurbishing local government to inviting Japanese and German capitalization of extractive industries to the exporting of (brilliant) Yakut theater to Chicago.

Siberia today falls into roughly four ecocultural areas: western Siberia, a lowland agricultural area where live the relatively Russified Nenets, Komi, Mansi, and Khanty; southwestern Siberia, with its huge mining and industrial complexes (e.g., around the Kuznetsk Basin), which attract some indigenous people, including women; east-central Siberia, dominated by the Buriats and Yakut but including many groups that are particularly interesting and important in terms of comparative ethnography, such as the Nganasan, the nothernmost people of Eurasia; and the Far East, with peoples such as the Eskimos, Chuckchee, and Nivkh, living on or near the Pacific Ocean or major rivers such as the Amur along the Chinese border. They typically devote much time to fishing and sea-mammal hunting. The Far East (Chukhotka, Kamchatka, and the Amur region), although included in much of the above discussion as part of Siberia, is thought of as a separate entity in many contexts; similarly, the Kazakhs and other peoples of northern and eastern Kazakhstan, although included in the discussion of Central Asia, are in many ways part of southwestern Siberia and are so classified in Russian-area anthropology.

For centuries, but especially in the Stolypin era (1906–1911) and during and after World War II, there has been migration, resettlement, and deportation into Siberia. Immigrant minorities include the numerous Siberian Germans, centered in Omsk, the well-organized and prosperous Dungans (from China), and the Koreans. Generally, indigenous peoples throughout Siberia still focus their livelihood on hunting, fishing, trapping, reindeer breeding, cattle raising, and the production of clothing. A few have low-status jobs in the cities or industrial settlements; some individuals of indigenous origin, however, are today leaders in politics, business, and the arts and sciences.

Despite its diversity and enormous spaces, the people of Siberia, or at least large blocks of them, including the Russian Siberiaki, share some values and characteristics such as physical and psychological adaptation to cold, small or relatively small extended families organized into large kinship networks, patrilineal organization (usually with clan exogamy), and, notably among the immigrant Slavs, an open or frontier-town mentality. Stereotypical of all Siberia was shamanism (the word "shaman" comes, according to some scholars, from the Tungus via Russian), shamans serving to protect group members from hostile forces, make predictions, and mediate between the human and supernatural worlds (e.g., as guides of the souls of the dead). Although devastated by Soviet antireligious campaigns, shamanism has survived in many places and today is experiencing a mixed revival—even a diffusion to the Russians in northern and eastern Siberia. Having reviewed the cultures, let us turn to a general, current problem.

"Nation"?

The fuzzy edges and potential chaos of Russia/Northern Eurasia emerge in perhaps the theoretically most interesting way in the permuting contrasts of the idea of "nation" as it is used by the "natives" today and might reasonably be used by scholars. At one extreme we find the Gypsies scattered from Vladivostok to the Baltic referring to themselves and referred to as a nation, and, as if this weren't enough, each of their constituent subdivisions is also considered a nation. Scarcely less problematical are diaspora groups—for example, the Tatars, who are trying to realize their ancient claims to lost homelands in the Crimea. Further along are many indigenous groups with a territory, usually traditional, in the Caucasus, Siberia, or European Russia who, although small and weak, have distinct cultures, a long-standing polity, and a strong sense of national and cultural identity: the Gagauz in Moldova, for instance; the Khanty and Eskimos of Siberia; dozens of other Siberian and Caucasian entities; and the legendary Terek Cossacks on the Terek River, numbering 250,000 and claiming separate nationhood. A considerable number of ethnicities have an organized government, a complex political economy, and sometimes aggressive territorial claims: the Azerbaijani Turks in the southeast Caucasus, the Chechens of the northern Caucasus (the center of the local Islamic movement), the numerous and powerful Buriats, and the Tuvans, Kazakhs, and Georgians, who respectively dominate, try to dominate, or are seen to dominate central Siberia, Turkestan, and the western Caucasus and are, on various counts by which nations rank themselves, superior to their Russian "big brother." Finally, there are the huge nation-states of Russia and Ukraine.

The most immediate variables in the spectrum of what it means to be a nation are the degree of governmental organization, of ethnic consciousness, of linguistic and cultural distinctiveness, of de facto independence, and of political, economic, and military size and power. Perhaps insight into the idea of nation might be gleaned from contemplating the groups that are not so designated: the Old Siberian Russians (Siberiaki); many of the smaller Caucasus groups such as the Kubachi and the Jews; and many immigrant groups such as

the Koreans and the Siberian Germans. The question of nationhood is today more volatile in the former Soviet Union than in western Europe or East Asia. Perhaps the main cultural and political lesson to be learned from the varieties of nation in Russia/North Eurasia is that, rather than get bogged down in what may be terminological or purely taxonomic questions, one should construct a large and open semisystem of continuous, fuzzy variables from some synthesis of social science and, even more, the meanings and actual practices of the population in question.

Cultures Covered

This volume provides descriptions of all major cultural groups of the former Soviet Union, including nationalities such as the Russians and Kazakhs, indigenous peoples such as the Chukchee, religious groups such as the Kurds and various Jewish groups, the peoples and tribes of the Caucasus, and others such as the Don Cossacks and Gypsies. In all, 111 groups are described. In order to provide as much information as possible about these groups, I sought contributions from scholars in the former Soviet Union, some of whom are writing for the first time for a Western audience. Thus, 42 of the articles were written in Russian and were translated and edited for inclusion in this volume.

The emphases of some articles reflect the traditional interests of ethnography in the Soviet Union. Thus, there is often much detail about material culture (clothing, food, housing, tools, and weapons), language, and literature, and in this volume we have added subheadings as needed for these topics. At the same time, because they were relatively ignored by Soviet ethnographers, descriptions of the kinship system and sociopolitical organization of some groups described here are less complete than for cultures in other parts of the world.

I have also attempted to be as up-to-date as possible in the information provided, reflecting the wholesale changes in the Soviet Union that occurred as this volume was being written and edited. We have tried to use the most current name for groups (for example, Belarussians instead of Byelorussians), nations, regions, cities, bodies of water, etc., although some names are likely to have fallen into disuse by the time this volume appears in print as change continues in the former Soviet Union. For historical information, we have generally used traditional spellings and names.

Reference Resources

The vastness of the literature on the former Soviet Union reflects the physical expanse of the region, the variety of peoples living there, and the central role of Russia in world affairs for the last two centuries (and the Soviet Union in recent decades). The opening of the former Soviet Union to the West means that many of the standard works on the history, politics, and economy of the Soviet Union and the now-independent constituent nations will be revised and updated. Similarly, atlases are being continually revised to reflect political and name changes in the region.

Useful bibliographies to works relevant to the cultures of the former Soviet Union include those of Jakobson (1957) on the indigenous peoples of northeastern Siberia, Horak (1982) on the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union, Mann (1981), which lists nearly 200 bibliographies on the peoples of the former Soviet Union, and the *Bibliography of Soviet Ethnological Publications, 1977–1982.*

Surveys of the peoples of the Soviet Union include those of Wixman (1984), which provides brief descriptions of the groups and helps sort out the various ethnonyms; Katz (1975), which covers the major national groups; Levin and Potapov (1964), which is the English-language translation of the 1956 Russian-language survey with much information on the traditional culture of Siberian peoples; and the Soviet government survey, *Peoples of the Soviet Union.* The Muslim peoples are perhaps better covered in ethnographic surveys, including those by Akiner (1986) and Bennigsen and Wimbush (1986) and the entries in Weekes (1984). The *Journal of Soviet Nationalities,* which began publication in 1990, publishes scholarly research relevant to former Soviet peoples. The languages of the Soviet Union are listed, classified, and described in Comrie (1981).

In recent years numerous ethnographic publications on (former) Soviet peoples have been published in Russian, Ukrainian, Georgian, Kazakh, and other languages. Many of these are cited in the relevant articles in this volume, although most have not been translated and are available only at a few major research libraries.

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PAUL FRIEDRICH

Introduction to China

This section covers the cultures of the People's Republic of China (PRC). Nomenclature and spelling follow the standard forms used in the PRC. Materials on Overseas Chinese appear in other volumes when applicable, and the mountain peoples of Taiwan are covered in the East and Southeast Asia volume. Both the East and Southeast Asia volume and the Russia and Eurasia section of this volume cover ethnic groups also found in China.

In 1990, the population of China was 1,133,682,501 persons, of whom 1,042,482,187 belonged to the Han nationality, the people generally referred to as Chinese. The remainder were divided among some fifty-five "minority nationalities" that are recognized officially by the state, at least 749,341 persons claiming membership in ethnic groups not yet accorded official recognition, and 3,421 naturalized foreigners. The recognized minorities range in size from the 15,489,630 Zhuang to the 2,312 Lhoba; at least eighteen groups have populations over 1,000,000.

Geographical Regions of China

China's total area covers nearly 10 million square kilometers. Two-thirds of the country is high plateaus and mountains with populations living at altitudes from 1,000 to 4,000 meters above sea level and high mountain areas reaching 7,000 to 8,000 meters. Climate varies from subarctic to subtropical. The Han majority is densely settled in the eastern half of the country—also called "inner China"—along the coastal areas, on the great plains, in the river valleys, and in the foothills. Most Han live in temperate zones, at elevations well below 1,000 meters. The minorities are more sparsely distributed over the remaining 55 percent of the country lying to the north, southwest, and west of the main areas of Han settlement. In the mountainous provinces of Yunnan and Guizhou, where Han and other ethnic groups have coexisted for several centuries, they are separated by elevation, with the minorities living at higher altitudes.

Inner China is suited to intensive, settled agriculture with an emphasis on grain crops supplemented by vegetables and fruits. Irrigation systems have long been used to lessen the dependence on rainfall and the damage from floods and drought. These problems have been further reduced in recent decades. Since 1949, the government has completed numerous hydraulic projects along the lower Huang He (Yellow River) and the Huai and Hai rivers. Major projects are planned for the Yangzi (Chang Jiang) in coming decades. Additionally, introduction of chemical fertilizers and insecticides has increased productivity even as drainage projects and hillside terracing have opened up additional land. Conversely, some agricultural land has been lost because of salinization and erosion.

There are eight major geographical regions, which overlap somewhat with cultural or subcultural (regional culture) areas.

(1) *The Northeast.* This area, formerly called Manchuria and now known as Dongbei, is composed of the three provinces of Jilin, Liaoning, and Heilongjiang, as well as eastern Inner Mongolia. In the north, there are vast areas of coniferous forest or mixed coniferous/broad-leaved forest, a rich source of timber. To the south there is large-scale mechanized farming on the plains and on reclaimed lands. Most of China's state farms are located here. Dongbei has long, cold winters and heavy rainfall during the short, hot summers. Ample supply of water supports summer crops of wheat, maize, potatoes, sugar beets, soybeans, and *gaoliang* (sorghum). Some areas are warm enough to raise rice and cotton. Dongbei's major source of wealth is industrial. Since 1949, Dongbei has rapidly developed as a key industrial area, providing oil and petrochemical products, coal, iron and steel, motor vehicles, and a variety of consumer products. Rapid population growth is mainly the result of heavy Han immigration from north China, beginning in the nineteenth century and accelerating after 1949. Indigenous national minorities include Manchu, Koreans, Ewenki, Oroqen, Mongols, and Hui. They now constitute less than 8 percent of the population.

(2) *North China Plain.* This region of inner China includes the provinces of Henan, Hebei, Shandong, and the northern parts of Jiangsu and Anhui. Moving north to south, the area has from 190 to 250 frost-free days, light snowfall, and hot (30° C), rainy summers. Rich deposits from the Huang He and its tributaries have enriched and built up the soils in many areas. Flooding and drought continue to be problems because of erratic rainfall. Agriculture is intensive: forests and grasslands have long since given way to the plow and some 40 percent of the total area is under cultivation. About 30 percent of the Chinese population live here, most engaged in agriculture. Average population density is 400 persons per square kilometer, mainly concentrated in nucleated villages of fifty to several hundred households, surrounded by the fields. The main staple crops are spring wheat, corn, millet, and sweet potatoes harvested in the late summer and autumn. Tobacco and cotton are important cash crops. Some of the surplus rural labor has been absorbed into the industrial and commercial growth of major cities—such as

Beijing, Jinan, Loyang, Shijiazhuang, and Tianjin—or industrial centers such as Shandong's Shengli oil fields and the coastal development zones.

(3) *Loess Plateau.* Northwest of the plain is loess land and the steppe region, covering the provinces of Shanxi, Shaanxi, and heavily industrialized eastern Gansu. One of the important centers of Chinese civilization in the past, the Loess Plateau remains overwhelmingly Han in ethnic composition. The heavy deposits of windblown loess soils are fertile but fragile, prone to erosion, gullying, and landslides. Much of the land is not arable. Rainfall is unpredictable. Winter temperatures fall below freezing and the summers are hot. Agriculture is most successful along the Huang He and the Wei and Fen rivers. Wheat, millet, and maize are the main crops and some double cropping is possible. The rural areas support a lighter population density than the North China Plain, and the general standard of living is markedly lower except in the southeast sector. In the northwest and beyond the Great Wall, the desert begins. This region was formerly a part of the Silk Road leading to Central Asia. Since 1949 mining and industry have become of key importance.

(4) *Northwest.* Geographically and culturally part of Central Asia, this region includes western Gansu, Xinjiang, Ningxia, and part of Inner Mongolia. The topography is highly varied and includes large stretches of arid desert and wasteland, fertile oases, grassy plateaus, and high mountain ranges. The Altai range rises to more than 4,000 meters above sea level and the Tianshan to 7,435. The climate is generally dry, averaging only 10 centimeters of rain yearly in some areas. Population is sparse in the grassland and in mountain pastureland; in many places it is less than one person per square kilometer. The region is China's main source of sheep, cattle, horses, and camels. Some areas are suited to grain and cotton production. There are relatively few cities: the largest are Urumqi, and Kashgar, which were stages on the old Silk Road. A large percentage of the population belong to minority nationalities: Uigurs, Hui, Kazak, Kirgiz, Mongols, Tajiks, and others. In Xinjiang, over half the population belongs to Turkic-speaking minority groups, and almost one-third of Ningxia's population are Hui. Because of heavy Han immigration, Mongols are now no more than 15 percent of the population of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region.

(5) *Lower Yangzi/South Central China.* Dominated today by Wuhan and Shanghai, major industrial and commercial cities, this area had important urban centers as well as an affluent and productive agricultural sector even before the nineteenth-century rise of the treaty ports. It includes suburban Shanghai Municipality, the provinces of Jiangsu, Hubei, Hunan, Jiangxi, and parts of Anhui and Zhejiang provinces. With its lakes and numerous navigable waterways, it is one of the richest and most densely populated areas of inner China. The climate is mild, with 240 frost-free days, and rainfall is ample. Double cropping is common, with alternation of winter wheat and summer rice. Cotton, silk, pigs and poultry, vegetable farming, ocean and freshwater fisheries, and rural industries have for generations supplemented peasant income. In recent years the expansion of towns and cities, exploitation of rich natural resources, and a thriving free-market system have made this the leading area in industrial and agricultural output.

(6) *Maritime South.* This large region includes southern Zhejiang, Fujian, Guangdong, Hainan, and Guangxi provinces, and it probably should be extended to cover Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan. It is linguistically very diverse, and in some sections there are large minority populations—particularly in Guangxi, where minority peoples account for almost 40 percent of the total. Some scholars would divide the region into a northern tea-and-rice area and a southern double-cropping rice area. However, cropping, population density, urbanization, and communications depend on altitude: much of the region is mountainous, and temperatures and soil quality vary. Around the Pearl River Delta, near Guangzhou, which enjoys one of the highest living standards in China, population density reaches 2,000 persons per square kilometer, whereas in the uplands it is closer to 200 persons per square kilometer. Yao, She, Li, and Zhuang generally live in uplands areas unsuitable for Han methods of farming. It is regarded as one of China's richest regions today: along the coast Special Economic Zones and overseas investments have revitalized the modern sector of the economy and led to dramatic changes in living standards and life-styles.

(7) *Southwest.* The provinces of Sichuan, Yunnan, and Guizhou together with western Hunan are ethnically diverse, although Han Chinese are clearly in the majority. In Yunnan and Guizhou the minority populations are 32 percent and 26 percent, respectively, though they are under 4 percent in Sichuan. At least twenty-six different minority groups can be found in Yunnan. Among the largest are the Miao, Yi, Dong, Tujia, Hani, Dai, Tibetans, and Lisu. Much of the area was formerly part of the Nanzhao Kingdom. Until recent times, several important urban centers were predominantly populated by non-Han peoples—for example, Dali and Lijiang in Yunnan. The climate generally ranges from cool temperate to tropical, depending on elevation and latitude. Much of the area is rugged mountains and plateaus, which rise westward toward Tibet. It is mainly minority groups who inhabit the mountains and high plateaus above 1,200 meters. Han populations are concentrated on the plains and at lower altitudes near sources of water for irrigation. However, irrigation farming and wet-rice agriculture are also found among some of the minorities, particularly the Dai, Bai, and Naxi. In recent years, cash crops have been encouraged by the state, particularly tobacco, rubber, sugar, tea, coffee, and tropical fruits in the most southern areas. Until the 1950s, slash-and-burn agriculture was practiced in the uplands, where the population depended on oats, buckwheat, potatoes, maize, and other "rough" grains supplemented by hunting and forest gathering. Northern Yunnan has become a major forestry area. Diminishing tracts of mountain pasture in northern Yunnan and eastern Sichuan are still utilized by Yi and Miao pastoralists. Despite the existence of rich natural resources, road and rail transportation and telecommunications remain underdeveloped over most of this region. Only the Sichuan Basin, highly industrialized, rich in energy sources and mineral resources, and linked by rail and river to the Yangzi, matches inner China's productivity and wealth. There is a wide gap in living standards between Sichuan and the rest of the region and between the Han and the other nationalities within the region.

(8) *Tibetan Plateaus.* Tibet, Qinghai, and western Sichuan lie mostly above 3,000 meters. Barley, buckwheat, and some wheat are grown in the southeastern valleys, while pastoralism (raising yaks, sheep, goats, and horses) is widespread in Qinghai and western Tibet. Traditional trade routes

from Tibet to Nepal and India, closed in 1949, have only recently been reopened. Rich mineral deposits are only beginning to be discovered and exploited. Poor communication routes to inner China have helped to make this the poorest region in the country. Population density is low, there are few urban centers, and most of the population is non-Han. Besides the large Tibetan population, the minorities include Hui, Lhoba, Moinba, Qiang, Sala (Salar), and Tu.

The Languages of China

The official language of modern China is *putonghua*, which is a standardized language based on the Beijing dialect. It is also known as Mandarin. It is now taught in most schools and is the language of the media. In everyday usage, people tend to speak regional dialects. China is linguistically diverse. Most people speak languages and dialects belonging to the Chinese branch of the Sino-Tibetan Family. The Chinese languages are all tonal.

The northern varieties of Chinese, also called Mandarin, are spoken as a first language by over three-fourths of the population, in a large area extending east and west across north China from the coastal regions of Shandong to Sichuan in the interior, southward toward the Yangzi River and northward into Dongbei. They are for the most part mutually intelligible, given minor adjustment for tones, pronunciation, idioms, and vocabulary. Most linguists divide Mandarin into four subgroups: Northern Mandarin, which is spoken in the northeast, the Shandong Peninsula, and a wide area around Beijing; the Northwestern Mandarin of the loess plateaus; the Southwestern Mandarin of Sichuan and neighboring regions; and Eastern or Lower Yangzi Mandarin, typified by the dialects around Nanjing. South of the Yangzi, the Chinese languages are more diverse and are not mutually intelligible with each other or with regional forms of Mandarin. The latter include the Wu dialects, spoken in the areas around Shanghai; the Gan dialects of Jiangxi; the Xiang dialects of Hunan; the Yue dialects of Guangdong and Guangxi; the Min dialects of Fujian and south coastal China; and Hakka, which has a discontinuous distribution from southeast China to Sichuan (Ramsey 1987, 87ff).

Although their spoken tongues differ, literate persons share the same writing system. Chinese ideographs convey meaning rather than fixed pronunciation. Each of the many thousands of standardized ideographs is composed of one or more configurations known as radicals. There are 214 radicals; most ideographs use two or three in combination, which in most cases signal sound, meaning, or a combination of both to the reader. Min and Yue writings included some unique ideographs unknown elsewhere. Since the 1950s, the most frequently used ideographs have been simplified. The new forms are in common use in newspapers and other publications, including school texts. As a result, younger people have difficulty reading materials published before the 1950s. A standardized romanization system, known as pinyin, was also introduced in the 1950s. It is based on putonghua pronunciation and seems to be less well known and rarely used except on street signs and shop fronts, along with the ideographs, or in dictionaries and language texts designed for those learning Mandarin.

Except for the Hui and She nationalities, the first languages of the minority peoples belong to language families other than Chinese. In daily life they may also speak the Chinese dialect of their region and have some familiarity with the language of neighboring minorities. In the northern areas of China, almost all the minority languages belong to the Altaic Family, which includes Mongolian, Turkic, and Tungus. Through migration and historical contacts the languages of some of these groups have become rich in loanwords from Chinese and Tibetan as well as from Persian, Indic, Semitic, and Slavic languages.

Most of China's 5,314,000 Mongolian speakers are found in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. Other groups live further to the northeast, or in Qinghai and Gansu and even Yunnan. In addition to Mongolian proper (Khalkha dialect), there are at least five other languages within the Mongolian Branch of Altaic. These are associated with small minority groups: Daur (Dagur), Dongxiang (Santa), Bonan (Bao'an), Monguor, and Yugur. The last group is culturally related to the Turkic-speaking Uigur minority. The Mongolian script, which is still in use today, was borrowed from the Uigurs in the twelfth century. It has twenty-four basic alphabetic symbols, which take variant forms that are dependent on the symbols' positions in words. Despite some problems with it, the script is better suited to a polysyllabic and inflecting language than are the Chinese ideographs. Mongolian is very different from Chinese, despite some borrowing of vocabulary: it does not have tones, and its grammatical structures resemble those of Korean or Japanese rather than those of the Chinese languages.

The majority of the speakers of Turkic languages, the Western Branch of Altaic, are located in the Xinjiang Uigur Autonomous Region and in the western republics of the former Soviet Union. They include Kazaks, Uigurs, Kirgiz, Uzbeks, and Tatars. During the Republican period (1911–1949) all Turkic speakers within China were referred to as "Tatars," but in actuality there are less than 5,000 Chinese Tatars; they live in Xinjiang, near the Soviet border. There are well over a million Kazak speakers within China, along the Mongolian and former Soviet borders, speaking a language closely related to Tatar. Kirgiz, found in western Xinjiang, has 142,000 speakers and is closely related to Tatar and Kazak. China also holds a small population of 14,000 Uzbek speakers, but the vast majority of speakers of this Turkic language live in Uzbekistan. The Uigur, who number over 7 million, are the predominant group of Turkic speakers within China. Their language is relatively unified because of complex commercial relations throughout the region and a long history of alphabetic writing systems. A rich literature of poetry and writings on Buddhist and Nestorian teachings exists in the old Uigur script, which was probably Semitic in origin. An Arabic script replaced it in the thirteenth century when the Uigur converted to Islam.

The Eastern branch of Altaic are the Tungus languages. The largest of these groups is Manchu. The majority of the 9 million Manchu are highly Sinicized, and most are unilingual in Chinese or use Chinese as their first language. Yet in recent years there has been an upsurge of Manchu ethnicity and a revival of the language in both spoken and written forms. There is a large literature in Manchu, which uses a modified version of Mongolian script; much of it is translations of Chinese writings. A few small groups (Ewenki, Oroquen, Hezhen) are also Tungus speakers.

The minority languages of the south and southwest were

formerly grouped with Chinese in the Sino-Tibetan Language Family. Linguists are no longer in agreement that this is correct. Many of the spoken languages of the region derive from proto-Tai, and these are now placed separately in their own family. In the People's Republic of China, this family is known as Zhuang-Dong, which is divided into three branches. All are tone languages.

The largest branch is Zhuang-Dai. Zhuang is spoken in the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, which covers the western two-thirds of Guangxi Province, and by related populations in adjacent areas of Guizhou and Yunnan. Potentially, it has over 15.5 million speakers. However, as was the case with the Manchu, the Zhuang have assimilated to Chinese culture over the centuries. Almost all can speak the local Chinese dialect of their region, and many ethnic Zhuang could speak only that until recently. Since the early 1950s, Zhuang ethnicity has strengthened, with encouragement from the state. The language has been revived and is in more common usage in daily life, a process facilitated by the introduction of a standardized pinyin writing system for the main dialect of northern Zhuang, and use of the language in publications, radio broadcasts, and the dubbing of films. It is recognized as one of China's major official languages. The neighboring Bouyei, who are even more Sinicized than the Zhuang, are similarly encouraged to use what the state recognizes as their own language, though some linguists feel it should be classed as a dialect variant of northern Zhuang (Ramsey 1987, 243).

Dai is the language of the Dai of southwestern Yunnan. They are culturally and linguistically similar to the Thai of northern Thailand, though divided by dialect variation internally and across national borders. Their writing system uses variants of Thai script, and until recently literacy was limited to males, all of whom were expected to spend some years studying at the local Buddhist monasteries. There are at least a million speakers of Dai.

The second branch, called Kam-Sui, is less well known and is the most northern and eastern extension of the Tai languages, found in the area where Hunan, Guizhou, and Guangxi intersect. Kam (also called Dong, in Chinese) has about 2.5 million speakers. It is distinguished in having the most elaborated tone system of any language in China, with fifteen tones: other Tai languages and some of the southern Chinese languages, such as Hokkien and Cantonese, have eight, whereas Mandarin has only four. The Sui languages are associated with smaller groups in the area, such as Mulam and Maonan, and most of these peoples are bilingual in Chinese or Zhuang. The third branch is Li, spoken by groups in Hainan. Although treated as one language by the state, it is actually a grouping of at least five different Tai languages, divergent by reason of long separation.

Another large segment of China's south and southwestern minorities are speakers of languages belonging to the Miao-Yao Family. These too were formerly classed with Chinese, perhaps because they are tone languages and show both ancient and modern word borrowings from Chinese, but linguists now view them as more typically Southeast Asian, closer to the Tai languages. Yao, used as an ethnic category, includes some speakers of Miao or even Kam. It is estimated that no more than 44 percent of China's 2 million ethnic Yao speak Mien, as the indigenous language is called in China and Southeast Asia. Mien shares features with Miao and both Cantonese and Hakka. The Miao languages are found among the 7 million Miao in China, as well as among the Hmong of Southeast Asia. Miao languages are classed into three major groupings, each containing many "dialects" that coincide roughly with marked cultural differences and geographical distribution across Guizhou and Yunnan and northward into Sichuan. Across and within the three major groups they are not usually mutually intelligible. In syntax, Miao too is more similar to Tai than to Chinese but contains many ancient and recent borrowings of words from Chinese and loan translations of Chinese idioms.

Mon-Khmer languages, another separate family, are found along the southwestern border of Yunnan among such peoples as the Benglong, Blang, and the Wa (Va), who are a segment of a much larger population in Myanmar (Burma). These languages are far less influenced by Chinese.

The remainder of the languages of southwest China are classed as Tibeto-Burman. The majority are tone languages. The PRC recognizes sixteen languages within this family, divided among four branches. The best-known to foreign scholars is the Tibetan Branch (also known as Bodish), which includes Moinba and the Jiarong speakers of the Qiang minority nationality as well as some 4.5 million ethnic Tibetans. The largest branch, overall, is the Yi Branch (also known as Loloish), which shows more affinities with Burmese than with Tibetan. It includes a number of dialects or languages spoken by the 6.5 million ethnic Yi, who are distributed through the mountain areas of Sichuan, northern Yunnan, and western Guizhou. Additionally, it includes the closely related languages of several other minority nationalities. These are Lisu, Lahu, Jino, Hani, and Naxi, all of them located in Yunnan. Lisu, Lahu, and Hani (Akha) are also found in Thailand, Myanmar, and Laos. With the exception of the Naxi, they are hill and mountain peoples. Both Tibetan proper and the Yi Branch produced indigenous writing systems that are still in use. The Tibetan script, based on Indic models, emerged some time in the seventh century. The Yi syllabary script, which may be a thousand years old, was closely associated with religion and divination, but it was flexible enough to be used for other writings. The Naxi devised a pictographic script, quite different from Chinese ideographs, as well as a syllabic script influenced by Tibetan and Yi writing. However, literacy was limited to a relatively small group.

Within Chinese territory, there are two smaller branches of Tibeto-Burman. The Jingpo Branch is more commonly found in Myanmar, among the people known as Kachin, and is of interest to linguists because of its ties to Burmese, Tibetan, and Loloish. Dulong (Drung) is included in this branch. Finally, there is Qiang, a category holding two "dialects" that are not mutually intelligible.

Some of the spoken languages within China have yet to be definitively classified: Gelao, which seems to be distantly related to Tai; Tujia, Nu and Achang, which are sometimes placed in Tibeto-Burman; and Bai, which remains problematic. Chinese linguists group it with Loloish, while some others argue that it is an ancient branch of Sinitic (Ramsey 1987, 288–291).

History

In this brief sketch of the origins, growth, and spread of Chinese civilization, the expansions and contractions of Chinese political control over bordering states and regions, and the

periodic conquests and rule by foreign dynasties, I wish to stress that the development of Chinese civilization was not a unilineal course of development carried forth by a single growing population. Over the centuries diverse linguistic and cultural populations merged into that larger whole that we identify as Han Chinese in later historical time. Unfortunately, many Chinese historical accounts, whether written by the Chinese themselves or by Western scholars, are Sinocentric, written as if the Han had always existed and all other peoples were marginal.

Chinese Neolithic cultures, which began to develop around 5000 B.C., were in part indigenous and in part related to earlier developments in the Middle East and Southeast Asia. Wheat, barley, sheep, and cattle appear to have entered the northern Neolithic cultures via contact with southwest Asia, whereas rice, pigs, water buffalo, and eventually yams and taro seem to have come to the southern Neolithic cultures from Vietnam and Thailand. The rice-growing village sites of southeastern China and the Yangzi Delta reflect linkages both north and south. In the later Neolithic, some elements from the southern complexes had spread up the coast to Shandong and Liaoning. It is now thought that the Shang state, the first true state formation in Chinese history, had its beginnings in the late Lungshan culture of that region.

The Shang dynasty (c. 1480–1050 B.C.) controlled the North China Plain and parts of Shanxi, Shaanxi, and Shandong through military force and dynastic alliances with protostates on its borders. At its core was a hereditary royal house—attended by ritual specialists, secular administrators, soldiers, craftsmen, and a variety of retainers—that ruled over a surrounding peasantry. It was finally displaced by the Western Zhou dynasty, led by a seminomadic group from the northwest edge of the empire. The Western Zhou established capitals near present-day Xian and Loyang and organized a feudal monarchy with its center on the North China Plain. In 771 B.C. they were in turn overthrown by the Eastern Zhou dynasty, which was an unstable confederation of contending feudal states with weak allegiance to the center. During the political confusion of this era, the forces struggling for power discussed and canonized what were to become the key political and social ideas of later Chinese civilization. It was the age of Confucius and Mencius, of the writing of historical annals in order to gain guidance from the past, of Daoist mysticism and Legalist practicality. As Zhou power waned, war broke out between the constituent feudatory domains in what came to be called the Warring States Period (403–221 B.C.). Between 230 and 221 B.C. one of the contentious states succeeded in overrunning and annexing the other six, and its ruler renamed himself "Qin Shi Huangdi," or "the First Emperor of Qin." China's present name derives from this initially small western kingdom of Qin, which included part of present-day Sichuan. As the first unifying dynasty, it set the model for future imperial statecraft: centralized control through appointed bureaucrats who were subject to recall; creation of a free peasantry subject to the central state for taxation, labor service, and conscription; standardized weights and measures; reform of the writing system; a severe legal code; and control over the intelligentsia. The boundaries of this first imperial dynasty were ambitiously large, stretching from Sichuan to the coast and from the plains and loess lands to the lower Yangzi hinterland. Nevertheless, it was unsuccessful in its attempts to bring the south and southwest into the orbit of empire.

The Qin was short-lived, falling in 202 B.C.; a combination of popular rebellions and civil wars brought it down. The threat of invasion by the northern nomads (the Xiongnu) was also a weakening factor, despite the construction of a unified Great Wall to mark and defend the northern boundary of empire. The Han dynasty (202 B.C. to A.D. 220) succeeded the Qin. Although also threatened by the Xiongnu confederation to the north, it was able to extend its military lines to the west and establish trade and diplomatic relations with the nomadic and oasis peoples in what is now Xinjiang. It had increasing contacts with Korea and Vietnam. It sent diplomats, troops, and settlers southward, but it never gained effective control over the independent Min-Yue state (modern-day Fujian), the Dian Kingdom (Yunnan), or the Nan-Yue Empire, which controlled the southern coasts. Han China's effective rule and settlements stretched from the northern plain to Hunan, Jiangxi, and Zhejiang, assimilating some segments of the non-Chinese peoples in these regions; however, native peoples the Chinese referred to as "Man," meaning "barbarians," still held most of the area. Meanwhile, the northern and northwestern borders were still insecure, despite the forced settlement of hundreds of thousands of Chinese settlers, and closer to home a series of widespread rebellions racked the dynasty.

From the fall of the Han dynasty in 220 until the reestablishment of a unified dynastic rule under the Sui in 589, China continued to be plagued by civil disorder, attempts to restore earlier feudal systems, and rivalries between separatist states. The state of Wu in the central and lower Yangzi valley remained largely un-Sinicized, as did the southern Yue states. Shu, in Sichuan, seems also to have been ethnically heterogeneous, whereas the northwest was under strong pressure from the proto-Tibetan Qiang peoples. The Western Chin dynasty (A.D. 265–316), which attempted to establish itself as the successor to the Han dynasty, was probably doomed from the start: it controlled only about one-third of the area that had been the Han Empire. On the northern borders the non-Han peoples rose in rebellion, in alliance with the Xiongnu. After 304, much of north China came under the rule of non-Chinese peoples, such as the Qiang, and branches of the Xianbei, such as Toba and Mujiang. Yet historical records indicate that the Toba rulers of inner China (Northern Wei dynasty, A.D. 387–534) became increasingly Sinicized, even outlawing Toba language and customs and adopting many of the reforms and ideas initiated during the Qin dynasty. Conversely, the ruling house of the short-lived Sui was closely intermarried with Turkic and Mongol elites.

The Tang dynasty that followed (A.D. 618–907) was led, at least initially, by northwestern aristocratic families of mixed ethnic origins. Although it is generally written about as a Han Chinese dynasty, it was consciously cosmopolitan. Its armed forces included contingents of Turkic peoples, Khitan, Tangut, and other non-Chinese, and its cities opened to settlement by traders, doctors, and other specialists from Persia, Central Asia, and the Middle East. Central Asian tastes influenced poetry, music, dance, dress, ceramics, painting, and even cuisine. In the eighth and ninth centuries, coastal trade cities like Guangzhou and Yangzhou had foreign populations of close to 100,000. The thrusts of imperial expansion went south, colonizing Hunan and then Jiangxi and Fujian. The

people of Guangdong Province today refer to themselves as "people of Tang" rather than "people of Han," and until the tenth century the Chinese still viewed Guangdong and Guangxi as the wild frontier. Tang armies pressed deep into southern China and the Indochina Peninsula, battling in successive campaigns against Tai, Miao, and Yue (Viet) states or tribal confederations in the provinces of the southern tier and Annam. The Nanzhao Kingdom and its successor, the Dali Kingdom (claimed today by Dai, Bai, and Yi peoples), controlled Yunnan, much of Guizhou and Sichuan, as well as parts of what is now Vietnam and Myanmar. The Tang also pressed into Central Asia and established protectorates as far as present-day Afghanistan. At times, princes from the outlying tributary states were educated at the Tang court in hopes that they would bring Chinese culture home with them.

In the years of disorder that followed the fall of the Tang, non-Chinese contenders for control of the empire pressed their claims. The Tanguts (Tangxiang), a confederation of Tibetan tribes, founded the Xixia Empire, which controlled Ningxia and Gansu until defeat by the Mongols in the thirteenth century. The Tangut rulers allied through marriage with the Khitans, who were Altaic-speaking proto-Mongolians from Inner Mongolia and western Manchuria. The Khitan northern empire (Liao dynasty, 907–1125) alternatively used tribal law or the Tang legal codes and system of government to rule over the nomads of their home areas and the Chinese of the northern plains. The Khitan developed their own writing system and encouraged an economy based on a mix of agriculture and pastoralism. Except for adherence to Buddhism, they resisted Sinicization. When their empire finally fell in 1125, some of the survivors fled to Central Asia and formed a new state in exile (Kara-Khitay), which perhaps is the origin of the term "Cathay."

The Chinese-led Song dynasty that eventually wrested control of north China from the Liao divides into two periods. The Northern Song (960 to 1126) ruled from Kaifeng but only briefly reunified inner China, which soon fell to the northern nomads. Ruzhen (Jin) and Mongols (Yuan) ruled the northern tier and North China Plain, whereas the Southern Song (1127–1179) reestablished a capital at Hangzhou and tried to consolidate rule of the south. By then, technological advances in agriculture, the growth of commerce, and the past sequence of military colonization had opened the south to Han settlement. By the Northern Song period, most of the rapidly growing Chinese population already lived south of the Huai River, having pushed out or absorbed the remaining indigenous peoples of the area. In addition to expansion of agricultural land, there was a rapid growth of towns and cities, some of them reaching one million, and many of them over 100,000 in population.

There was an uneasy peace. The Mongol rulers of the Yuan dynasty (1276–1368) soon controlled most of China. Indeed, the united tribes of the steppes and grasslands controlled most of the Eurasian landmass at that time, with their territories stretching across Central Asia into Russia and eastern Europe. They established firmer control over Tibet and defeated the Dali Kingdom in Yunnan. Their armies went deep into south-central China, staking out the boundaries of new prefectures and counties to which future dynasties would lay claim. Mongols and their allies (Uigurs and other Turkic peoples) and a small number of ethnic Chinese filled government posts. Mongol rule followed the Chinese model of local government and the law code reflected the influence of earlier Chinese law codes, but it was clearly not a Chinese state. The rulers awarded some territory to Mongol princelings or military leaders as fiefs, and both law and administrative regulations distinguished Mongols (and their close allies) from "Han-ren" (north Chinese) and "Nan-ren" (southerners). Buddhist monastery land was exempt from taxation, and clergy everywhere were under the jurisdiction of a special central government bureau usually headed by a Tibetan lama. In this period, Lamaistic Buddhism became the state religion and the lamas had influence at court. Other developments during the Yuan were the flourishing of vernacular tales, novels, and dramas and a rapid growth in science and technology (astronomy, hydraulic engineering, medicine, cartography) sparked in part by contact with the world outside of China through caravan trade into Central Asia and sea routes to Southeast Asia and India.

Widespread popular uprisings and military expulsion of the Yuan from inner China led to the restoration of a Chinese dynasty, the Ming (1368-1644). Despite this victory, the struggles against the Mongols continued. The Ming reinforced the Great Wall and built garrison posts along it, and there were many conflicts as Chinese traders and farmers attempted to settle the bordering steppe area. At the same time, pacification and control of the southern frontiers continued through government support for establishment of Han Chinese military and civilian colonies (*tuntian*). The indigenous peoples resisted this further colonization and were sometimes joined by descendants of earlier waves of settlers; the Ming histories record 218 "tribal" uprisings in Guangxi alone, 91 in Guizhou (which included portions of Yunnan), and 52 in Guangdong. The peoples of that area (ancestral to the present-day Yao, Miao, Zhuang, Gelao, and a number of smaller groups) were either assimilated, decimated, or forced to retreat to higher elevations or westward; some populations began the migration to present-day Vietnam and Thailand. The Han-settled areas were organized into the same administrative units as prevailed elsewhere in China, governed by appointed bureaucrats. The surviving non-Han peoples were uneasily brought into that structure or, in areas where they still outnumbered the Han, were controlled by indirect rule under hereditary landed officials (*tumu* or *tusi*) initially drawn from the indigenous elites. As long as the rulers of these quasi-fiefdoms kept the peace and paid taxes and tribute to the state, they had a free hand in administering local law and exacting rents and labor service for their own advancement.

In 1644, the Manchu descendants of the Ruzhen won control of the imperial throne and established the Qing dynasty (1644–1911). Qing expanded central-government control to Taiwan relatively easily, but Guizhou, Yunnan, Tibet, and the northwest continued to be problematic. In the southwest, there were wide-scale "Miao Rebellions," a generic term for all indigenous uprisings in the area. There were major rebellions in the 1670s, the 1680s, and again in the late 1730s. Qing records list some 350 uprisings in Guizhou between 1796 and 1911, and this number may be an undercount. No sooner had the state established firmer control over the minority peoples of the southwest then they faced the armed uprisings of Muslim ethnic and religious movements in Shaanxi and Gansu (1862–1875), and the "Panthay" Muslim Rebel-

lion in Yunnan (1856–1873), which had set up its capital in Dali. Even after the status of Xinjiang was changed from a military colony to a province in 1884, Muslim resistance continued until the end of the dynasty. In late Qing, the Han too were in rebellion: the Taiping Rebellion, which began among the Hakka in Guangxi and Guangdong, held most of southeast China during the 1850s and 1860s and extended its influence into Guizhou and Sichuan. The Nien Rebellion in the same period dominated in the area north of the Huai River.

What seems to have kept the Qing in power throughout was a firm alliance of interest with the Han literati—elites who filled the bureaucratic posts of empire. In time, the Qing emperors out-Confucianized the Chinese themselves, adopting and encouraging traditional Chinese political and social thought based on the Confucian canon and assimilating to Chinese cultural styles. One might even say that they identified with the Han in viewing all other ethnic groups as "barbarians."

The collapse of the Qing and the ascendancy of the Republic of China starting in 1911 initially led to disintegration and local breakaway governments. Local warlords seized political power in large areas of the country, a problem not resolved until 1927. The Japanese held control over Taiwan and Manchuria until the end of World War II. The Russian Revolution had led to the establishment of an independent Mongolia and validation of Soviet claims to contested territory in China's far north and northwest. Tibet rejected China's claims of sovereignty, and many areas in Guangxi, Guizhou, Yunnan, and the northwest continued to hold large numbers of diverse peoples who did not follow the Guomindang's call to assimilate and be absorbed into the Chinese cultural and political world. Still, a new nationalism emerged and spread during this period in response to the late Qing and twentieth-century imperialist economic and political intrusions by the European powers (treaty ports, foreign concessions, unequal treaties, and extraterritorial privileges for foreigners). The new nationalism was intensified by the Japanese invasion of inner China in 1937 and the long years of war that followed. The government of the republic and its armies retreated to the southwest, while the Communist party and its armies built up a strong independent base in Shaanxi, Ningxia, and Gansu. Guerrilla forces organized resistance within occupied China. Within a short time following the end of World War II, China plunged into a civil war between the Communist and Republican forces, culminating in the victory of the Communists and the withdrawal of the defeated Guomindang government to Taiwan. During that civil war, both sides raised slogans appealing to national pride and calling for unity in the interests of China as a nation, as they had done during the war against Japan. Members of the minority nationalities also joined in the civil war, perhaps more strongly on the Communist side because of its promises of greater tolerance of cultural diversity and greater autonomy for the minority areas.

Religion and Ideology

Prior to 1949, the peoples of China practiced a diversity of religions, which had their regional, class, and ethnic variants. The government tolerated and in some instances encouraged religions, except for those seen as heterodox cults with political aims. The preference of the Han Chinese elites was for the canon of Confucian teachings. These teachings did not comprise a theology as such: Confucianism is a secular set of ethical teachings focused on individual behavior, human relationships, and the relationship between the rulers and the ruled. Popular Confucianism is expressed in ancestral commemoration, recognition of age and gender hierarchy within the family, and care and respect for the senior generation. Household ancestral altars and family grave sites receive careful attention. Ancestral spirits are invited to join in major family feasts during the year, and their birth and death anniversaries are observed with special food offerings. Wealthier patrilineages kept genealogies and established ancestral temples in which they stored and periodically venerated the name tablets of successive generations. Proper practice of ancestral commemoration is a key marker for distinguishing between the Chinese and the "barbarians." After 1949, the state strongly discouraged the focus on ancestral rites. Government authorities criticized Confucius and his followers as feudal and reactionary until the early 1980s. Since then, elaborate ceremonies honoring the birthday of Confucius have resumed at the Confucius Temple complex in Qufu, Shandong (his birthplace), and in some places families have restored ancestral temples and family altars.

Among the Han Chinese, concern with the spirits of the dead extends to a concern with ghosts. These ghosts are thought to be lonely spirits, uncared for by any of their descendants. They will cause harm to the living unless they are fed and propitiated. The government continues to strongly discourage belief in ghosts.

Among many of the minority peoples, expression of concern with ancestors and ghosts takes different forms and is often overshadowed in importance by animistic belief systems concerned with honoring or appeasing the spiritual forces in all natural phenomena. Shamans and diviners are respected and sometimes feared members of the community. Their services are crucial for dealing with illness, death, and family crises as well as at times of community festivals. A similar shamanistic tradition continues among the Han Chinese, as well as divination, pilgrimages to sacred mountains, myths of the "Dragon King" who controls the seas and rivers, beliefs in witchcraft, and other elements of folk belief. However, the Chinese educated elites have long regarded these beliefs as superstitions. At the popular level, the Chinese shifted to temple-centered worship of Buddhist and Daoist gods who are represented in human form. Some can be identified as historical or literary personages, now transformed into deities.

Between the third and first centuries B.C., monks from India brought Buddhism to China. For this reason, some Chinese scholars today regard it as a "foreign religion." The State formally recognized it at the start of the first millennium, and it spread rapidly through preaching and scriptures. In some periods—for instance, in the Tang and Yuan—the ruling dynasty actively supported it. Formal, monastic Buddhism divides into several branches: the most widespread is Mahayana Buddhism, whose texts are written in Chinese. Lamaist Buddhism developed in Tibet and spread among the Mongols and some southwestern minorities. A branch of Theravada Buddhism, using Pali texts, is found among the Dai and neighboring minorities. Monastic Buddhism is renunciatory of the world and celibate. The number of monks and nuns declined greatly after 1949; the government forcibly

closed monasteries and assigned the clergy to ordinary labor. In the post-Mao period, some temples and monasteries have reopened for worship and the training of young monks and nuns has resumed. These establishments receive some aid from the government for restoration of their buildings, but for the most part it is expected that they will be self-supporting and that the able-bodied monks and nuns will engage in productive labor.

Folk Buddhism, often mixed with elements from Daoism and localized cults, traditionally was widespread among peasants and the less-educated urban populations. The concepts of punishment of sin, an afterlife or rebirth, and a variety of gods referred to as Buddhas were popular among the Chinese as well as some of the minorities. Even the Confucianized elites turned to Buddhist monks to perform the needed rituals surrounding death and burial.

Daoism, like Confucianism, is of Chinese origin and is rooted in a philosophical school, in this case a mystical one stressing harmony with all things. In its religious forms, which took shape in the Han dynasty, it bears resemblances to Buddhism, and most people do not distinguish clearly between the two. It has its own monastic traditions as well as lay priests who can marry and live within the wider community. At the popular level of worship, temples in villages, market towns, and cities often mix Buddhist and Daoist gods and spirits together and invite clergy of both religions to perform rituals on behalf of the local community. It is impossible to estimate how many people within China still follow Buddhism or Daoism, and figures on reinstituted or new clergy are inconsistent. After 1949, many Buddhist and Daoist temples were taken over for other purposes, with only a small percentage retained as museums or tourist attractions. In recent years, some have resumed their religious functions.

Islam is the dominant religion among at least ten of China's ethnic minorities, and there are thriving communities of Hui (Muslim Chinese) in all regions of China. It was introduced in various forms between the seventh and fourteenth centuries, entering China from Central Asia along the Silk Road and being carried by Arab traders via sea routes to southeastern China. Estimates of the number of practicing Muslims today range from 12 million to 30 million or more. They are mainly Sunni, divided into a number of sects. Sufi orders entered through northwest China during the Qing and were proscribed by the government in late Qing because of their tie to the Muslim rebellions in the area. Because of its identification with some of China's largest minority groups, Islam appears to have been less restricted than other major religions after the 1949 Revolution, but even so the authorities closed a number of mosques and schools and restricted the training of clergy. Since the post-Mao reforms, the government has allowed mosques to reopen and the number of active followers has been growing. Conversion by Han Chinese comes mainly through intermarriage, since the state views Islam as a religion of the *shaoshu minzu* (minority nationalities) rather than a universalist creed.

Since the start of Western contacts with China, a small number of Han and minorities have converted to Catholicism. As with the other religions noted above, the government closed places of worship and banned religious activity from the early 1950s until the 1980s, though there is strong evidence that many congregations continued to meet in secret and grew during the decades after 1949. Accurate figures are impossible to obtain. The figure of 3.3 million Catholics, commonly repeated in the Chinese media, is identical with the 1949 figure. The Catholic church in China is required to be independent of the Vatican in all regards. Thus, China may be the only place in the world where one hears the Mass and other liturgies in Latin.

Protestant church activities began in the nineteenth century. There are at least 5 million Protestants in churches and meeting places recognized and supervised by the Chinese Christian Three-Self Patriotic Movement and the China Christian Council. A number of small seminaries have opened in recent years to train new recruits or to upgrade lay pastors and priests. Authorities discourage denominational differences. Wider estimates of Protestant adherents, which include the estimated number outside of the Three-Self churches, vary from 10 million to 25 million or higher.

All of the major religions are under the supervision of the Bureau of Religious Affairs of the central government and its provincial and lower-level departments. This organization is a secular state bureau that has regulatory control over the Chinese Buddhist Association, the Chinese Daoist Association, the China Islamic Association, the Chinese Catholic Patriotic Association, the Chinese Christian Three-Self Patriotic Movement, and the China Christian Council. Representatives from these groups have seats reserved for them in the National Peoples Congress. Despite this official linkage and the legal guarantee of the right to believe or not believe, religion—in the sense of concerns with God or gods, spirits, theological teachings, belief in an afterlife, and so on—is discouraged by the state. Religious belief disbars one from membership in the Communist party or its Youth League affiliate and is viewed as unscientific. The state-approved ideology is Marxism–Leninism–Mao Zedong Thought. In a number of different campaigns over the decades, the government has held up various persons as secular models of moral and ethical behavior appropriate to a socialist society. In recent years Party ideologists have attempted to set the guidelines for a "socialist spiritual civilization" and similarly, a secular body of teachings focusing on individual behavior, human relationships, and the relationship between the rulers and the ruled.

Recent Developments

Under the present socialist system, land, natural resources, and most industrial enterprises belong to the state. Between 1949 and the late 1970s, the government encouraged or specified various forms of cooperative or collective management and organization of agriculture, industry, and services. Land reform was completed in the Han areas by 1952, and somewhat later among the minorities. During land reform, household landholdings, draft animals, and tools were essentially equalized. Between 1952 and 1954, households were encouraged to pool their labor and production tools into mutual aid teams of four or five households. These organizations were voluntary, as were the initial agricultural cooperatives (sometimes referred to as lower-level agricultural producers cooperatives) that began to form in 1954. Payment to member households was based on a combination of labor input and ownership of productive resources. However, by 1956 villagewide collectives (higher-level agricultural producers cooperatives) became obligatory and compensation shifted to

labor input alone. After 1958, villages (renamed "brigades") were incorporated into units averaging twenty villages, known as People's Communes. Each brigade and its component teams organized daily work tasks and had some autonomy in developing sideline industries and determining pay rates, but most major decisions were made by the commune or higher levels of government. The commune center was usually located in a market town; after 1966, the local free markets were abolished and did not resume until the late 1970s. The commune center usually included a middle school, a small hospital and outpatient clinic, a few small factories and repair services geared to serving agriculture, postal and banking services, and state-owned shops serving local needs. Commune cadres (officials and technicians) were usually assigned from elsewhere and were salaried by the state. During the years of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966–1976) brigades were restricted in their economic activities and the general conditions in the countryside failed to improve.

During these years of experiment with various forms of collective work in agriculture, there was some growth of the urban centers. The rural population fell from close to 90 percent in 1949 to 80 percent in 1961. But in the late 1950s, the government began to strictly supervise movement from the rural areas into the cities. State control over urban job assignments, housing, ration cards, and residence permits limited rural migration into the cities. At the same time, millions of urban youth volunteered or were assigned to work in the countryside in order to ease urban population pressures.

Since the late 1970s there have been a number of important changes, starting with the reopening of the free markets for foodstuffs and small homemade goods in the rural and urban areas. The government allowed some of the sent-down youth to return to the towns and cities. In the early 1980s, the state encouraged the dismantling of the collective system in the countryside, leaving the timing and procedures to local decision. Households can now contract for land and other productive resources, retaining most of the profit for themselves. The authorities encourage peasants to develop new enterprises, either on a household basis or in cooperation with others. Average income has risen rapidly. A parallel development in the cities is the emergence of free-market entrepreneurs who provide a wide variety of goods and services. Travel and transport restrictions have eased. There is also permanent population movement: by the mid-1980s less than 70 percent of the population could still be counted as rural, because of the growth of established cities and new towns. By 1986, there were at least forty cities with populations over one million, not including suburban counties under city administration. Other urban growth comes from the organization of five Special Economic Zones and a number of Development Zones, where the state welcomes foreign investment and joint ventures. Wages, living conditions, and the general quality of life are much higher in these new zones.

Since 1980, the standard of living has been rising rapidly in inner China. However, in the areas inhabited by the various national minorities the rise has been much slower. In terms of per capita income, Tibet, Ningxia, Xinjiang, Gansu, Yunnan, and Guizhou rank lowest in income and consumption of goods. This situation has only recently begun to change, with the development of trade across national borders with the countries of the former Soviet Union or with mainland Southeast Asia and the Middle East.

In recent decades, China's economic development was slowed by population growth. This problem led to recent measures that attempt to limit urban families to one child and rural families to two. There is some flexibility in the policy: for example, a rural couple that has two daughters will usually be allowed to try again in hopes of having a son. Penalties for having additional children vary locally; they include fines, docking of wages, withdrawal of free medical care, and/or refusal of admission to state-run nurseries and kindergartens. For successful peasant families or free-market entrepreneurs these economic penalties are no hardship. Most of the national minorities are still exempted from the restrictions on family size but are being encouraged to practice birth control. The birthrate nationwide dropped to around 20 or 21 births per 1,000 people in the late 1980s.

Increased foreign contacts through trade, tourism, and scholarly exchanges have had a visible impact on people's lives, particularly in the cities and their immediate environs. Western styles of clothing and house furnishings have become popular, along with modern conveniences like color televisions, stereo tape recorders, compact-disc players, refrigerators, and washing machines. Popular music has been affected by rock music and Western classical music; modern dance now finds an audience in the cities, the graphic arts show a strong European influence, and some of the popular writers of fiction or drama have been influenced by contemporary European-American literary traditions. Even foreign foods such as bread and dairy products find a market, and restaurants serving foreign foods are increasingly popular. Western political and economic ideas, other than those of the Marxist school of thought, are also finding support among the intelligentsia. There has been some liberalization of the political system since the late 1970s, with elections for delegates to the National Peoples Congress and local representative bodies. However, the control of the society by the Communist party remains strong, and political dissent continues to be viewed as a threat to national security.

Minority Policies

In compiling this section, we have followed the ethnic classifications currently in use in the People's Republic of China. There are fifty-six recognized *minzu*, meaning "nation," "nationality," "ethnic group," or "people." All but the Han are referred to as "shaoshu minzu." The criteria for identifying these groups are unevenly applied and guided in part by political considerations. Officially, the Chinese government defines a minzu as a population sharing common territory, language, economy, sentiments, and psychology. This definition derives from Stalin's writings on the national question, and it is difficult to apply to the situation in China because of population movements and other events of recent history. The term implies legal equality together with subordination to the higher state authority that governs Han and minorities alike. It is worth noting that the term *minzuxue*, often translated as "ethnology," refers only to the study of China's minority peoples.

Since 1949, a number of areas have been designated as autonomous regions wherein the minorities are guaranteed, within limits, the rights to express and develop their local cultures and representation in the political arena. There are five large autonomous regions (Tibet, Inner Mongolia, Guangxi

Zhuang, Ningxia Hui, Xinjiang Uigur), each named after the predominant minority group. These regions contain multiple nationalities, the Han now being the largest group in all but Tibet. In addition, by 1985 there were thirty autonomous prefectures and seventy-two autonomous counties, or "banners," often of mixed ethnicity and sometimes listing two or three minority groups in their official name. Under continuing pressure to grant minorities greater autonomy and representation, the government organized *minzuxiang* (minority townships) in the 1980s for areas of mixed settlement outside of the larger autonomous units. These townships incorporate Han and minority villages under one administration at the lowest level of government. Minority representatives are thus guaranteed seats at various administrative levels from the township up through the county and prefecture, and there are reserved seats for minority representatives in the provincial and national peoples' congresses. The State Nationalities Affairs Commission, directly under the State Council, also includes minority representatives, as do provincial and prefectural branches.

Within the autonomous units the state sets some policies. For example, the government has prohibited landlordism, slavery, child marriages, forced marriages, elaborate festivals, and what the state regards as harmful facets of religion and traditional medicine everywhere in China since the early days of the Revolution. The state also controls population transfers: minority people cannot opt to resettle in the autonomous region of ethnic choice, and the authorities even discourage travel across county boundaries. Most minorities are not yet affected by the one-child policy of recent years, although the government encourages them to practice family planning. Also, for registration purposes, most minority people must select a Chinese name for their children and follow the Chinese model of the paternal surname. Aside from these constraints, the minorities are free to use their own languages, follow culturally valued styles of housing, dress, and diet, practice customs that are not in direct violation of national laws, develop and perform their traditional arts, and practice their own religions. During the ten years of the Cultural Revolution, however, holders of or contenders for local power violated these rights, attacking or virtually prohibiting expressions of local culture such as language, dress, food preferences and economic techniques, traditional arts, and religious ritual.

The present listing of the various nationalities follows an intensive period of survey research by ethnologists, historians, linguists, folklorists, and government cadres during the 1950s. There are recognized problems with the categories that emerged. Initially, only 11 nationalities received official recognition, although over 400 separate groups had applied (Fei 1981, 60–61). Over time, additional groups were added to the list and some populations reclassified. Jino, for example, were originally classified as Dai, and Daur were identified as Mongols. Some requests for recognition were unsuccessful. For instance, in Guizhou some 200,000 people referred to as the Chuanqing were denied minority status and classified as Han. The basis for the decision is that their genealogies trace back to Ming occupation troops and conscripted laborers left behind to cultivate the land and open the frontier in the twelfth century (Fei 1981, 65–69). The men married women from neighboring ethnic groups, and their communities developed a distinct local culture over eight centuries. Even so, the evidence of forefathers of Han ancestry negates their claims to a separate ethnicity. Since the end of the Cultural Revolution, there has been a new wave of applications for recognition. In Guizhou alone, some eighty groups (close to one million people) petitioned for recognition or reclassification (Heberer 1989, 37–38). Most of the remaining contested groups are small (20,000 or less) and, given the difficulty of finding information on them outside of *neibu* documents (government classified materials), they will not be discussed in this volume.

As suggested earlier, the state applies Stalin's guidelines on ethnicity unevenly. The majority category of "Han" glosses over regional differences in language, economy, and local cultures. One reason is that the various Chinese languages, no matter how divergent, are historically related and share a common writing system. Thus, they are officially seen as "dialects" and all native speakers within the Chinese branch of Sino-Tibetan are classed as Han. The main exception to this rule are the Hui, who are Muslim and believed to be descendants of Arabs, Persians, or Central Asians. Among some other Sinicized ethnic groups, such as the Manchu or the Zhuang, there are large numbers whose first and only language is Chinese, but there is historical evidence of a non-Chinese language in wider currency several generations ago. Linguistic unity is not a criterion for identifying the minorities: some groups include speakers of two or more different languages, and almost all contain speakers of mutually unintelligible dialects, as our entries indicate.

There have been similar problems in drawing boundaries in terms of common territory, economy, sentiment, and psychology (i.e., culture). The Han areas of inner China are relatively homogeneous if we also leave aside regional economic and cultural variations that stem from ecology and history. But areas with sizable concentrations of the national minorities today are ethnically mixed. In many of these areas it is only at the village level that we can talk about shared territory, economy, and culture. The villages of two or more different ethnic groups (including Han) are interspersed and are linked locally through economic exchanges within the marketing area and by a variety of social and political contacts. Festivals particular to one local ethnic group may be attended by others in the area. Over time, there has been borrowing of language, dress, foods, technology, songs and stories, and even customs. Moreover, geographically separated segments of a given minority group sometimes show marked differences in economic activities and in cultural practices, as well as language. Some intermarriages occur. Under current policy, children of such marriages declare their ethnic preference when they reach the age of 18. China's ethnologists recognize that language, territory, economy, and culture are not always clear criteria for distinguishing one group from another or identifying a particular individual.

To some extent, the current classification of nationalities follows categories and terms in use in the literature during the Republican period or earlier. In some cases, the written form of the name has been changed to a neutral one; formerly, the names of many groups were written with a "dog" radical or a character that carried a derogatory meaning while representing the pronunciation of the name. In other instances, the group's own choice of ethnonym has been substituted for the former Chinese term of reference. By the early 1980s, the National Minorities Commission had revised and

standardized the names. They were assisted in this by local cadres and by ethnologists from the minority institutes, universities, and academies of social science. This volume attempts to stay within those guidelines. However, we recognize that the number of ethnic groups may be higher, that the boundary lines may be drawn differently in the future, and that the names are still subject to change.

Unity and Diversity in China Today

One could argue that since 1949 some of the earlier differences between local cultures or nationalities have weakened or disappeared. This occurrence is a result of a number of factors: the spread of Mandarin as the language of the schools and media; the uniform political and social ideology promoted via the Communist party, the Youth League, the Women's Federation, the Peasants Association, and the Peoples Liberation Army; nationwide participation in a series of political campaigns; state control of the news and entertainment media; and the uniformity of socioeconomic organization between 1950 and the early 1980s. Furthermore, the suppression of some local religious practices and the development of secularized, state-revised festivals and state guidelines for betrothals, weddings, and funerals have all contributed to the blurring of the differences between regional Han cultures, and they have also had their effect on the practices of the minorities.

Over recent decades, population movements have also played a part. Han families from diverse regions have been resettled in large numbers in newly developing areas such as the northeastern provinces, Xinjiang, and Inner Mongolia, whereas some minority communities have been relocated closer to Han areas of settlement. During the Cultural Revolution years this process was accelerated by the transfer of at least 12 million young Han urbanites to rural villages and state farms, some of these in areas primarily inhabited by the ethnic minorities. Many of these transfers have become permanent. Since the 1980s there has been population movement from the countryside into established urban areas, both by assignment and voluntarily, heavy immigration into the new Special Economic Zones and Development Zones, and a flow into underpopulated areas that hold promise of economic opportunity.

Despite these unifying trends, there are also signs of intensification of ethnic awareness and sentiment among the minorities. Some of the official classifications have taken on new meaning. This development is clearly evident in the 1990 census, which reports a large jump in the number of individuals or communities claiming minority status. Some groups have had a dramatic rise in population since the 1982 census, most markedly the Manchu, Tujia, She, Gelao, Xibe, Hezhen, Mulam, and those claiming Russian nationality. There is increased demand for school texts and other publications in minority languages (including tongues formerly classed as "dialects"), with recognized standardized romanizations or reformed versions of earlier traditional writing systems. With these come demands for separate schools at the primary level, and the recognition of additional autonomous counties or townships in areas with large minority populations. Among many groups there is revival, elaboration, or even invention of local dress and other visible markers of ethnic difference. There is also increased production of local craft items (or items with a minority "feel" to them) for a wider market, as well as a revitalization of local festivals. Some of these changes relate to the growing international and internal tourist market, as at the Dai Water-Splashing Festival in Xishuangbanna, the Miao Dragon Boat Festival in eastern Guizhou, or the tourist souvenirs and entertainment provided by the Sani (Yi) at the Stone Forest near Kunming. Among the Hui and other Islamic groups, religion has been revitalized and is tolerated by the state because of its desire to maintain and increase good foreign relations with Islamic countries. Buddhism among the Dai and Christianity among the Miao, Yi, Lisu, Lahu—and, of course, the Han themselves—are tolerated for similar reasons.

The state allows and in some ways even encourages the upsurge of ethnic expression, as long as it does not move toward separatism. China takes pride in describing itself as a multinational country. Minority themes figure strongly in contemporary Chinese painting and graphics, and television frequently airs travelogues and commentaries about the minorities and performances by song-and-dance ensembles whose material is drawn in large part from the minority cultures. Books about the strange customs of the shaoshu minzu find a wide market; occasionally, they also spark protests by the minorities.

The attention to ethnic diversity works in part to strengthen the unity of the Han. Even if Cantonese differ in many ways from Shandong people and mutually joke about the other's strange language and life-style, they see themselves as far more similar to each other than to Tibetans, Mongols, Miao, or Dai. In the researches of the 1950s investigative teams, the one group that was not studied was the Han. Part of what defines the Han is the mirror of "otherness" provided by the shaoshu minzu. Minority life-styles, to Han eyes, are often exotic and sometimes appear backward and immoral. What also defines Han is the official interpretation of minority diversity as leftovers from earlier historical forms. State and scholars alike regard the minorities as representative of earlier stages of society as outlined by Lewis Henry Morgan and Engels: the primitive commune, slavery, feudalism, and early capitalism. In contrast, the Han represent the next stage of the progressive advance of history, having established the foundations of socialism. In addition, the Han see themselves as the carriers of science, rational thinking, and modern technology, standing in the position of teachers and protectors of the minorities.

Reference Resources

The Western-language literature on the society and culture of China is voluminous. Most of it deals with inner China and the Han Chinese. A few of China's minorities, such as Tibetans and Mongols, also have been intensively studied by Western scholars, but Western writings on most of the other minorities remain limited. We are therefore including some of the best of the Chinese sources. Below we list and discuss some basic references that will lead the reader to the larger body of literature.

China: General Works and Bibliographies

Three recent encyclopedic volumes provide an overview of Chinese history and culture: the *Cultural Atlas of China* (Blunden and Elvin 1983), which includes an annotated

starting bibliography as well as numerous maps and a series of comprehensive essays on social and cultural history; *The Cambridge Handbook of Contemporary China* (Mackerras and Yorke 1991), with an annotated bibliography and a range of current statistical tables; and *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of China* (Hook 1982), with essay contributions by many outstanding contemporary scholars covering history and various facets of social and cultural life.

Although now slightly outdated, the best bibliographic compilations are the series published by Stanford: *Modern Chinese Society: An Analytical Bibliography*, covering Western-language, Chinese, and Japanese sources (Skinner 1973, Skinner and Hsieh 1973, and Skinner and Shigeaki 1973). More recent citations can be found in the annual issues of the *Bibliography of Asian Studies* (Association for Asian Studies). Readers of Chinese who are interested in China's minorities should look at *Minzu Yanjiu* (Ethnology Research), a monthly journal from the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. In addition to the articles in each issue and statistical updates, the journal provides comprehensive topical bibliographies of recent publications several times each year.

For an overview of China's languages and peoples see *The Languages of China* (Ramsey 1987), which provides ethnographic information as well as examples and discussion of dialect and language differences and samples of the various writing systems.

Several journals in the China field carry articles of interest to anthropologists, particularly *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, *China Quarterly*, *Journal of Asian Studies*, and *Modern China*. *Social Sciences in China* is an English-language publication from the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in Beijing, offering translations of recent articles by leading Chinese scholars. See also *Chinese Sociology and Anthropology*, which carries translated articles from Chinese journals and publishes several times a year.

Numerous references deal with China's social history, ranging from general works to specialized monographs. Among the most useful for anthropologists are *Chinese Civilization and Society: A Sourcebook* (Ebrey 1981), which brings together a number of representative documents from pre-Han to modern times; *The Pattern of the Chinese Past* (Elvin 1973), an economic and social history covering imperial China; and *Family, Field, and Ancestors* (Eastman 1988), a social and economic history from 1550 to 1949 that includes a useful bibliography. For a general introduction to contemporary China see *China: People and Places in the Land of One Billion* (Smith 1991) and *The Chinese: Adapting the Past, Facing the Future* (Dernberger et al. 1991).

Studies of the Han Chinese

For political reasons, most of the Western-language research on Chinese ethnology from 1949 until 1979 was undertaken in Taiwan and Hong Kong and the New Territories or based on interviews with Chinese refugees to Hong Kong. *The Anthropology of Taiwanese Society* (Ahern and Gates 1981) is a collection of articles reevaluating and summing up the Taiwan studies done by scholars since the early 1950s: the lengthy bibliography incorporates the Hong Kong researches as well. A series of collections of conference papers published by Stanford will also lead the reader to the Taiwan, Hong Kong, and both pre-Revolution and post-Revolution Mainland China ethnographic sources. These include *Family and Kinship in Chinese Society* (Freedman 1970), *Economic Organization in Chinese Society* (Willmott 1972), *The Chinese City Between Two Worlds* (Elvin and Skinner 1974), *Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society* (Wolf 1974), *Women in Chinese Society* (Wolf and Witke 1975), and *The City in Late Imperial China* (Skinner 1977). See also *Women in China* (Young 1973) for references and annotated bibliography.

Minority Peoples of Mainland China

In addition to the references noted above, there are some specialized bibliographies or encyclopedic volumes on China's minority peoples, although the English language literature is limited. *Ethnic Groups of Mainland Southeast Asia* (LeBar et. al. 1964), notwithstanding its title, is a rich source of references on many of China's southerly ethnic groups. *Minorities of Southwest China* (Dessaint 1980) is a bibliography which focuses on the Yi and related southwestern minorities, and provides both Western-language and Chinese sources. Other useful general books with bibliographies include *China and Its National Minorities* (Heberer 1989), *China's Forty Millions* (Dreyer 1976), and *The Minorities of Northern China: A Survey* (Schwarz 1984). A collection of recent papers by Chinese and Western scholars provides material and references on some of the minority nationalities (Chiao and Tapp 1989). Two recent English-language publications from China also may be of use, though they contain no bibliographic references. These are *China's Minority Nationalities* (Ma 1989) and *Questions and Answers About China's Minority Nationalities* (National Minorities Questions Editorial Board 1985). Ma Yin's volume is a condensed and edited version of a larger encyclopedic volume in Chinese, *Zhongguo Shaoshu Minzu* (National Minorities Commission 1981).

Readers of Chinese are also referred to the journals issued by the Central Minorities Institute and provincial or regional minorities institutes, and provincial academies of social science, particularly the *Xinan Minzu Xueyuan Xuebao*, *Yunnan Minzu Xueyuan Xuebao*, *Zhongnan Minzu Xueyuan Xuebao*, *Zhongyang Minzu Xueyuan Xuebao*, *Guizhou Minzu Yanjiu*, *Guizhou Shehui Kexue*, and *Yunnan Shehui Kexue*. The China Ethnological Research Society periodically publishes a journal, *Minzuxue Yanjiu*. Articles collated from a wide range of scholarly and government publications are republished monthly and available under one cover in the minorities studies volumes, available through Peoples University in Beijing (Zhongguo Renmin Daxue Fuyin Baoli Ziliao series). All of these can be found in major Asian library collections in the United States.

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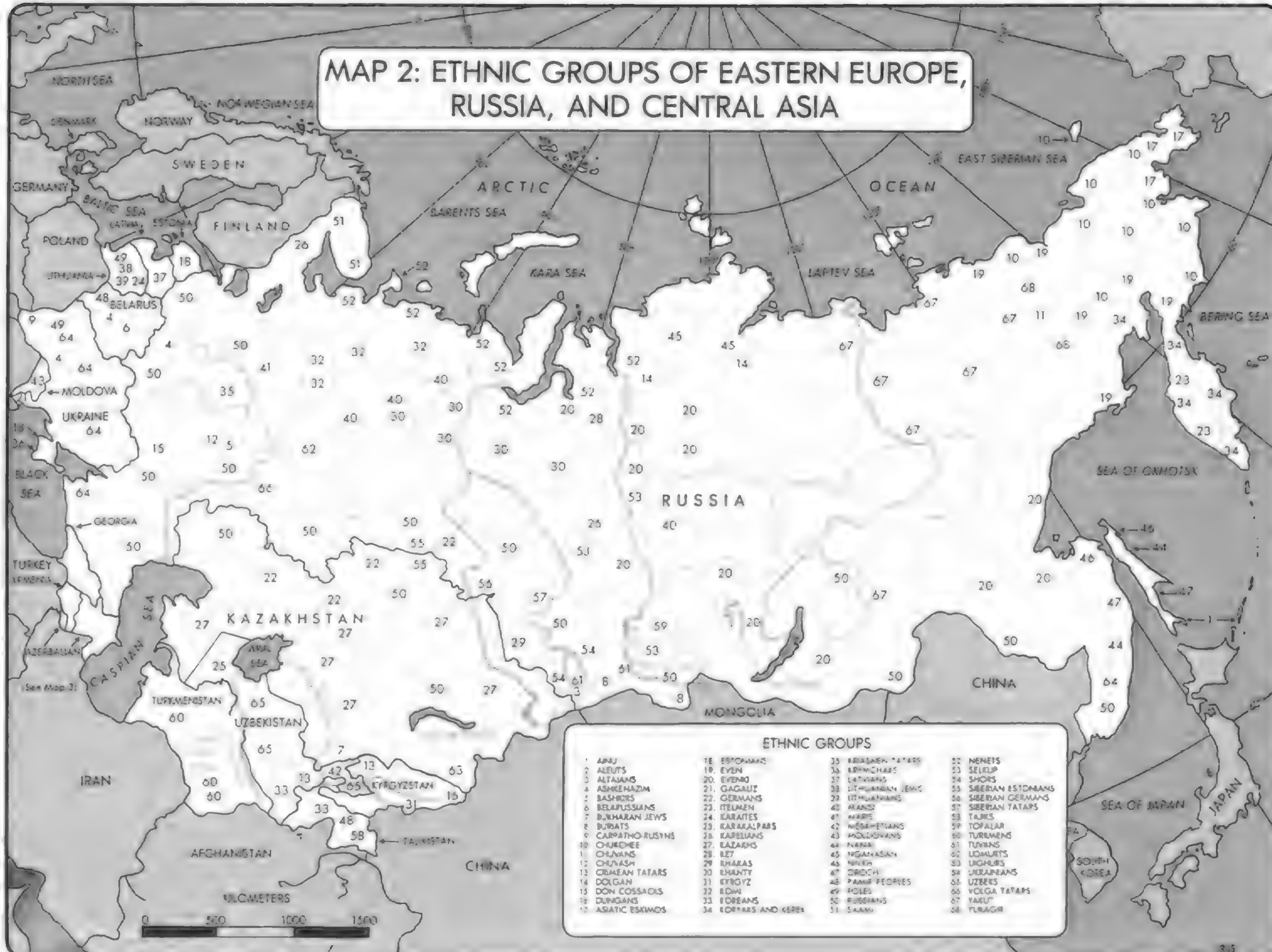
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NORMA DIAMOND


MAP 1: RUSSIA AND EURASIA
NORTH SEA
NORWEGIAN SEA
NORWAY
SWEDEN
GERMANY
BALTIC SEA
FINLAND
POLAND
BELARUS
MOLDOVA
UKRAINE
BLACK SEA
GEORGIA
TURKEY
ARCTIC
OCEAN
BARENTS SEA
KOLA PEN
KARA SEA
TAIMYR PEN
LAPTEV SEA
EAST SIBERIAN SEA
BERING SEA
KAMCHATKA PEN
SEA OF OKHOTSK
RUSSIA
KAZAKHSTAN
ARAL SEA
CASPIAN SEA
TURKMENISTAN
UZBEKISTAN
KYRGYZSTAN
TAJIKISTAN
IRAN
AFGHANISTAN
MONGOLIA
CHINA
SEA OF JAPAN
JAPAN
YELLOW SEA
SOUTH KOREA
KILOMETERS
0
500
1000
1500

MAP 2: ETHNIC GROUPS OF EASTERN EUROPE, RUSSIA, AND CENTRAL ASIA




MAP 3: ETHNIC GROUPS OF THE CAUCASUS
RUSSIA
GEORGIA
ARMENIA
AZERBAIJAN
AZERBAIJAN
TURKEY
IRAN
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
ETHNIC GROUPS
1. ABKHAZIANS
2. AJARIANS
3. ANDIS
4. ARMENIANS
5. AVARS
6. AZERBAIJANI TURKS
7. AGHULS
8. BALKARS
9. CHECHEN-INGUSH
10. CIRCASSIANS
11. DARGINS
12. GEORGIAN JEWS
13. GEORGIANS
14. GREEKS
15. INGILOS
16. KALMYKS
17. KARACHAYS
18. KHEVSUR
19. CHINALUGHS
20. KUBACHINS
21. KUMYKS
22. KURDS
23. LAKS
24. LAZ
25. LEZGINS
26. MINGRELIANS
27. MOUNTAIN JEWS
28. NOGAYS
29. OSSETES
30. RUSSIANS
31. RUTULS
32. SVANS
33. TABASARANS
34. TALYSH
35. TATS
36. TSAKHURS
37. UDIS
38. UKRAINIANS
39. YEZIDIS
KILOMETERS
0 100 200


MAP 4: PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA
RUSSIA
KAZAKHSTAN
LAKE BALKHASH
MONGOLIA
HEILONGJIANG
Harbin
JILIN
INNER MONGOLIA
Shenyang
LIAONING
NORTH KOREA
SOUTH KOREA
SEA OF JAPAN
XINJIANG
Urumqi
KIRGISTAN
TAJIKISTAN
PAKISTAN
Claimed by India
GANSU
QUINGHAI
NINGXIA
SHANXI
HEBEI
SHANDONG
YELLOW SEA
JIANGSU
SHAANXI
HENAN
ANHUI
HUBEI
ZHEJIANG
EAST CHINA SEA
INDIA
TIBET (XIZANG)
NEPAL
BHUTAN
SICHUAN
Chengdu
JIANGXI
HUNAN
GUIZHOU
FUJIAN
TAIWAN
YUNNAN
GUANGXI
GUANGDONG
SOUTH CHINA SEA
MYANMAR
VIETNAM
LAOS
THAILAND
HAINAN
BAY OF BENGAL
KILOMETERS



MAP 5: NATIONAL MINORITIES OF CHINA
RUSSIA
KAZAKHSTAN
LAKE BALKHASH
MONGOLIA
HEILONGJIANG
JILIN
LIAONING
INNER MONGOLIA
NORTH KOREA
SOUTH KOREA
SEA OF JAPAN
YELLOW SEA
EAST CHINA SEA
SOUTH CHINA SEA
XINJIANG
GANSU
QUINGHAI
TIBET (XIZANG)
SICHUAN
YUNNAN
GUIZHOU
GUANGXI
GUANGDONG
HUNAN
JIANGXI
FUJIAN
ZHEJIANG
ANHUI
JIANGSU
SHANDONG
HEBEI
SHANXI
SHAANXI
HENAN
HUBEI
NINGXIA
HAINAN
TAIWAN
JAPAN
KIRGISTAN
TAJIKISTAN
PAKISTAN
INDIA
NEPAL
BHUTAN
MYANMAR
VIETNAM
LAOS
THAILAND
BENGAL
Claimed by India
KILOMETERS
0
500
1000
NATIONAL MINORITIES
ACHANG
2 BAI
3 BLANG
4 BONAN
6 DAI
8 DE ANG
11 DRUNG
13 GELAO
15 HEZHEN
17 JING
JINGPO
KAZAK
KIRGIZ
LAHU
LHOBA
24 LI
25 LISU
MANCHU
MAONAN
MIAO
MOINBA
MONGOLS
21 MULAM
NAXI
NU
OROQEN
QIANG
SALAR
SHE
SHUI
TATARS
TIBETANS
TU
TUJIA
UZBEKS
WA
YI
YUGUR
ZHUANG

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Abkhazians

ETHNONYMS: Apswa (self-designation); Abkhazy and—for those north of the Caucasian ridge—Abazintsy (Russian)

Orientation

Location. Since February 1931, the Abkhazia region has had the status of an autonomous republic within the Republic of Georgia. It is bounded on the northwest by the Russian Federation (specifically the Krasnodar region), on the northeast by the Karachay-Cherkess region, on the east by Svanetia, and on the southeast by Mingrelia. The linguistically related Abazians live in fifteen villages in the Karachay-Cherkess region, north of the Caucasus Mountains at the sources of the Kuban and Zelenchuk rivers. There are also some Abkhazian settlements in the Ajarian Autonomous Republic in southwestern Georgia, and many live in Turkey and other parts of the Near East (the result of nineteenth-century migrations). Physically the Abkhazian region is bounded by the Black Sea along the southwest, the Psu River in the north, the Inguri River in the south, and, along the northeast, the main chain of the Caucasus Mountains. The capital, Sukhumi (in Abkhazian, Aqʷ'a), lies on the Black Sea, roughly in the center of the region. Of Abkhazia's 22,360 square kilometers, three-quarters consists of mountains and foothills. In a strip along the coast, the climate is humid and subtropical; moving inland, temperatures decrease as elevation increases (moderate cold at about 2,000 meters, cold at 3,300). The highest peaks are always covered with snow. The average temperature in Abkhazia is 14.5° C, but in the coastal resort of Gagra the average during the summer is 27.5° C. Average rainfall varies between 130 centimeters (e.g., in Sukhumi) and 240 centimeters.

Demography. The majority of Abkhazians live in their own republic, but within it they constitute a minority. According to the 1989 census, there are 102,938 Abkhazians. Besides Abkhazians, the 1979 census had counted 239,872 Kartvelians (mainly Mingrelians, with some Georgians and Svans); 76,541 Armenians; 74,913 Russians; about 14,000 Greeks; 11,000 Ukrainians; and about a thousand or so each Jews, Ossetes, and Tartars. Demographic changes in the area have been drastic: the population of Abkhazians fell from about 140,000 in the 1860s down to 58,000 in 1886, but then it gradually rose to the present number. In 1886 Russians and Kartvelians numbered only 972 and 4,000, respectively—less than 2 percent of the present population. By 1979 about a third of the Abkhazians were urban, constituting about 13 percent of the total urban population of the Abkhazian area. The most densely Abkhazian areas of Abkhazia today, however, remain rural, in upland regions away from the coast and north of the Kodor River. Most urban-dwelling Abkhazians maintain ties with relatives in villages, and people frequently go back and forth. (One typical pattern is to send children to spend summer vacations with their grandparents in the country. Another is for young Abkhazians to stay with their city relatives while they attend university or work for a while.) Abkhazians are famous for living to great ages: in 1970, 40 percent of those over 60 years of age were also over 90. Abkhazians today tend to marry late and, at the present time, to have only one or two children.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Abkhaz language, consisting of Abkhaz proper and Abaza, belongs to the Northwest Caucasian Family, whose other members are Circassian (e.g., Kabardian) and Ubykh (spoken only in Turkey since 1864, and now virtually extinct). There is probably a remote genetic relation between the Northwest Caucasian Family, the North-Central Caucasian (Nakh) languages (Chechen-Ingush and Bats), and the Northeast Caucasian languages of Daghestan, but any connection with South Caucasian, also called Kartvelian, is unlikely. There are two main Abkhaz dialects: northern (Bzəp) and southern (Abzhəwa), the latter being the basis of a literary language. The more northern, Abaza group has three dialects: Ashkharəwa, Samurzaq'an and T'ap'anta (the latter being the basis of a second literary language). Abkhaz, like the Northwest Caucasian languages in general, is characterized by a huge inventory of consonants and a correspondingly minimal vowel system. There are many categories of person in the verbal system. There are many relatively assimilated items from Arabic and Turkish, whereas the Russian borrowings, pertaining mainly to technology and government, are relatively unassimilated. The first attempt to provide an alphabet for the Abkhaz language was made by the Russian soldier-linguist Peter von Uslar in 1862–1863. After a number of refinements, another alphabet of fifty-five letters, devised by A. Ch'och'ua, was used from 1909 to 1926, when N. Marr's "analytical alphabet" of seventy-five letters replaced it. This script gave way in turn to the unified Abkhaz alphabet of 1928 (as part of the USSR's Latinization drive). In 1938, at a time when the USSR was changing its so-called Young Written Languages to Cyrillic-based scripts, linguists created a Georgian-based script for

Abkhaz, and between 1944 and 1954 the Georgian language replaced Abkhaz entirely for use in the public domain, as part of a general attempt to Georgianize the Abkhazians. The Georgian-based script, in turn, was replaced in 1954 by the present Cyrillic-based alphabet. As of 1989, 97 percent of Abkhazians claimed Abkhaz as their native tongue and 78.2 percent claimed fluency in Russian; many southern Abkhazians also speak some variant of Kartvelian (Mingrelian or, less commonly, Georgian), whereas many speakers of the northern Abaza also speak Kabardian. In Abkhaz-language schools, Abkhaz is the language of tuition through the fifth grade, after which Russian is used. Finally, there is some talk now of a return to a Latin-based alphabet.

History and Cultural Relations

Abkhazians are probably aboriginal to the area. The landscape is rich in archaeological sites dating back to the Paleolithic period, notably the thousands of dolmens (burial structures built of stone slabs, often weighing many tons) dating from the end of the third millennium B.C. Abkhazia later formed part of the Colchis Kingdom, famous in ancient Greek literature as "the Land of the Golden Fleece." This kingdom, which reached its peak between about 900 and 800 B.C., was apparently a leader in developing bronze- and ironworking technology. The Greeks colonized Abkhazia in the 6th and 5th centuries B.C., founding Sukhum (now Sukhumi) and establishing themselves as traders. (Using Greek and Near Eastern sources, historians have traced Abkhazian political and social history back to this time; later—in the first and second centuries A.D.—they are referred to in the works of Pliny the Elder and Arrian, respectively.) The country was subordinate first to the Roman and then to the Byzantine empires and converted to Christianity about 543–546 (in the reign of Justinian I); however, neither empire exercised consistent, strong control in Abkhazia, and there were several uprisings (e.g., in the 550s). Between the third and sixth centuries, Abkhazia developed a feudal system similar to that of Europe, although all free men and women bore arms and the gap between princes and commoners was modest. Abkhazians escaped the worst of the Arab invasions (seventh–eighth centuries), and with the waning of Byzantine influence in the Caucasus in the late eighth century, they emerged as a regional military power, notably from the eighth to the tenth centuries in the so-called Abkhazian Kingdom. In 1008, the Armenian-connected line of the House of Bagration united the Abkhazian and Georgian thrones, although war and intrigue continued among the region's princely families. The two kingdoms were legally coordinate, but the Georgian language came to replace Greek in the liturgy. In general, Abkhazia as a separate political and cultural entity was eclipsed during the following several hundred years by an ascendant Georgian Empire. With the Ottoman invasion in the fifteenth century (about 1451), this empire again splintered into small kingdoms and principalities in shifting alliances. Islam was now gradually adopted by some Abkhazians, who first formed part of an unstable West Georgian state (sixteenth century) and then became basically independent (seventeenth century). Many times during the eighteenth century the Abkhazians assisted the Georgian efforts to throw out the Turks even while the Russian presence was growing. The competing influence of Russians and Turks ended in 1810, when the dukes of Abkhazia yielded Sukhum, and Abkhazia itself became a Russian protectorate; in 1864 it became directly subject to Russian rule. By 1870 the Russian government had emancipated Abkhazian serfs and slaves; however, most of these peasants already believed they owned their land, and they resented having to pay indemnities. This resentment led to several rebellions and continuing social and economic instability until 1912, when all such debts were canceled. In the meantime, though, the majority of Abkhazians (like many other northwestern Caucasians) had accepted Turkey's offer of sanctuary in a fellow Islamic country and had emigrated, despite the fact that most of them were only nominally Muslim. In Turkey they were given poor land or none at all, they felt homesick and deceived, and they died in large numbers. During and after the Russian Revolution there was fierce fighting in Abkhazia, often involving close Abkhazian cooperation with Georgian Communists and class conflict within Abkhazia itself. Georgian Mensheviks destroyed a short-lived commune in 1918. Nevertheless, Bolsheviks reestablished their power and the Abkhazian SSR became allied with the Georgian SSR. Both entered the Transcaucasian Federation in 1922; by 1931, however, Abkhazia had become an autonomous republic within the larger Georgian entity. A policy of Georgianization, initiated under the Mensheviks, was later pursued by Joseph Stalin and the Bolshevik leaders in Georgia: L. Beria (1931–1938), Chark'viani (1938–1952), and A. Mgeladze (1952–1953). The government never carried out its plans to transport the Abkhazians to Central Asia in the late 1940s, despite pseudoscholarly articles that claimed that the Abkhazians had only resided in their homeland since the seventeenth century. Large-scale, sometimes forced migrations of other groups into Abkhazia reduced the native percentage of the population, and the closure of Abkhaz-language schools and a prohibition against publishing in Abkhaz temporarily weakened the status of the language.

Settlements

Traditionally, upland homesteads tended to be isolated and hidden in wooded gorges, with gardens and fruit trees adjacent. Villages developed as sons married and established houses near their fathers; thus villages, or groupings within villages, would consist of a cluster of houses around a common lawn with the inhabitants all sharing a single surname. Individual houses might contain nuclear or extended families, however, depending on space and personal inclinations. Such houses were traditionally one-story wattle-and-daub structures, but today brick and concrete blocks are popular and many houses have two stories. Houses usually have verandas and balconies with curved wooden railings, where people spend a lot of time in good weather. The kitchen on the ground floor traditionally was dominated by a large pot, hung by a chain over the hearth, in which the family cooked the staple food, millet porridge. Also, there would be a long wooden table, on which slices of porridge were laid directly. Abkhazians considered it rude to close the kitchen door because that implied that

the family was not willing to offer hospitality to any passing guests. Today the kitchen is still the main locus of family life, along with a downstairs parlor (now equipped with a television set). At least one upstairs room is usually set aside for entertaining and for displaying gifts. Instead of replacing an older house with a newer one, a family may choose to keep houses of different sizes and eras side by side; the newest is reserved for guests, whereas the oldest—the grandparents' house—is still called "the big house." Even in large villages today, patrilineally related people live in neighboring houses, cooperate economically, and recognize family shrines (often trees or mountains). They have their own holy days, on which they are forbidden to do certain kinds of work, and their own burial grounds. In the past these lineages and their councils of elders formed the main political entities of Abkhazia, and they continue to meet regularly, make communal plans, and settle disputes. With the exception of Gudauta and the mining town of T'q'varchal, all larger towns are on the coast and are inhabited by people of many ethnic groups, with the Abkhazians in the minority. In 1980 Sukhumi, the capital, had a population of 117,000.

Economy

Classical authors describe an economy divided between animal husbandry and household craftwork. Maize, millet, and tobacco were the important crops until the Revolution, after which tea and citrus plantations were greatly expanded; today tobacco is the leading crop, but fowl breeding, fish farming, beekeeping, and viticulture and wine making are also all significant. Only about 6 percent of the land is available for agriculture—60 percent of the country is wooded and about 13 percent is used for pasture. Cattle breeding is important, but animal husbandry does not suffice to supply local demands. (Meat is not an essential part of the daily diet in any case.) The staple foods are bread and maize meal or millet mush, often with cheese cooked into them; these foods are accompanied by yogurt, more cheese, and special spice blends, especially a very hot blend called ajək'a. Fruits and vegetables (but not potatoes) are cultivated locally and consumed in considerable quantities, as are nuts and honey.

Collectivization of the land in the 1920s proceeded relatively smoothly in Abkhazia, in part because existing family-based organizations of labor resembled it. By 1980 there were eighty-nine collective farms and fifty-four state farms. The law allows each household the use of 0.5 hectare, although in practice this allotment is often exceeded. Rural Abkhazians still raise many of their own fruits, vegetables, and chickens on these plots and make their own jams, pickles, condiments, and wine—the last with particular pride. Pre-Revolution hunters' and herders' guilds survive within collectives as professional unions, traditionally excluding women. Women, however, are the main tobacco pickers and processors, though this work has become more mechanized. (The home was the traditional locus of women's activities, but today many work outside it in the general economy.) Major changes since the Revolution include the improvement of roads and railways and an increase in the mining of coal and barite in T'q'varchal. Other important industries are canning and lumber processing; the mighty Inguri hydroelectric power plant is on Abkhazia's southern border. Local crafts still practiced today include ceramics, leatherwork, wood carving, and repoussé metalwork, especially on daggers and drinking horns. Tourism is crucial economically, especially in the famous resort towns of Gagra, Pitsunda, and Sukhumi, where many sanatoriums are located. Local crafts, a good selection of agricultural products, and many other kinds of goods are traded in open-air peasant bazaars; uninspired state shops stock staples, with some items in erratic or short supply. Much trade is still in the hands of Greeks and Armenians, or now Russians and other non-Abkhazian residents.

Kinship

Abkhazian culture, as is typical of the Caucasus, is centered on the family and family relations. Specifically, there is a pattern of patrilocal residence, patrilineal descent (and descent groups), and a strong patriarchal authority, particularly public male dominance. Within the home, older women also command respect from their daughters and daughters-in-law, and mothers may be the family anchor, depending on personality. All carriers of the same patrilineally inherited name are regarded automatically as relatives and may be loosely styled "brother" and "sister." These people together are an *azhavala*, a group which is then divided into *abipara* ("descendants of one father") who usually all know each other, though they may be scattered over the country. Abkhazians consider all the people who eat from the same pot to be an extended family, though they may live in separate structures. It is considered unfortunate when such extended families have to break up, but this practice is becoming increasingly common.

A bride, on marriage, moves into her husband's father's home, or into a new house nearby. She becomes part of that network of relatives, but she also maintains strong ties to her own parents' siblings and relatives by descent, ties that her children later maintain. She is still part of her descent group of birth and remains under the protection of its members. These extended, nonlocalized ties have become, if anything, stronger today in light of the characteristically small size of the nuclear family (two children). A man is particularly close to older men in his mother's patrilineal groups, that is, to men who are classified as his "mother's brothers." (The kinship term that literally means "mother blood" may be applied to any man descended from the mother's brother.)

Apart from adoption, which is still widespread today, two forms of ritual kinship also existed prior to the Revolution and the abolishment of blood feuds in the area. First, a child often was brought up by another family—typically a noble child by a nonaristocratic family—with the aim of establishing kin ties between the two. Second, the ritual tie of milk brotherhood would be established between adults to cement a friendship: the mother of one would make a symbolic offer of her nipple and the man being inducted into the family would make a corresponding gesture of sucking it. Such kinship was felt to be even stronger or more inviolable than natural kinship. Ties of blood and marriage are labeled with terms that have clearly recognizable constituents: a "granddaughter," for example,

is called "the-son-his-daughter" (*a-pa-y-pha*) or "the-daughter-her-daughter" (*a-pha-l-pha*), even primary terms such as the one for "sons" may be broken down into such constituents. An element indicating reciprocal status (*ay-*) is obligatory for some kinship terms unless a definite possessor is indicated; thus *ay-asha*, "brother" (with the reciprocal marker), contrasts with *s-asha*, "my brother." The interconnectedness between terms—achieved through the workings of reciprocity and through deriving one term from others—creates a special lexical web of kinship among the Abkhazians.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Women usually get married in their early twenties, but men may wait until their thirties or even forties. Marriage is forbidden with all possible relatives; people do not marry those with the same surname as any of their grandparents, ritual kin, close affines, or, usually, co-villagers. In the past, marriages were arranged, but now the bride and groom choose each other. A young man and his friends may occasionally still steal a bride when she has agreed and her parents have not. In any case, the groom brings his bride to his house, where his whole family mounts a large feast. The bride's family, however, does not attend, and the bride herself must stand secluded throughout the feast, not smiling or speaking. The feast itself is the wedding ceremony. Afterward, the bride and groom traditionally spent a few nights in a special hut. The husband would remove his wife's leather corset, but his friends would try to prevent the couple from consummating the marriage on the first night. Mixed marriages, particularly with Mingrelians in those areas where the two peoples live in a single community (that is, in southern Abkhazia) are quite usual; the common language in such cases tends to be Mingrelian or Russian. Divorce is rare. Widows and widowers may remarry.

Domestic Unit. Women and younger people occupy clearly subordinate positions within the household: they serve food while others eat first, keep quiet, and do as they are told. More generally, people like to spend time with others of the same gender and generation, and there is a strong, assumed distance between such groups, which is often simply respectful. Guests, regardless of age and gender, are treated with the sacred deference shown to older men and are seated with them at table. As across the Caucasus, the coming of guests—and in fact any holiday, special occasion, or even ordinary get-together—is celebrated with a ritualistic supper party. Over wine, hosts and guests go through rounds of toasts, honoring each other and getting better acquainted. Providing hospitality in this way—the food, the wine, and the words—is a matter of family pride, pleasure, and solidarity.

On first entering the family by marriage, brides are relative strangers and are treated with a different, but related, kind of formality—sometimes even hostility. A bride may not speak to her father-in-law until he decides that sufficient time has elapsed; a shorter period of silence is enjoined with the mother-in-law. A bride also avoids using the first names of her husband's siblings (especially older ones); she gives them nicknames, which then tend to persist for that bride. Husband and wife are also restrained in showing their affection for each other in public. A year is supposed to elapse before any children are born to a couple.

From all people a certain stoicism and self-reliance is sometimes demanded. Wounded people try not to cry; women hide that they are pregnant and, formerly, gave birth on their own; children obey their elders even when what is asked of them is difficult. Children are swaddled, and expected behavior is instilled by censure and praise (though corporal punishment is not excluded). Parents (especially fathers) are not supposed to show much concern or affection for their own children in public. Instead, the members of the extended family care for each other's children, building a wide, thick network of relations. The extended family, particularly the joint fraternal one, retains its conceptual and organizational importance even if in the towns brothers can no longer build their homes around a family plot. Because of the clustering of brothers' families, division of land was traditionally not a problem; even today the parents' house passes to the youngest son.

Sociopolitical Organization

Until the Revolution, Abkhazia had a strongly developed class system dominated by a hereditary nobility; the people still remember formerly aristocratic surnames and afford their bearers special esteem. Yet the aristocrats were closely linked to the peasants in many ways (such as child adoption) and in spirit the society had and still has an orientation that is decidedly egalitarian. Kinship or ritual kinship was the basis of most political relations, and village or regional allegiances were often more strongly felt than larger ones; this pattern retains some strength. Abkhazians function today at all levels of society, although their political empowerment is limited in specific ways; for one thing, they tend to be farmers rather than merchants; for another thing, the preservation of a certain number of administrative posts for Abkhazians (more than would be expected for 17 percent of the population) loses much of its significance when one recalls that most important decisions are made at higher levels anyway. Formally, there are five administrative districts plus the area controlled by the Gagra city council; these regions exercise their control through the village councils and the collectives. Informally, however, these typical Soviet organs are significantly influenced by the local groups of elders and by the unofficial Abkhazian Council of Elders. Up until the last century, however, these leaders had little interest in influencing local affairs. On a more local level, Abkhazians, like other Caucasians, used to engage in constant small-scale feuding and raiding, among themselves and with other ethnic groups. Boys were trained in the arts of fighting. Many young men were killed. This kind of conflict is both glorified and lamented in Abkhazian folklore and poetry. Partly because of their strategic position between east and west, north and south, the Abkhazians have been repeatedly conquered or at least invaded (e.g., by Byzantium, Turkey, Georgia, Russia) and have almost as repeatedly fought back or rebelled.

Conflict. A dispute with Georgia that has been festering certainly since Beria and possibly since the Mensheviks exploded in violence on 15–16 July 1989. In 1978 leading Abkhazians had requested the right to secede from Geor-

gia and join the Russian Federation. Then, taking advantage of *glasnost*, Abkhazians made requests (1988, 1989) for a return to the status enjoyed by Abkhazia from 1921 to 1931. A series of provocations followed, instigated by informal leaders in connection with the opening of a branch of Tbilisi State University in Sukhumi. Few Mingrelian residents in Abkhazia supported their fellow Kartvelians in the actual 1989 fighting. Many Georgians seek the abolition of Abkhaz autonomy and inclusion of this ethnic group within an independent Georgia, whereas now (1991) the Abkhazians are demanding restoration of their republican status of 1921–1931 or an association with other northern Caucasian peoples within a revamped USSR. Their position is understandable because, despite its status as an Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (ASSR), Abkhazia was allowed no real autonomy after the deaths of Stalin and Beria. The declaration of 23 July 1992 that reinstated Abkhazia's 1925 constitution, which granted the area republican status (albeit with special treaty ties to Georgia), led to the Georgian invasion of 14 August. Fighting continues, with no secure resolution in prospect, as of 1 October 1992.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. The Abkhazians subscribe to one of two world religions: about half are Orthodox Christians and about half are Sunni Muslims of the Hanafi rite. Muslims are mostly distinguished by not eating pork. In fact, these religions are a surface layer for the old paganisms, which vary between regions and families. In the Abkhazian conception, God is one, but he is of infinitely numerous parts. Each manifestation of nature and each clan, family, or individual has its own part of God. The word for "God" in Abkhazian is Ants^{w}a, which has been etymologized as the plural of "mother." The main local spirits who receive respect from adherents of all religions are Afə, who rules the thunder and other aspects of the weather; Shasta, protector of blacksmiths and all artisans; Azhveipshaa, the spirit of the forest, wild animals, and hunting; and Aitar, the protector of domestic animals.

Certain trees, groves, and mountains are sacred to clans and villages and are centers of religious gatherings. They embody the strength of a patrilineal line, its connection to a certain place and to God above. Other observances center more on the home and the role of the mother; many holidays feature special loaves of bread or cheeses, which are cut and distributed. Folk medicine is widely practiced, most often by older women, given the inadequacies of Soviet health care. Traditionally Abkhazians believed that the rainbow god was responsible for illnesses. Cures typically involved taking the patient to the riverside and offering prayers and food. Animal sacrifices may be performed to ensure the recovery of a family member who is ill or as part of rain-making ceremonies. Stones with naturally worn holes are suspended outside the home to ward off the evil eye. In general, certain days of the week are regarded as propitious or ill-omened for certain activities. Irrespective of orthodox adherence, the most important holiday is the New Year. Many Abkhazians, especially the younger ones, are essentially atheistic.

Arts. Abkhazians share with other northern Caucasian peoples the cycle of epic-sagas about the legendary figures known as the Narts. The Narts were giants, ninety-nine brothers (in one version) who lived together with their revered mother, decrepit father, and beloved sister. The poems tell of their military exploits, of their conflicts with their mother's illegitimate son, Sasrəq^{w}'a, and of the wonderful arms made for them by Ainar, the blacksmith. Abkhazians also have a body of tales about Abrsk''il, a Prometheus-like figure with analogues across the Caucasus. Unlike the case in Circassia, in Abkhazia Abrsk''il is the people's special benefactor and protector, but he refuses to bow his head before God, and God finally has him imprisoned. In various stories, Abkhazians meet him in the mountains and he asks them how the country has been since his captivity; the answer is always a sad one. In general, Abkhazians have a rich tradition of folklore, kept alive by groups who sing, dance, and play traditional instruments, such as the two-stringed, bowed *apkh'artsa*. There is a tradition of using music for comfort and healing and to pacify spirits of the dead. The writings of Fazil Iskander, who is considered one of the leading modern-day writers in Russian, are replete with Abkhazian life and culture.

Death and Afterlife. Many elaborate rites are associated with the cult of the dead. The corpse lies in state for at least a week at home, constantly attended by a group of wailing females dressed in black. A line of male relatives waits to receive all who come to pay condolences, and neighbors help to sit with the corpse and to prepare food for the visitors. Further respects have to be paid on the day of the funeral, when guests gather throughout the day for the funeral in late afternoon. After this a feast is held. Further ceremonies at the grave and feasts are held at forty days and at twelve months after death. Depending on their closeness to the deceased relative, mourners (especially females) will wear black until the fortieth day, the first anniversary, or even longer; men will perhaps not shave for forty days. A set of the deceased's clothing is laid at home for a year, and graves are becoming even more ornate. It is very important that a person be buried in his or her family graveyard and that the relatives care for the grave. The soul is believed to remain with the body at death. In northern Abkhazia corpses are buried within two or three days of death and with less ceremony that in the south, where there has been much Mingrelian influence; a child under one year of age will be buried on the day of its death. There is classical evidence for the suspension of male corpses in trees, and this custom was noted among the Abkhazians as late as the seventeenth century.

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B. GEORGE HEWITT AND ELISA WATSON

Aghuls

ETHNONYMS: none

Orientation

The Aghuls are one of the indigenous peoples of Daghestan, culturally and linguistically akin to the Lezgins and Tabasarans. Traditionally the Aghuls identified themselves only by their village name (Khutkhul, Khorej, etc.).

The Aghuls inhabit twenty-one settlements in four valleys in the southern highlands of Daghestan. Sixteen of the settlements—including Tpig, the largest—are situated in Aghuldere ("the valley of the Aghuls"), which is believed to be the original homeland of this ethnic group. Until recently the Aghul villages were reachable only by narrow mountain pathways, frequently rendered impassable by landslides and snowfall. (The situation improved in the 1930s with the opening of an automobile road between Tpig and the Lezgin village of Kasumkent). The immediate neighbors of the Aghuls are the Lezgins to the south, the Rutuls to the west, the Dargins and Kaitaks to the north, and the Tabasarans to the east. After the annexation of Daghestan by the Soviet Union, the Aghul territories, along with those of the Lezgins, were incorporated in the Kurakh Raion (district) of the Daghestan Autonomous Republic within the Russian Federated Republic.

The earliest enumeration of the Aghuls, in 1886, gave their population as 6,522. The 1979 census counted 12,078 Aghuls, a sharp rise from the 1970 figure of 8,831. About 95 percent of the Aghuls live in the Daghestan Republic, and over 99 percent claim Aghul as their native language.

The Aghul language belongs to the Lezghians (Samurian) Subgroup of the Daghestanian Group of the Northeast Caucasian Family. It is most closely related to Tabasaran. Aghul has never been used as a written language; writing is done in Russian or, for local purposes, Lezgin. Knowledge of Lezgin, Russian, and sometimes other local languages (Lak, Dargin, Tabasaran) is widespread among the men. In earlier times Aghul women were largely monolingual, a situation that has changed with the introduction of universal education.

In the eighteenth century the Aghuls of the Aghuldere were under the hegemony of the Kazikumukh khans. The other Aghul valleys were under the control of other feudal rulers—for example, the *qadis* (Islamic judges) of Tabasaran. With the conquest of Daghestan by the Russian Empire in the early nineteenth century the Aghul valleys, along with part of the Lezgin territory, became part of the Kyurin Okrug (region).

Settlements

The typical Aghul mountain village was set along the mountain slope at the head of a river valley, with the buildings ranged more or less in rows going up the slope, giving the impression of a large amphitheater. The individual houses often shared walls and roofs with their neighbors. This sort of village was the easiest to defend from enemies; under the relatively more peaceful conditions of the past century the Aghuls have established settlements in the more accessible downriver regions of their valleys.

Each village had a central square, with a mosque and a place for village council meetings, community festivals, and the like. The villages were divided into three or four quarters, corresponding to clan (*tukhum*) groupings. Each Aghul village also had one or more defense towers.

The traditional Aghul dwelling was of the typical Daghestanian type. The hearth was placed at the center of the main room, and external light was admitted through small rectangular openings that could be boarded up from within if necessary for defense. One noteworthy feature of Aghul domestic layout is the division of the interior space into two halves, not for the two sexes (as is the case elsewhere in the Caucasus) but for family and guests. Upon arrival visitors traditionally went directly to their quarters, removed their traveling clothes and weapons, relaxed for a while, and only then came out to be greeted by their hosts. The Aghuls do not pronounce toasts at table, an omission almost unheard of in other Caucasian communities.

Economy

Because the harshness of the mountain winters, stock breeding (primarily sheep and cattle) was of greater importance than agriculture in the traditional Aghul economy. As was the case with other Daghestanian mountaineers, the Aghuls grazed their sheep in high mountain pastures during the summer and, if possible, drove them to lowland pastures for the winter. Unfortunately for poorer Aghuls, these winter pastures were outside of Aghul territory and had to be rented from Lezgins, Tabasarans, or Azeris. Those peasants who could not afford to rent pastures had to stable their animals in the village, where the risk of running out of winter food stocks was always present. Agriculture, to the extent the Aghuls practiced it, was extremely labor-intensive, limited to the hardiest of grains (rye, barley, wheat), and imperiled by frequent hailstorms and frost. The yield was seldom sufficient for the needs of the Aghul communities, and they had to obtain additional grain through trade. The introduction of contemporary farming methods during the Soviet period has increased the yields and the variety of crops grown in Aghul territory.

In the past many Aghul men left their villages during the winter to seek work in the lowlands, principally in the urban centers of the region (Derbent, Baku, Kuba). In many Aghul villages only women, children, and the elderly remained throughout the year.

Because of the rugged topography of the Aghul territory, contact with neighboring ethnic groups was more restricted than would have been the case at lower elevations. The Aghuls were most frequently in contact with the Lezgins, apparently a long-standing relationship. In particular, the Aghuls made use of the bazaars in the large Lezgin village of Kasumkent. The Aghuls brought cheese, butter, wool, and woolen products, which they exchanged for grain and manufactured goods.

The apportioning of tasks according to gender is roughly the same as in other Daghestanian mountain communities. One distinctive feature is that men perform all tasks associated with sheepherding, not only pasturing and shearing but also milking and the preparation of dairy products from sheep's milk. Women are responsible for the care of the cattle, which remain in the vicinity of the village throughout the year.

Kinship, Marriage, and Family

As elsewhere in Daghestan, the Aghuls were divided into tukhums (clans), comprising twenty to forty households. Each tukhum had its own cemetery, pastures, and hay fields, and the members were bound by obligations of mutual support and defense. The Aghuls tended to practice endogamy within the tukhum—marriages with outsiders were very rare. In the past the Aghuls lived in extended family households, though not especially large ones (fifteen to twenty members, on the average). A senior male, father or eldest brother, functioned as chief, with fairly broad authority over the affairs of the household and its members. Should the extended family split up, sisters—even those who had already married and left the household—received a portion of the land as well as the movable property. They were each apportioned one-half of the land share given to each of their brothers, a practice that was unusually generous by Daghestanian standards.

Sociopolitical Organization

Each Aghul village had a village council, on which each of the three or four tukhums were represented. The council was headed by an elder. The village mullah and qadi also played an important role in local affairs. In some cases the wealthier tukhums exerted a disproportionate strong influence on village government.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Like their neighbors the Kaitaks, the Aghuls were converted to Sunni Islam at a fairly early date, subsequent to the Arab conquest of the eighth century.

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KEVIN TUITE

Ainu

The Ainu are an indigenous people of northern Japan who also resided on the southern half of Sakhalin Island and the Kurile Islands in the former Soviet Union. Early in the twentieth century they numbered several thousand in the territories of the former Soviet Union. They were subsequently displaced and their culture was transformed by alternating periods of Russian and Japanese rule. In recent times, the Soviet government did not recognize the Ainu as a distinct ethnic group. There is therefore no reliable information about the number of Ainu still in the former Soviet Union nor about their culture.

See Ainu in Volume 5, East and Southeast Asia

Ajarians

ETHNONYMS: Ach'areli (self-designation)

Orientation

Identification. The Ajarians, a historical-ethnographic group within the Georgian nationality, are the major inhabitants of Ajaria (in Georgian, Ach'ara), one of the oldest provinces of Georgia. As is true of the other regions of Georgia—Kartli, K'akheti, Pshavi, Khevsureti, Rach'a, Imereti, Guria, Samtskhe, etc.—which throughout history have found themselves in a variety of socioeconomic and political conditions, Ajaria has managed to preserve the Georgian language and other characteristic elements of Georgian national culture.

Location. Ajaria (until recently the Ajarian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, or ASSR) is a province of 2,900 square kilometers, located along the Black Sea coast in the southwestern part of Georgia. To the north Ajaria borders the province of Guria (Ozurgeti and Chokhat'auri regions); to the east is Samtskhe (Adigeni region). Both of these areas are significant ethnographic regions of southwest Georgia. The southern border of Ajaria follows the international frontier between Turkey and Georgia. Within the borders of Turkey is a part of the historical territory of Georgia, which it lost at the time of the expansion of the Near Eastern powers. Until then the population inhabiting the basins of the Kïzïl-Irmak, Ch'orokh, Araxes, Kura (Mt'k'vari) and upper Euphrates rivers consisted primarily of ethnic groups of Georgian origin. Among them were the Laz, a West Georgian tribe that had split off from the Colchians and who preserved features in their material and social-domestic culture stemming from their deep internal relation with ancient Georgian civilization. The evidence for this includes the numerous architectural monuments found on Turkish territory, including pre-Christian and Christian shrines (sanctuaries, churches, monasteries); ruins of castles, fortresses, and bridges; and specimens of Georgian epigraphy. The topography of Ajaria is characterized by a predominantly mountainous terrain. In the lowland parts of Ajaria the climate is damp and subtropical, and in the higher elevations subalpine or alpine. A variety of soil types, fauna, and flora are found in Ajaria, generally varying according to elevation.

Demography. According to the most recent figures (1989), the population of Ajaria numbers 392,432 persons, out of a total of 5,484,000 for Georgia as a whole. Alongside 324,813 Georgians live representatives of at least eighteen nationalities: Russians (30,042); Armenians (15,849); Greeks (7,396); Ukrainians (5,943); Abkhazians (1,636); Azerbaijanis (1077); Jews (655); and others. Most of these minority groups live in the largest city, Batumi, but some—for example, Abkhazians and Greeks—engage in the cultivation of subtropical crops in the area surrounding Batumi (Khelvachaur and Kobuleti regions).

Linguistic Affiliation. The Ajarians speak a Georgian dialect of the Southwestern Group. It resembles the Gurian dialect of Georgian, but it also shares many features with the Zan language (Mingrelian and Laz).

History and Cultural Relations

By the late Neolithic period, the basins of the Ch'orokh, Q'orolis-ts'q'ali, and Cholok rivers, in what is now Ajaria, were already inhabited by humans. In Kobuleti region (at Ispaani), excavations in peat strata uncovered a settlement dating to the third millennium B.C. The basin of the Ch'orokh, which has played a significant role in the history of Georgian culture, politics, and socioeconomic life, was an ancient center of mining and metallurgy (copper, bronze, and iron). During the second millennium B.C. a metallurgical industry developed, exploiting local sources of ore, and in the first quarter of the first millennium B.C. the ancient Colchian iron industry (centered in the basins of the Ch'orokh and Cholok-Ochkhamur rivers) played a significant role in the development of the socioeconomic life of the region. At the time of the flourishing of Colchian civilization, this region became the primary Colchian center for the production of iron. The tradition of mining and metallurgy continued through succeeding periods in the history of the region and has been partially maintained up to the present.

The tribes inhabiting the territory of Ajaria during the seventh to fifth centuries B.C. achieved a high level of cultural development. Clear evidence is provided by the excavation of a Colchian grave at Pich'varni (Ch'orokhi Basin, near Kobuleti). The archaeological materials found at the Pich'varni site provide a valuable source for studying the trade, economic, and cultural relations between the Colchian civilization and the antique world during the classical period. West Georgian (Zan) tribes inhabiting the territory of Ajaria, Guria, and Samegrelo (Mingrelia), along with other ethnic groups that lived along the eastern coast of the Black Sea in ancient times, united to form the Colchian Empire. As Byzantine Greek and Georgian manuscripts attest, this empire long maintained close trade and economic relations with the peoples of Asia Minor and the Mediterranean. Old Georgian historical documents mention Ajaria only sporadically. The first written attestation is the *Ashkharatsuyts* (Geography), composed by an anonymous Armenian author of the seventh century, in which the historical-ethnographic regions of Georgia are enumerated: K'larjeti, Art'aani, Shavsheti, Javakheti, Samtskhe, and so on, including Ajaria. According to the eleventh-century Georgian chronicler Leonti Mroveli, during the fourth to third centuries B.C. Georgia was subdivided into military-administrative districts (in Georgian: *saeristaoni*, "duchies"), one of which was Ajaria. (Written tradition ascribes the division of the country into saeristaoni to King Parnavaz.)

In the year 65 B.C. the Roman Empire expanded its influence into the territory of the confederated West Georgian tribes but was rebuffed by Colchian and Iberian (East Georgian) tribes. In the fourth century A.D., because of the hegemony exercised by the Lazes (one of the Colchian tribes), the Laz Empire (also known as Egrisi) was established. Its southern part included the territory of Ajaria, with its major settlements—Kobuleti, Tsikhisdziri, Batumi, and Gonio. During this period Christians propagated their

faith in Ajaria. Georgian written sources attribute the initiative for this process to the apostle Andrew the First-Called. In the early feudal period Persia and Byzantium became rivals in the struggle for the possession of western Georgia. At about that same time the fortified city of Petra (Justinianopolis) was erected in Lazica by the order of Justinian. The city of Petra (contemporary Tsikhisdziri) had an advantageous strategic and geographical location on the Black Sea coast and played a crucial role in the political and cultural-economic life of western Georgia at that time. It was the seat of a bishopric of Byzantine orientation: in the tenth century the episcopal see located there formed part of the Laz eparchy, which was subordinate to the patriarchate of Constantinople.

In the seventh century the Arabs conquered eastern Georgia (Iberia). Many people, seeking to save themselves from the enemy, resettled in western Georgia, which had not fallen into the invaders' hands. The process of the Iberization of the Colchian tribes was already under way before the time of Christ, but in this region the formation of new ethnic groups (Ajarians, Gurians) was not completed until the early feudal period, during which the Arabic conquest served as a catalyst for the melding of western Colchian autochthons with immigrants from eastern Georgia. With the formation of the Ajarian and Gurian ethnographic groups, the Black Sea coastal lands belonging to the Colchians (Mingrelians and Lazes) were divided into four territories: Samegrelo, Guria, Ajaria, and Lazeti. The inhabitants of Samegrelo and Lazeti spoke, and still speak, a language related to Georgian called Zan, which has two dialects (Mingrelian and Laz), whereas the population of Guria and Ajaria spoke Georgian dialects.

Several feudal principalities gradually formed in southwestern Georgia: Guria, Ajaria, Sp'eri, Samtskhe, Javakheti, and others, which subsequently were integrated into a more powerful feudal domain called T'ao-K'larjeti. In the ninth to tenth centuries T'ao-K'larjeti became one of the major feudal centers of Georgia, and within T'ao-K'larjeti Ajaria played a not insignificant role, making a substantial contribution to the development of the centralized polity and culture of Georgia. In the tenth century Ajaria received the status of a saeristao and formed a part of united Georgia. In the Middle Ages power in Ajaria was in the hands of the Abuserisdze clan, who were *eristavebi* (equivalent to dukes) named by the king of united Georgia. A particularly noteworthy representative of this family was Tbel Abuserisdze, a well-known scholar and author of several original works on astronomy and philosophy.

After repulsing the invading Seljuk Turks in the twelfth to thirteenth centuries, Georgia became one of the major powers of the Near East. At this time in Ajaria a distinctive Christian culture came to fruition, and various secular and religious edifices—arched bridges, monasteries, and churches, mostly of the basilica type—were erected. The brief existence of the centralized Georgian state ended with the destructive Mongol invasions of the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries, followed by the division of the country into small feudal principalities. In 1453 Byzantium fell before the attacks of the Ottoman Empire, and thus Georgia was deprived of its primary Christian ally. In the sixteenth century the Ottomans began systematic raids upon the southern borders of Georgia, and step by step conquered T'ao-K'larjeti, Lazeti, etc. In the seventeenth century the Ottomans seized the territory of Samtskhe-Javakheti (Meskheti) and undertook a lengthy struggle for Ajaria, culminating in its total incorporation into the Ottoman Empire.

With Russia's breaking of the Georgyevsk Treaty, signed by Russia and Georgia—in 1783, Georgia—in the form of two provinces, Tbilisi and Kutaisi—was forcibly incorporated into the Russian Empire. Following the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878, on 25 August 1878, Russia returned the territory of Ajaria to Georgia. Under the system of czarist colonial administration, Ajaria was renamed the Batumi District (*okrug*). In 1918, after the Russian Revolution, Georgia proclaimed its independence and, as the Georgian Democratic Republic, was recognized by many foreign governments. The agreement concerning Georgian independence, signed by Soviet Russia and democratic Georgia in 1920, was violated shortly afterward: in 1921 Red Army divisions occupied Georgia and established the Georgian Socialist Republic. Following consultations with Kemalist Turkey, the Moscow government handed over a large part of the territory of southwestern Georgia to Turkey in 1921, and in Ajaria the government artificially created an autonomous republic (Ajarian ASSR) within the borders of the Georgian SSR. After the establishment of Soviet power, the historical territory of Georgia was significantly reduced as the Soviet government gave large parts of the republic's territory to Turkey and Russia. In all, Georgia lost about 20,000 square kilometers; the present-day Georgian Republic consists of 69,500 square kilometers, of which Ajaria occupies 2,900 square kilometers.

Settlements

Ajarian homes and agricultural buildings are notable for their original design. The oldest types of dwellings are the *patskha* (a type of wicker hut) and the *jargvali* (a wooden structure). The most developed and widespread forms of traditional homes in use today consist of two or three stories. This building style is dictated by the needs of animal husbandry and agriculture. The first floor is generally utilized as a manger, the second story contains the kitchen and the common room where the family gathers, and the third floor is used for sleeping and receiving guests. Ajaria has two basic types of settlement, not counting intermediate and mixed forms: in one type, the houses are arranged in a row; in the other type, the houses run along the crest of a ridge. Agricultural, geographic, and social factors have contributed to the development of these types of settlements.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. In agriculture a leading role is played by subtropical farming. The various climatic conditions and soil types have encouraged the development of a variegated agricultural industry. In the Ajarian highlands, with their rich alpine pastures, the cultivation of cattle and some agriculture has developed, whereas in lowland Ajaria sheep breeding and agriculture predominate. These two branches of rural economy (animal husbandry and agriculture) have symbolic meaning in

both highland and lowland Ajaria. The Ajarians have developed specialized agricultural implements (for example, the *arvana* and *jilgha,* two types of small plow especially designed for use in highland soil). The people have practiced viticulture in Georgia, including Ajaria, since ancient times. Ajaria has advantageous conditions for the cultivation of orchards and vineyards. Traditionally Ajarians cultivated at least seventy varieties of grapevine, as indicated by terminology, toponyms, archaeological materials, and other forms of material and intellectual culture. During Ottoman rule these branches of agriculture (in particular the production of wine) fell into neglect in conjunction with the Islamicization of the region.

Traditional Ajarian cuisine is notable for its variety. Meat and dairy products are widely used, along with grains and legumes, vegetables, wild plants, etc., which reflect the agriculture and culture of the region. Ajarian dishes include *lobio* (beans flavored with spices), *pkhali* (a salad of minced vegetables), *satsivi* (turkey or chicken with walnut sauce), *bazhe* (roasted chicken with walnut sauce), *mch'adi* (flat maize bread), and *khach'ap'uri* (bread with cheese inside). Ajarian khach'ap'uri is baked with the cheese filling partially exposed, onto which an egg is added partway through the baking process. Foods peculiar to Ajaria include the dairy product *q'aymaghi* (very thick sour cream mixed with grated cheese) and *borano* (cheese fried in butter). A characteristic feature of Ajarian cuisine, and of Georgian cuisine in general, is the frequent use of sharp-tasting flavorings, spices, and aromatic herbs.

Marriage and Family

Domestic Unit. Georgian national characteristics are especially well retained in those social institutions connected with family life, marital relations, kinship systems, and the forms of governance within the village community. Up to the 1930s the basis of social structure in the mountainous parts of Ajaria was the extended family, characterized by common ownership of property, collective forms of production and consumption, division of labor according to age and gender, patriarchal structure of governance, etc. Extended and nuclear families in Ajaria, as forms of social organization, served to preserve the distinctness of the ethnic group. The socionormative culture associated with domestic relationships represented, at different stages of its evolution, a single system of political, legal, moral, and religious categories, by means of which Ajarians regulated norms of behavior in traditional society. The elements of culture associated with domestic life were the basis of the social and psychological environment within the traditional community. At especially difficult stages of historical evolution they enabled the people to resist alien social and political systems. Despite the three centuries of Turkish rule, the population of Ajaria preserved and developed the typically Georgian forms of life-style and culture, as well as the primary components of national values: the Georgian language, traditional way of life, ethnic self-awareness, and psychology, which still today represent the essential conditions for the normal functioning of the Georgian ethnosocial organism.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. The Islamicization of Christian Ajaria was a painful process. For a long time the campaign against the Georgian Orthodox church failed to achieve the desired result. As a result of coercive Islamicization an unprecedented demographic crisis occurred in Ajaria. A significant part of the Christian population perished in the struggle against their Muslim conquerors; another segment was compelled to emigrate to the neighboring Christian provinces of Georgia, whereas those that remained were cruelly oppressed by the local feudal lords or became victims of Turkish tyranny. All of these events led to the Islamicization of the province. The Ajarians, although they adopted the principal norms of Islam (circumcision, forms of matrimony, name day, the celebration of Qurban-Bayram, etc.), preserved at the same time many remnants of Christian religious practice in their communal and domestic rituals, even though they were unaware of the Christian origin of such practices. For example, the ritual tracing of the cross on flat maize-meal cakes, the use of traditional Georgian symbols (e.g., the cross with a grapevine wound around it) as ornamentation in the mosques, the careful tending of old Christian graves with stone crosses, and the ruins of churches and monasteries are all instances of the preservation and endurance of Christian symbolism. Of particular interest for the understanding of the dualistic nature of the Ajarian worldview is the interdiction of visits to churches, which, according to superstition, might bring on a psychic disintegration. All of these factors indicate that Islam displaced the Christian worldview from Ajarian self-awareness, but Ajarians somehow preserved it at a subconscious level. In Ajaria up to the end of the nineteenth century there were still families who secretly maintained the Christian faith and performed Christian rituals. After the Sovietization of Georgia, especially in the 1930s and 1940s, the Communist party carried out a bitter antireligious campaign, directed especially against Christianity throughout Georgia but also against Islam in Ajaria. All mosques save one were closed, and a number of clergymen were suppressed. As a result, religious indifferentism, if not full-blown atheism, became widespread in Ajaria. At the present time a rather widespread process of voluntary reconversion to Christianity is taking place in Ajaria. As a result, Islamic beliefs and the taking of Islamic names are best preserved among the oldest generations. In the middle-aged generation religious indifferentism is widely represented, along with names of a pan-Georgian or pan-Soviet type. A fairly high percentage of young people have been baptized, and traditional Georgian, especially Christian, names predominate.

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NUGZAR MGELADZE
(Translated by Kevin Tuite)

Aleuts

ETHNONYM: Unangan

Orientation

Identification. Until the end of the eighteenth century the Aleuts inhabited the western tip of the Alaska Peninsula and the islands of the Aleutian Archipelago, a chain of volcanic treeless islands that extends in an arc from the Alaska Peninsula westward and separates the Bering Sea from the Pacific Ocean. At the end of the eighteenth century, when Russians penetrated their homeland, Aleuts settled the Pribylov (Pribilof) Islands in the Bering Sea and, between 1812 and 1829, the Commander Islands. The latter, now within the political boundaries of Russia, form a continuation of the arc of the Aleutian Archipelago. The island of Attu, the westernmost island of the Aleutian chain, is about 480 kilometers east of the Commander Islands and about 800 kilometers off Kamchatka Peninsula in Northeast Asia. Today, in the United States, the westernmost village is that of Atka (formerly Nikolskoe) on the island of Atka in the Central (Andreanov) Islands.

As an ethnonym, the term "Aleut" applies in modern literature to the inhabitants of the Aleutian Archipelago and their descendants elsewhere. In addition, the term is used for the inhabitants of the Aleutian Archipelago and their descendants and the inhabitants of the Commander Islands in Russia and their descendants by several socially, politically, and linguistically distinct populations: Kodiak Islanders, groups of Alutiig-language speakers of Prince William Sound and the Alaska Peninsula, and several groups of Central Yupik speakers of the Alaska Peninsula (Bristol Bay area).

Location. The waters surrounding the islands are among the most dangerous in the world. The Pacific shores are rugged, cliffy, and inhospitable. For this reason, in precontact times, Aleut habitations were located, with very few exceptions, on the shores of the Bering Sea. The interior is mountainous, not suitable for human habitation. Much of it remains unexplored to this day. There are no fewer than forty-six active volcanoes from the Alaska Peninsula to the Rat Islands in the west. Volcanic eruptions, earthquakes, and tsunamis are frequent. The climate may be characterized as maritime. Although the average temperatures are mild (ranging from −4° C to 13° C, depending on the location along the chain), the constant winds and sea moisture make it feel much colder. The Aleutian Islands are known for their fog, rains, and frequent storms. Precipitation ranges from 73.2 to 84.9 centimeters annually. Sunny days are rare. In winter snowfall is moderate, but on occasion snowstorms may bring a snowfall of 2 meters or more with even deeper drifts. At higher elevations, the snows do not melt.

Terrestrial animals are few, and several species, among them polar foxes, ground squirrels, and reindeer, were imported into the archipelago within historic times. In the eighteenth century, when the Russians entered the area, only some species of mice and lemmings were present on most islands, though at the eastern end of the chain there were several subspecies of fox, and, on Unimak Island, bears, caribou, wolves, land otters, and porcupines.

Demography. Under the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1972, 3,249 persons were enrolled as shareholders in the Aleut Corporation. According to the latest data supplied by the Aleut Corporation, approximately 39 percent of shareholders reside in the Aleut region, another 20 percent within the state of Alaska, and 41 percent elsewhere in the United States, the majority in the Pacific Northwest. In Russia, according to the census data of 1979, there were 546 Aleuts in the Commander Islands, residing in Nikolskoe, a semiurban center on Bering Island.

Today most of the Aleut population is located in semiurban centers such as the city of Unalaska on Unalaska Island, and participates in the modern cash economy. Under the terms of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1972, the Aleuts formed thirteen village corporations in addition to the regional Aleut Corporation. The Aleut Corporation received entitlement to 26,400 hectares of surface lands in their ancestral region and 628,800 hectares of subsurface estate. Most of the Aleut Corporation land selections are located along the Aleutian chain from Port Moller on the Alaska Peninsula to the island of Atka, in the Shumagin Archipelago on the Pacific side of the Alaska Peninsula, in the Pribylov Islands, on the site of the former village of Attu in the west, and at several historical and cemetery sites westward from Atka. The village corporations are Akutan; Atka; Belkofskii Corporation at King Cove, Alaska Peninsula; Chalika at Nikolskii on Umnak Island; Issanotskii Corporation at False Pass, Unimak Island; King Cove Corporation at King Cove, Nelson Lagoon; Sanak Corporation, Unga Corporation, and Shumagin Corporation, all at Sand Point, Popov Island (Shumagin Archipelago); and St. George Tanaq Corporation on St. George Island and Tnagusix Corporation on St. Paul Island, the two main islands of the Pribylov island group. (The villages of Sanak on Sanak Island and Unga in the Shumagin Archipelago are now abandoned, although their populations have resettled; only three per-

sons remain in the village of Belkofski, the majority having moved to King Cove.)

Linguistic Affiliation. The Aleut speak a language of the Eskimo-Aleut (Eskaleut) Phylum. Today two dialects, the Eastern (or Fox Island) Aleut and the Atkan (or Central), survive in the United States. On Bering Island, Atkan is spoken by the descendants of the settlers from the Central (Andreanov) Islands, and a dialect derived from Attuan (or Western, of which only three speakers survive in the United States) is spoken by the descendants of the Aleut settlers on Mednoi (Copper) Island. In precontact times, the Qakhun, (inhabitants of the Rat islands) spoke a dialect of their own, of which nothing is known. It is hypothesized that the inhabitants of the Four Mountain Islands spoke Atkan or another, unknown dialect.

History and Cultural Relations

Archaeological evidence from Anagula Island in Nikolsk Bay, Unimak, eastern Aleutians, indicates that this area was inhabited perhaps as early as 8,000–9,000 years ago. Some researchers assert that there is a cultural continuity between these finds and other later finds in the area but this has not been satisfactorily demonstrated and is questioned by other specialists. It is generally accepted, however, that populations culturally ancestral to the Aleuts inhabited the eastern Aleutians for the last 4,000 years and the western end of the chain, the Near Islands, for about 2,000 to possibly 3,000 years, with a gradient of the currently accepted dates of occupation running from west to east across the central (Andreanov) and Rat Islands. Several archaeologists (e.g., McCartney 1984, 121, and Turner 1974) have noted, on examining the results of midden-site excavations, that there appears to be a technological, if not cultural, continuity for the last 4,000 years over much of the archipelago, whereas physical remains show a marked dichotomy. There are, however, stylistic variations in space, and art objects especially show marked regional differences, so that at present at least four artistic styles can be defined. It is possible that cultural uniformity inferred from a limited archaeological record is rather illusory. In particular, regional differences in bone carving are marked (McCartney 1984, 128). At contact, in the eighteenth century, Aleut themselves recognized several political subdivisions, and to this day informants maintain that there were corresponding cultural differences.

According both to Aleut traditions and to observations by the early Russian seafarers in the second half of the eighteenth century, interregional warfare and raiding were endemic. In the Near Islands the traditional accounts hold that shortly before the arrival of the Russians in the middle of the eighteenth century, there were devastating raids from the east in which the Near Islands became virtually depopulated.

There appear to have been maritime contacts with Asian, most probably Japanese, seafarers. It is not to be excluded from consideration that some European (possibly Dutch or Portuguese) shipping touched upon the Aleutian shores prior to the middle eighteenth century, though direct evidence for this is lacking. In any case, iron was known to the Aleuts in precontact times and is documented both archaeologically and historically. In fact, one historical source mentions that the Aleuts preferred Japanese shipwrecks because Japanese nails were longer and broader than those of Russian manufacture. Iron, obtained from shipwrecks or in trade, was then cold-hammered. The most frequently manufactured items were apparently iron fighting knives (daggers). These were reported for the Shumagin Archipelago at first recorded European contact, by the Russians, in 1741.

Aleuts had elaborate armaments, including rod and slat armor, shields, a sinew-backed compound bow, and a war lance. At sea, darts cast by means of an *atlatl* (also used extensively in marine hunting) were used.

Following the first Russian naval expedition to Alaska's Pacific shore in 1741, under the overall command of Vitus Bering, the Russians claimed Alaska. Beginning about 1745 Russian entrepreneurs penetrated the Near Islands and, using these and the Commander Islands (where Bering's crew wintered in 1741) as a base, advanced steadily eastward. By 1758, but possibly a decade earlier, they had arrived at the eastern Aleutians and by 1761, the Alaska Peninsula and Shumagin Archipelago.

In general, Russian penetration resulted in major changes in Aleut culture within a span of two to three generations. The object was trade for furs, primarily those of sea otters, but already in the 1750s polar foxes were brought from the Commander Islands to the Near Islands, and by 1761 to 1763 Aleuts were introduced to the use of the Siberian type of fox trap and began to trap for barter with the Russians. Use of salt and salt making also found their way into the Aleut cultural inventory very early, as did the wet-steam bath.

Early Aleut-Russian contact was characterized by a steadily growing fur trade, which seriously affected the indigenous economic system, and by sporadic outbreaks of violence and confrontation. The best-known and most extensively documented conflict occurred in the winter of 1763, encompassing the political unit of the Qawalangin (Imnak and Unalaska islands) and extending farther eastward to Unimak. Four Russian trading vessels were destroyed, and of their crews only twelve men (eight Kamchadals and four Russians) survived. This incident provoked a retaliation, after the survivors were picked up by other vessels, and justified a series of preventive strikes in 1766, in which one Russian skipper destroyed Aleut technological equipment. The Qawalangin then accepted defeat, although sporadic outbreaks of fighting continued for another two decades in other areas. Thus, the Four Mountain Island group population was attacked sometime after 1770, most probably in 1772, and resistance in the Krenitsyn Islands and the Unimak/Sanak area is documented through the decade of the 1770s. By this time, however, Aleut leaders were also forming alliances with particular Russian skippers, aiding them in their own intercompany trade conflicts over hunting territories. Toward the end of the eighteenth century, Aleuts sailed eastward with Russian skippers, participating in conflicts with the neighboring Kodiak Islanders and the Chugach on Prince William Sound and eventually supplying the Russians with cheap labor as well as armed manpower. It was at this time (1786–1787) that the first Aleut contingent accompanied Russian crews to the Pribylov Islands, where fur-seal rook-

eries were found in 1786. In 1799 Emperor Paul I granted a fur-trade monopoly to a single merchant company, thus eliminating competition. Consequently, the Aleut leadership lost any room for maneuver and the opportunity to exploit intercompany competition to their advantage. In the eastern Aleutians, impressment of able-bodied men became the rule. The old, the young, and the women remaining in the villages suffered privation. The Russian government's attempts to protect Aleut rights were ineffectual at this time. Because of circumstances outside of the control of the Russian American Company, its grip slackened in some areas. In particular, the western Aleutians, the Rat Islands, and the central Aleutians reverted to a subsistence economy. Small Russian American Company outposts were maintained on Atka and Attu, administered from Okhotsk. Contact with the outside world became minimal. A drastic drop in population apparently occurred throughout the archipelago, in all probability because of the new diseases and social and economic disruption, as well as relocation of relatively large groups to the Pribylov Islands, the Kodiak Archipelago, and the Alaska mainland.

In 1818 the conduct of the Russian American Company officials came under government scrutiny, and the Aleut population received some protection from abuses. Their status was equated to that of the free peasants in Russia, but they were freed from taxation. The Aleut settlements were obliged, however, to provide a number of young men for service to the company in lieu of the military obligation to which the Russian peasantry was subject.

This service, however, was limited in time, subject to the same regulations as those in metropolitan Russia governing military conscription, and the Aleuts were paid for their labor and catch according to an officially approved schedule of prices. In some areas, such as in the Central Aleutians, Aleuts did not enter company service but sold all their sea-otter catch to the company. Fox trapping became an industry. Throughout the nineteenth century Russians kept introducing a variety of valuable fox species to the Andreanov and Rat islands, where the foxes were regularly "harvested" by the Aleuts. The cash economy became an accepted fact of life, although traditional sea-otter hunting methods were employed throughout the Russian period. Aleuts permanently settled in the Pribylov and Commander Islands began to hunt fur seals. This enterprise was managed in the Pribylovs for several decades by a man of Aleut origin, Kassian Shaiashnikov. Beginning in 1805, the Commander Islands were exploited for the Russian American Company by a Russian crew, who were abandoned there until 1812. In that year they elected to stay on, and sometime between 1812 and 1824 they were joined by a group of Attuan Aleuts. In 1828–1829 the fur sealing enterprise there was reorganized and the islands were put under the jurisdiction of the Alaskan office of the company. At this time Attuans concentrated on Mednoi or Copper Island, whereas the crew for Bering Island was provided by volunteers from Amila/Atka and Rat islands. In 1866 a number of large families moved from the Commander Islands to the Pribylovs. Later on, after the sale of Alaska to the United States, the Commander Island Aleuts were joined by a group of Kodiak Islanders, who earlier had been living on Urup Island in the Kuriles. Also in the 1870s a group of Atkans and Attuans moved to the Commander Islands from the territory newly acquired by the United States.

Orthodox Christianity was introduced to the Aleuts by laymen at the earliest contact and spread with great rapidity. Today being Orthodox is an identity marker for most of the Alaskan populations who call themselves Aleut. With Orthodox Christianity came literacy. Some Russian traders took their godsons to Siberia and sent them to schools there. When in 1824 the first resident parish priest, Ioann Veniaminov, was appointed to the Aleutians (soon followed, in 1828, by the first Orthodox priest of Aleut descent, Iakov Netsvetov, in his mother's native Central Aleutians), literacy in the Aleut language was created. Veniaminov and Netsvetov translated into two Aleut dialects scriptures and church services and wrote compositions of moral content in Aleut. By the end of the Russian period, most Aleut men were literate in their own language and many also in Russian. During the Russian period, local affairs were managed by the Aleut leadership. By the end of the period, the Aleuts—along with that stratum of the population that could claim mixed descent, the Creoles—provided the backbone for the Russian activities in Alaska.

When Russia sold Alaska to the United States in 1867, American ventures, primarily the Alaska Commercial Company, continued to employ Aleuts as sea-otter hunters and introduced the use of rifles in the hunt. At Akutan and Kodiak, where commercial whaling stations were established, Aleuts were hired to man the whaling stations and hunt whales. This employment continued until the eve of World War II. Fox trapping also continued. For a short while, some of the Aleuts experienced an economic boom. By the end of the nineteenth century, however, the population of sea otters was depleted (their hunting was prohibited in 1911 by an international convention), and the market for fox fur collapsed not too long before the outbreak of World War II. The only economic opportunities were provided by the fur-seal harvest in the Pribylov Islands, now a U.S.-government enterprise. The situation in the Pribylovs became very difficult, however. Aleut rights were not recognized, and the resident Aleuts were treated as indentured laborers. Local agents interfered in community affairs, in private affairs of individuals, and in the conduct of the church and the local church school (maintained by the Aleuts themselves). Only in the last several decades have the Pribylov Aleuts gained their citizenship rights.

During World War II, Aleuts were evacuated from their homeland to Alaska's southeast, where they were quartered in abandoned mining camps and canneries. The young were taken to boarding schools. The Aleuts lost nearly one-third of their population, mostly the old and the very young, to epidemic diseases. The cultural disruption thus created is felt to this day. In 1982 the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians recommended that survivors be paid compensation, which was finally paid to a few survivors in 1989–1990.

Settlements

Aleut permanent winter settlements were usually located on spits in sheltered bays where skin boats could land; the

location provided alternative escape routes by sea if the settlement were attacked. A freshwater stream and a refuge rock nearby, salmon streams and beaches where driftwood was cast ashore, and access to technologically important stones and minerals were essential. In the east a simple settlement could consist of one to four semisubterranean longhouses (with roof entrances) that could shelter up to about 400 people. A group of settlements formed a loosely coordinated political unit. In the west settlements were considerably smaller, averaging about 60–80 persons; the dwellings were small, and centered on the *kazhim*, where the headman resided. Within two postcontact generations, the house styles and settlement pattern changed to small individual semisubterranean or wooden houses with windows, doors, and entry halls.

Economy

Human populations in precontact times depended exclusively on marine resources: seals, sea lions, and fish. Walrus were available in the extreme east and occasionally in the westernmost islands of the chain, the Near Islands. Fur seals were seasonally available in the straits of the eastern Aleutians during the spring and fall migrations. Fur-seal rookeries (breeding grounds) were in the Pribylov and Commander islands. Sea otters were numerous throughout the area. Ocean fish, primarily cod and halibut, were exploited, but the staple foods were the abundant salmon (red, silver, humpback, chum, and, in some localities, king). A variety of bird species provided subsidiary sources of food and material for male clothing. (Women's clothing and bedding were made of sea-mammal furs, primarily those of the sea otter and, where available, fur seal.) Technological materials were local stones and minerals, sea-mammal tissues, seaweed (kelp), and shore grasses, primarily wild rye. Wood was very important, but the only source of it was driftwood. Birch bark was also used, apparently obtained in trade from the Alaskan mainland, as were caribou hair and sometimes skins.

Today village corporations and the Aleut Corporation try to establish a solid economic base for the Aleut people as well as to create a mechanism to ensure a cultural revival. Several local corporations, notably Akutan, Ounalashka (Unalaska), and the two corporations in the Pribylov Islands (where the fur-seal harvest was stopped by the U.S. Congress several years ago), seem well on the way to establishing solid economic bases for their communities, based primarily on deep-sea fishing.

Kinship and Sociopolitical Organization

Prior to contact, Aleut society was based on shallow patrilineages linked by sister-exchange marriages and a local endogamous residential unit. Postmarital residence (usually following the birth of the first child) was patrilocal. Under this system, mother's brother was a man's potential father-in-law. A young man, apparently, was obliged to pay bride-price or perform bride-service. The marriages were polygynous, though polygyny coexisted with polyandry.

It is not known if ranking existed among the western Aleuts, but in the east ranking was well articulated, with classes of high notables, nobles, commoners, and slaves (mostly war captives). Judicial functions, war leadership, and trading roles were clearly defined. In the east social dialects (polite, everyday, and rude) existed and were used until relatively recent times. Today only the everyday language is in use, though older Aleuts are very well aware of the social dialects: the polite form ought to be used only by a socially inferior person addressing a socially superior person.

Today Aleuts recognize the nuclear family as the basic unit and reside in individual-family dwellings, though members of the older generation (grandparents, great-aunts and great-uncles) are often coresident. Sibling bonds remain strong. Adoption, frequent in precontact times, is also practiced frequently today. Ranking has been abandoned, and democratic principles are adhered to in the conduct of village affairs. Age, traditionally respected, is a factor in exercise of authority, although young, often college-educated men and women are assuming leadership within corporation and village-council structures.

Social control is exercised informally by public opinion and through the Orthodox church, but recourse to the formal judicial mechanisms of the larger society is frequently sought. In fact, the overarching institutions assume an ever-greater role in this area.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs and Practices. Aleuts, with very few exceptions, are members of the Russian Orthodox church. Services are conducted in Aleut, Chukchee, Slavonic, and English. The resident clergy are, for the most part, Aleut. In communities where there is no resident priest, services are conducted by lay readers, all Aleut. The greatest church festival is Easter, closely followed by Christmas (celebrated according to the Orthodox calendar on 7 January) and Orthodox New Year. At Christmas, young men representing their families bring Christmas stars into the church to be blessed before the families visit individual houses with their stars. "Starring," also called in Alaska *slavig* or *selavig*, adopted from the Russians, is a widespread custom, transcending the social and religious boundaries. Between the Orthodox Christmas and New Year, masking takes place. Masking, sometimes associated with a dance or a ball, is usually followed by ritual cleansing in a steam bath before going to church and communion. As of old, commencement of any new enterprise (such as the building of a modern harbor on the island of St. George, to cite but one example) requires formal blessing by the bishop. New houses are blessed either by the priest or by the church reader.

The use of the Aleut language today is largely confined to church services, except in more remote or larger communities, such as St. Paul and St. George villages in the Pribylovs, where the language is still maintained by a segment of the population in everyday life.

Arts. Aleut men traditionally excelled in ivory-, bone-, and wood-carving arts, whereas the women worked in basketry and created exquisite garments of fur and bird skin adorned with gut-on-gut appliqué work and hair embroidery. Of these crafts, only the basketry, justly world-famous, survives. Aleut interest in the traditional arts persists, and several young artists are engaging in carving in various media. Their efforts are supported by the Aleut

Corporation: the offices display their work as well as examples of traditional Aleut arts, which the corporation acquires. An Aleut Foundation has been established which, in the words of its president and chairman of the board of the corporation, Alice Petrivelli, "will continue to grow and become a significant part of the effort to teach and inform our young people, and instill pride in our Aleut heritage."

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Altaians

ETHNONYMS: Alta, Altai, Altai Turks, Altays, Kizhi

Orientation

Identification. Altaian is the general name for a group of Turkic peoples living in the region of the Altai Mountains of southern Siberia in the Altai Republic. These peoples include the Chelkan, Kumandin, Telengit, Teles, Teleut, and Tubalar. The name "Altai Kizhi" is applied both to a specific unit among them and to this group of peoples as a whole; it is a descriptive designation, not an official one. "Altai" designates the region; "kizhi" means "man" or "person" and is generally used to denote a nation, folk, or people. Historically, there is no specific name for these peoples. They may identify themselves by the name of the locality in which they live, such as a river or a forest zone; for example, one group of Altaians living in the Mayma River region refers to itself as the "Mayma Kizhi" or the "Maymalar" (i.e., the Maymas). The Tubalar occupy a forest zone and sometimes refer to themselves as the "Yish Kizhi"—the "Forest [lit., Wooded Mountain] People."

It is also the custom among peoples of the Altai to refer to themselves as the members of a line of common descent. In the past they were designated "Kalmyks," "Mountain Kalmyks," etc., but this is an error, because the Kalmyks speak a language classified in the Mongolian Language Family and have only a distant connection, if any, to the Turks. The frequent occurrence of the term "Tele" among the names of these peoples (Telengit, Teles, Teleut) goes back to the name of an ancient Turkic people, the Tele. A variant of this name is set down in Chinese records of the sixth to eighth centuries.

The Altaians are defined as Turkic not only by their language but also by their customs and history. It was once believed that the Altai Mountains, where they live, were the original homeland of all the members of the Altaic Linguistic Group, but there is no historical evidence of this. Nevertheless, the Altaians are near the center of distribution of the Turkic-speaking peoples, having neighbors within this language group to the north, east, south, and west.

Location. The Altaians constitute a group of related mountain peoples living beside the streams of the Altai complex of mountain ranges. This complex consists of the chief water-divide ranges, the South Altai, the Inner Altai, and the East Altai; the Mongolian Altai is connected to this mountain complex, rising to the southeast of the Siberian Altai region. The Altai system is located in the central part of southern Siberia, with Mongolia to the east and Kazakhstan to the south; it lies between 48° and 54° N and between 83° and 90° E. The mountains are of moderate elevation, with several reaching 4,500 meters; those higher than 3,000 meters are snowcapped throughout the year. The Altaians live in the broad plateaus, steppes, and valleys of the ranges. The climate is continental, with considerable temperature swings, but is modified by the effect of the mountains, which cause a winter temperature inversion. In effect, the Altai forms an island of higher temper-

atures in winter than those found in the Siberian taiga to the north or in the Central Asian and Mongolian steppes to the south and east. The mean January temperature of the Chuya steppe, in the southeast of the region, is -31° C; winter temperatures fall as low as -48° C. The mountains form a nodal point for the gathering of precipitation. The main rainfall occurs in July and August, with a secondary and smaller period of rain in the late autumn. The western Altai has a mean annual rainfall of over 50 centimeters; the east is drier, receiving about 40 centimeters per year, or even less, and forms a transition to the more arid Mongolian steppe, farther east.

The Altai is rich in lakes and streams. The chief lakes of the region are Marka Kul in the south and Teletsk in the central part of the Altai region. In nearby parts of Siberia, Mongolia, and Kazakhstan there are much larger lakes: Zaysan Nur, Kara Usu, Ubsu Nur, and Kulunda. The Siberian rivers Ob, Irtysh, and Yenisei have headwaters in the Altai Mountains. The most important rivers within the Altai are the Biya, Katun, Bukhtarma, Kondoma, Ursul, Charysh, Kan, Sema, and Mayma.

Of the groups of Altaians mentioned, the Kumandin live chiefly along the right, or north bank of the Biya River, in the northern part of the region; the Telengit live mainly along the river systems of the Chuya and Argut, in the southern Altai; the Tele occupy the valley of the Chulyshman River in the east-central district; the Teleut live beside the Charga River; and the Tubalar live in the valleys of the Greater and Lesser Isha and neighboring streams.

Their territory lies entirely within the former Soviet Union (specifically within Russia, there they form a unit for administrative and census purposes). The Altaians presently live compactly within the Gorno-Altai Autonomous Oblast (GAO) (founded 1 June 1922), a region of the Altai Krai in the southern part of west-central Siberia. The center of the autonomous oblast (92,600 square kilometers in area) is Gorno-Altaisk (until 1932 it was called Udala, from then until 1948 Oirot-Tura). The territory of the oblast is divided into eight administrative districts connected to the center by roads and air transport. In all districts the Altaians live mixed with other peoples, among whom Russians represent a large percentage; in the Komagach District of the GAO, the Altaians live among Kazakhs.

Stretches of farmland, pasture, and steppeland are found in the region; the steppes are drier than the farmland, the latter being located chiefly in the north, the steppeland in the south and east. The principal steppes are the Uimon, the Kurai, and the Chuia. The soils of economic importance to the Altaians are the rich chernozems, the steppe and mountain meadow soils, and the gray forest soils. The chernozems are most useful for farming, the others less so.

The natural vegetation in the area is variable, ranging from steppe grasses, shrubs, and bushes to a light forest of birch, fir, aspen, ash, cherry, spruce, and pine, with numerous clearings and spacings between the trees; this forest merges in the north with a modified Siberian taiga, with thinning vegetation. The wild fauna include hare, mountain sheep, several species of deer, *bobacs*, East European woodchucks, and moles; predators among them include the lynx, polecat, and snow leopard; bird species include the pheasant, ptarmigan, goose, partridge, snipe, and jay; fish in the lakes and streams include the trout, grayling, and sig (the latter is mistaken by the local Russian population for the herring).

Demography. With the exception of the postwar (1959) census of 45,270, the population remained near its present level of 59,130 between 1926 and 1989.

Linguistic Affiliation. Altai, a member of the Turkic Language Family, has two major dialect groups, Northern Altai and Southern Altai. The former includes those groups known as the Kumandin, Chelkan, and Tubalar, whereas the latter consists of the Altai-Kizhi, Telengit, and Teleut. The Northern Altai dialects reflect features typical of the Northeast Turkic languages and therefore are similar to the Turkic languages of southern Siberia, including Khakass, Shor, and Tuvan; the Southern Altai dialects share much in common with Kyrgyz and thus reflect features of the Kipchak Group of Turkic languages, which also includes Kazakh, Tatar, and Nogay. The Altai literary language is based on the Southern dialect group.

The first written language for the Altaians was established in the 1840s by the Russian missionary M. Glukhov, in conjunction with the Altaian M. V. Chevalkov. But its development was interrupted in the beginning of the twentieth century. In the 1930s a new written language, employing first the Latin script and then the Cyrillic, was established, becoming the basis for the development of education, the eradication of illiteracy, and the codification of the norms of the literary language.

Most Altaians are bilingual in their native language and Russian; instruction is in Altai. Radio broadcasts are transmitted in Altai three to four hours per day. The Altai language is not used for administrative purposes.

Education. In Gorno-Altaisk there are several specialty schools where Altaians can receive an education or learn a trade. The pedagogical institute prepares teachers in various specialties for the schools of the Altai. Some of the graduates find their calling in the scientific-academic or manufacturing-production areas. The secondary specialty schools are livestock and cooperative-trade technical colleges. The pedagogical and medical schools graduate specialists to work in the districts of the oblast. In addition, many Altaians also complete studies at universities and institutes in Moscow, St. Petersburg, Novosibirsk, and other Russian cities.

Settlements

The Altaians live beside rivers, lakes, farmland, mountain meadows, and steppelands, where they till the soil, raise livestock, hunt, and gather wood in the nearby forests. Since ancient times, the rivers and lakes have been of importance as means of transport and communication and as economic lifelines for the local peoples of the Altai who rely on them as a source of fish. The Altaians have been involved in trade and political interrelations with surrounding parts of Asia for a long time. They traverse the steppes by both land and water transport.

Houses were chiefly wooden huts; they were clustered to form small villages along the banks of streams. From

ancient times, however, Altaians made felt tents with wooden frames, tied down by leather straps. The use of the tents has declined along with the practice of nomadic pastoralism. Today, families in rural districts live in homes with modern conveniences; these dwellings usually contain three or four rooms and a kitchen. In their personal plots near the house stand traditional dwellings—bark-covered conical cabins, felt yurts, or polygonal framework structures. These dwellings are used as kitchens in the summer and as storehouses in the winter. When the herdsman makes seasonal stops, however, he does live with his family in felt yurts, with other traditional structures serving for cattle.

History and Cultural Relations

In the first millenium before the present era, the Altai mountain region was inhabited by pastoral nomads who had domesticated sheep, horses, and other animals. They used bronze and other metals. The archaeological record of the great kurgan of Pazyryk indicates that the life of the peoples in the period from the fifth to first centuries B.C. was organized into a political society; the herding people were ruled by a kind of chief or local king. The peoples of the Altai were at this time in contact with the Central Asian peoples to the south and to the east. It is difficult to identify the culture or the language of these people, but it is not likely that they were Turkic speaking; the latter peoples came into the region at a later time. The Altai Mountains cannot be regarded as the center from which they dispersed. The region was settled in the first millenium of our era by a new population, who probably were Turkic speakers. In the eighteenth century, small groups of Siberian peoples belonging to the South Samoyed Branch of the Uralic Linguistic Family and to the Yeniseian Linguistic Stock (Ket, Kott, Arin, Assan) still lived in the northern parts of the Sayan Mountains, to the east of the Altai range, even as the Turkic languages were becoming dominant in the entire Altaian part of Asia. It is thought, though it is not firmly established, that the Northern Altaians, the Chelkan and Kumandin (along with groups of the Shor, Khakas, and Tofalar), may be Turkicized Samoyeds or Ket speakers, whereas the Telengit and others living in the south of the Altai region were original Turkic speakers who moved into this region in early historic (ancient and medieval) times.

The chief location of the Samoyeds at present is to the north and west of the Altaians, although once they were also to the east of them; the Ket as well are found chiefly to the northwest of the Altaians, although they also once lived to the east. Because all these peoples belong to different linguistic groups, without connection either to their Turkic-speaking neighbors or to one another, it is most probable that the Altaians moved into their present habitat at a later time, as a part of a general northern movement of the Turkic peoples, the most northerly of whom are the Yakut in central and eastern Siberia. In moving to their present region, the Altaians appear to have settled between the various groups of Samoyeds and Kets.

The Altaians formed a part of the ancient Turkic kingdoms of Central and East Asia, among them the Kök-Türk and Uigur, then later the Kara-Kitay and the Kitan, who ruled briefly in China at the end of the twelfth century; the Altai region was part of the Mongol Empire in the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries.

The Altaians submitted to the czarist forces and were incorporated into the Russian Empire in the mid-eighteenth century, at the time of the Russian incursion into Dzungaria.

Elsewhere they were subject to a double yoke—that of the Russians and that of the Chinese.

Economy

Although the ancient archaeological record shows pastoral nomadism to have been the economic practice in the region, the local population later made the transition to the sedentary occupation of tilling the soil and raising livestock, predominately bovines. The transition to village life, raising cereal grains and livestock, took place in recent centuries, chiefly by acculturation. The appearance of Russian peasants in the region during the nineteenth century accelerated and intensified this process. Thus, beekeeping in the northern parts of the Altai region was introduced by the Russians, who also introduced the iron plow; Before that, the Altaians mainly used the wooden plow and the hoe or mattock.

Nevertheless, some seminomadism, particularly in the southern parts of the Altai region, persisted into the twentieth century. In the 1920s and 1930s land was collectivized and the nomadic and seminomadic life-style was transformed into a settled one. By 1937, 93 percent of the Altai population was settled. Nomadic and seminomadic forms of livestock breeding, however, did not disappear even then. The raising of livestock, especially in the southeast part of the Altai, is based on a pasturing system, with migration according to season or pasture. The principal cereal grains of the Altaians in the pre-Soviet period were barley and, to some extent, wheat and rye. The products of the cereal grains were ground into meal at home. The cereals together with the products of livestock (i.e., milk of the cattle and meat of their domesticated stock), supplemented by the products of hunting and fishing, constituted their diet.

Industrial Arts. Leather from the hides of the stock and furs of the local wild animals provided clothing. The Chelkans and the Kumandins engaged in wool weaving to some degree, and all the villages processed hides, furs, and felt. The forests provided wood for housing, fire, and the implements of labor, such as plows, horse saddles, and tool handles. The products of livestock rearing from a personal herd are still prepared according to ancient nomadic methods. In the summer Altaians prepare butter, various kinds of cheese, dried curds, etc., from the milk. The processing and working of pelts for the preparation of clothing, boots, and harnesses remain traditional.

The products of the hunt, together with those of livestock, such as wool and felt, were traded with neighboring peoples. In the past, Altaians mined metals such as iron and gold, the trade in which was important both to the Altaians and to their neighbors.

Clothing. The national costume of the Altaians is still worn. For the most part, elderly people, herdsmen, and

children wear fur overcoats, boots, and a variety of headgear. The ubiquitous round sheepskin cap with a silk tassel on top is worn year-round by Altaian men and women and by the local Russians, with whom it has also become popular.

Brides, too, maintain traditional apparel; they wear elegant, silk-covered fur coats, headdresses, and sleeveless jackets (*chegedek*), which represent symbols of the bride's passage into the class of women.

Kinship, Marriage, and Family

Kinship. The Altaians generally maintained a patrilineal organization. The local communities were bound together by ties of common descent, and their closest kin were generally their closest neighbors. Just as they traced their descent from father to son, so they maintained their village organization in terms of the patriline. This was most markedly developed among the southern Altaians. The more northerly of these peoples had village groups based on territorial and neighborly bonds rather than on kinship.

Traditional Turkic social organization was based on patrilineage, in particular the descent line called *seok* (lit., bone). Descent in the seok was still reckoned into the twentieth century among the Telengit. The seok roughly coincided with the patrilineal clan, or gens, and in traditional times was the unit of tax collection and of political, juridicial, and military organization. Traditionally, the seok was an exogamic unit. The importance of The seok and related traditional units were marginalized early in the czarist era through administrative reorganization and through contact with Russian peasants and merchants, primarily in the more northerly districts of the Altai, among the Chelkan and Kumandin.

The members of the seok hunted together, exchanged goods with one another, and were closely interdependent. Kinfolk distinguished those who were related to one another through the father from those related through the mother. The mother came to her husband's village from another village and from another patriline. Family and village organization was basically patrilocal. Within the patriline, close attention was paid to rank by order of birth; the younger brother paid pro forma respect to the elder brother, as to the father. As among other Turkic peoples of Central Asia, however, the youngest son inherited his father's house and the land immediately surrounding it.

Marriage. The selection of the bride is sometimes determined by the groom's parents. Matchmaking is an obligatory part of the marriage ritual. The soliciting of an agreement for marriage is accomplished by representatives (the matchmakers) from the groom's side. In the past, abduction of the bride was not uncommon. The bride must make her new home at the residence of the groom's parents. During the wedding she pays respect to the fire of her husband's clan, prepares tea for the guests, and receives gifts of cattle, money, furniture, and so forth.

Sociopolitical Organization

In traditional times the villages were gathered together in districts ruled by a hereditary aristocracy; the district rulers bore the title of *zaysan*, a rank that is found among many other Turkic-speaking peoples. This title corresponds elsewhere in the political world of the Turks to a nomenclature for nobility of the middle rank, well below the rank of the title of khan or king. The title *bay* was given to another rank of influential and wealthy people of the upper social class. The noble rank was bestowed on the aristocracy generally, who achieved their status by right of birth. The ordinary Altaians were ranked below the aristocracy; the Altaians were thus divided into social classes in traditional times. In addition to the two ranks mentioned, there were two strata lower on the social scale than the Altaian commoners: *kuly*, household slaves of the nobility, and *ay bachi*, groups of unfree labor of a more general kind.

Although the peoples of the Altai, whether Turks or others, were brought together under a king or emperor in ancient and medieval times, the Altaians did not create a kingdom of their own. The names of each of the peoples mentioned, and those of their combinations, refer to a grouping based on locality, on common descent, and on cultural and linguistic cohesion of a traditional kind. The members of the seok were referred to as *karyndash*, meaning "those of a common womb."

The acculturation Altaians experienced during the period of Russian imperial rule has brought formal social and cultural changes having to do with loss of sovereignty, transfer of local police power to central administrators, payment of taxes, or, in the past, the activities of missionaries. More informal acculturation has come about through contacts with Russian peasants, merchants, and travelers. The degree of acculturation was not uniform in traditional times (i.e., until the Russian Revolution). The peoples living in the northern parts of the Altai region were somewhat more acculturated than those in the south, where the traditional practices of seminomadic pastoralism and of the seok could still be observed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The seminomadic pastoralists raised herds of cattle and tended them on horseback, as did the full pastoralists who worked out of permanent villages. These full pastoralists live in tents year-round—setting them up, dismantling them, and moving seasonally from one encampment to another, in an annual round. This kind of nomadism was practiced by the neighbors of the Altaians as well as by the peoples of the Altai themselves in ancient times.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religion. The traditional religion of the region was shamanism, which was associated with the cults of the sky and of fire and the hearth. Shamanism is concerned with questions of good and evil, with the afterlife, and the supernatural. It is predicated on a belief in spirits that have the power to cause good or ill. The shaman seeks to master these spirits or otherwise get them to benignly serve human ends. The principal instrument of the shaman is the drum, which he or she beats to achieve a state of ecstasy and enter the spirit world. There, the shaman seeks out the spirits that become his or her familiars and tries to find out what will happen in the future, what has caused the ailment of a particular person, and what is generally

good or ill for people. Shamanism as a religion, medical practice, and philosophy is widespread in Central and Northern Asia. The Turkic term for shaman is *kam*.

Shamanism came under the onslaught first of the Russian Orthodox church during the czarist period, then of the campaign against religion during most of the Soviet era.

Arts. The Turks of the Altai were part of a civilization that had developed its own written tradition, leaving monuments with their runic inscriptions in the Yenisei Valley to the north of the Altai, and in the Orkhon Valley to the east; these inscriptions date from the sixth to the eighth centuries A.D. Later, the Uigur script was adopted by many Turkic-speaking peoples of Central Asia. The Uigur script is related to the alphabets of Western Asia and was also used by the Mongols during the era of Chinggis (Genghis) Khan.

In 1937 a National Drama Theater was created in the Altai, the repertoire of which includes plays by both Altaian and European playwrights, produced in the Altaian language and with Altaian actors. Among the most popular plays are those by one of the main figures of Altai literature, P. Kuchiiak. These plays deal with motifs of folklore or scenes from everyday life; the most noteworthy include *Cheinesh* and *Orolor, Uch-Kis*. The Altai troupe has toured throughout the districts of the oblast and beyond its borders.

Folklore is a cultural heritage of the Altai people; it conveys their centuries-old history and has continued to develop in the modern era. In the past forty years extensive collections of epics and other genres of Altai folklore have been recorded from *kaichi* (storytellers) and published. The archaic tales of such heroes as Altai Buuchai, Maadai-Kara, and Koguteei rank among the classical epics of world literature. In the Altai, both men and women could be Kaichi. Famous kaichi of yore included M. Yutkanakov and N. Ulagashev (1867–1946); those of today are A. Kalkin and N. Yalatov. The Teleuts have retained their epic tradition through the modern era better than other groups of Altaians and, earlier, transmitted it to some of the Shors as well.

Altai folklore has always been closely tied to musical instruments. Storytellers would perform the *kai* (epic), and the common people would sing songs at weddings or at home to the accompaniment of stringed instruments (*ikili* or *topshur* [a lutelike instrument with two horsehair strings]). The *temir-komys*, a semicircular metal instrument similar to a Jew's harp, was considered a woman's instrument. Wind instruments (*shogur, shoor, abyrga*) were used on the hunt as decoys.

Death and Afterlife. The death rites of the Altaians consist of burial in traditional clothing (particularly for older women), followed by an arrangement for "meeting" with the spirit of the deceased on the seventh and fortieth days after death. The shaman makes this contact at the grave.

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LAWRENCE KRADER, VERA DIAKONOVA, AND GREGORY S. ANDERSON

Andis

ETHNONYMS: Self-designation: Ghvanal; designation by other groups: Andal, Andiitsy, Handisew

Orientation

Identification. The Andis are one of the indigenous Daghestanian peoples of the former USSR. Their territory is included in the Botlikh District (*raion*) of the Daghestanian Autonomous SSR.

Location. The Andis live in western Daghestan. Their neighbors to the northwest are the Chechens; to the southeast, the small ethnic groups speaking other Andian languages and the Avars. The principal area of settlement, Andia, is a vast valley bordered by the Andi ridge and its spurs. The snow-covered steep ridge forms the entire northern boundary and exercises a moderating influence on Andia's climate by sheltering it from cold winds. In the past, access to Andia could be difficult: the roads linking it to the outside world were guarded on the south by the Mynin Tower and on the north by the fortress of Butsurkha. At present, however, all of the Andian villages are linked by automobile routes.

Demography. In 1938 the Andis numbered 9,750. By 1990 the population had grown to over 25,000. The density of settlement is 39–40 persons per square kilometer. About half of the Andis have emigrated to the Daghestanian lowlands (Khasavyurt, Babayurt, and Kizilyurt districts). Although they were counted as a separate nationality in the 1926 census, the Andis, along with the seven other small communities speaking languages of the Andian Subgroup (see "Linguistic Affiliation"), have been counted as Avars in more recent Soviet censuses.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Andi language belongs to the Andian Subgroup of the Andi-Avar-Dido Group, itself a subdivision of the Daghestanian Branch of the Northeast Caucasian (Nakh-Daghestanian) Language Family. Linguists have described seven Andi dialects, which form two closely related dialect groups: Upper Andi and Lower Andi (Munib-Kvankhidatl). The speech of women and men are distinguished by certain phonetic, lexical, and stylistic features (noted in the village of Andi).

History and Cultural Relations

Archaeological evidence from the Kuro-Araxes culture (fourth to third millennia B.C. excavated on Andian territory near the villages of Gagatl and Ashali, along with linguistic evidence, links the Andis with the Caucasian world. In addition there is a tradition, based on ninth-century B.C. sources, that the Andis, after having been routed by the Assyrian King Sargon II, migrated to the Caucasus from the Near East (I. Aliev, 1960, p. 26). There is reliable testimony from Pliny the Elder (first century A.D.) that at the beginning of the Christian era the Andis were already settled in the eastern Caucasus. According to toponymic evidence the Andis once occupied a wide expanse of territory below the Andiskoe Koysu River, but evidently they were assimilated by an Avar-speaking population. Another segment of the Andi people, along the middle and upper Andiskoe Koysu, later subdivided into seven ethnic groups, each with a distinct language: the Botlikhs, Ghodoberins, Akhvakhs, K'arat'ins, Bagvalals, Ch'amalals, and T'indals.

Historical accounts and chronicles record the incursion of Tamerlane's troops into Andia and their destruction of the home of Khan Yoluk at Gagatl and of the establishment of Islam there at the same time. Documents describe Andi society as having an established political system. In the seventeenth century the Andis won a decisive victory in the battle at Akhkhulatly over the militia of the Avar *nutsal* Turulava, who had disputed the right of the Andi lords to collect tribute and exercise control over the neighboring communities of Avaria and Mountain Chechnia. The Andis became Russian subjects in 1731, but shortly afterward they broke away to support the Chechens against the Russian General von Frauendorf. The Andis participated in the victorious pan-Daghestanian campaign against the forces of the Persian ruler Nadir Shah in 1741. The Andi cavalry took an active part in the Caucasus Wars (1817–1864) from the beginning and distinguished themselves for their bravery. Among the better-known participants in this fight for independence were the Andi *naibs* Gaziyav and Labezan; the latter fought alongside Shamil, the imam of Daghestan and Chechnia, at Gubinskoy fortress. After the civil war and the establishment of Soviet authority in 1924, the Andis were integrated into the political and socioeconomic structure of the USSR. Among the more profound changes subsequent to this were the collectivization of village agriculture and the granting of winter pasturelands in the Daghestanian lowlands for the permanent use of Andi farmers. Schools were opened in all villages.

Language and Literacy. A script has been developed for the Andi language, which is used for local communications and correspondence but not in publications. In addition, folklore and literary works have been written in Andi. The official written languages before the Revolution were Arabic (for clerical and religious matters) and Avar (literature, press, religion). In the 1930s Avar became the medium of instruction in primary schools, with subsequent education being conducted in Russian. The Arabic script was used until 1928, when a Latin-based alphabet was promulgated, followed by the introduction of a Cyrillic orthography in 1937. The Andis have long been a polyglot people: most have a good command of Avar, and some speak Chechen. Since the 1960s the majority can speak Russian as well. Andi folklore and literature is marked by bilingualism (Andi and Avar).

Settlements

The Andi settlements are arranged like an amphitheater along the western and northern slopes of the Andi ravine (the villages of Andi, Gukhna, Gagatl, Rikvani, Ashali, Zilo, Chanko, Rishukha) and in the valleys of the larger rivers (the villages of Muni and Kvankhidatl). The older type of Andi settlement was a tightly packed cluster of buildings. Each village had a territory reserved for its exclusive use, the boundaries of which were clearly marked and respected. The territory comprised three segments: *hon* (settlement), *mighi* (arable land, including some of the hay fields), and *bil-alakhi*, which included the rest of the hay fields, alpine pastures, forests, badlands, and other uncultivatable land. Over the past thirty years this traditional division has undergone change. Should the settlement become densely populated, then a portion of the mighi and a portion of the fields are converted to private garden plots.

The most extreme example of the Andi architectural style is the village of Muni, which is essentially a single complex building. The streets are paved with stones and covered overhead by the upper stories of houses, giving the impression of tunnels. Muni resembles a phalanstery, formed from rows of two-story houses with adjoining walls. The lower story is used for stabling livestock and the upper story as living quarters. The flat roof of each house serves as a terrace for the house farther uphill. The typical Upper Andi settlement has a less-constrained layout: the streets are open, courtyards are present, the roofs are not shared, etc. The traditional administrative center of Andi territory is the village of Andi, laid out like a medieval mountain town: it is divided into quarters (*rekhkhun*) with a central square (*kaw*) and a mosque for Friday services. Each quarter also has its own kaw. Quarters and squares are likewise found in all other Andi villages. The Upper Andi settlements were twice destroyed and burned down: after the invasion of Tamerlane, and during Vorontsov's campaign of 1845. The contemporary homestead and settlement reflect the influence of more dispersed western Caucasian and eastern European layouts. Flat roofs have been supplanted by sloped roofs of slate or zinc-plated iron. The homes of well-to-do Andis traditionally were built with a separate room for guests, a feature preserved to this day. The interior of a traditional home includes a central column and a large fireplace (*tavkhan*), decorated with clay-relief ornamentation. Shelves and niches on the walls serve for the storage of domestic utensils. (The interior of a contemporary home is somewhat different.)

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. The foundations of the traditional economy of the Upper Andis were terrace farming, specialized gardening (in the villages of Muni and Kvankhidatl), and livestock herding, with the animals being driven to alpine pastures in the summer. The Andis have practiced all of these agricultural activities since antiquity, and they are all complementary. Some

Andis have taken jobs in the modern industrial and agricultural sectors (as workers on collective farms and in factories, etc.).

Andi apparel and cuisine are little different from those of the Avars. One exception is the traditional woman's costume, which consists of a tuniclike long dress with a tight waist, wide pantaloons, and distinctive leather shoes. The costume is completed by a headdress, *chukhtu*, in the form of a half-moon with the "horns" pointing downward. The portion of the chukhtu worn over the forehead is adorned with bright gold embroidery or brocaded fabric. Upper Andi women also wear a long white kerchief (*kazi*) wrapped about their heads. Lower Andi women wear a black kerchief without the chukhtu. The chukhtu was worn regularly up to the 1930s; now it is worn mainly on ceremonial occasions.

Industrial Arts. Traditionally the Andis manufactured noteworthy Caucasian felt cloaks (*burkas*) of long, durable black or white wool, shorn from a local (Andian) breed of sheep. This craft was practiced by women, whereas the men were responsible for the dyeing and merchandising of the cloaks. The manufacture of burkas goes back to ancient times. Historical records mention black felt cloaks as part of the battle garment of mountaineers at the time of the campaign of Alexander the Great in the Near East. There was an especially great demand and consequently increased production of burkas during the frequent warfare of the nineteenth century. The Andis considered them a specifically masculine garment, an important component of a warrior's equipment in both the cavalry and infantry. In the 1930s the production of burkas declined as a result of changes in fashion, the decreasing role of the cavalry in the army, etc. Local demand is presently supplied by the burka artel of the village of Rakhata. In only one Andi village, Gagatl, is the manufacture of burkas preserved as a minor form of domestic industry. In the Lower Andi village of Kvankhidatl table salt was extracted from nearby mineral springs and refined; this enterprise continues but only to a limited degree because of the reduced demand for the salt.

Trade. The Andis were traditionally considered to have an inclination for trade, deriving from the production of burkas. At one time they manufactured and sold 80,000 burkas per year throughout the entire Caucasus and Russia. Merchandisers would buy burkas from the villagers and sell them wherever it was profitable. Businesspeople organized the production of cloaks by hired laborers. By the second half of the twentieth century the burka trade was in decline. The villagers of Kvankhidatl deal in the salt they produce, which sold especially well during the economic blockade of Daghestan in the nineteenth century, at the time of the Caucasus Wars. The Lower Andis traditionally engaged in specialized gardening, all of the produce of which went to the markets to be exchanged for the products of animal husbandry and agriculture. In the past a weekly bazaar was held at the village of Andi, attended by villagers from the Andi territory and neighboring communities. At the present time the bazaar is held at Gagatl. Cooperative stores are now found in all of the Andi villages.

Division of Labor. Work was strictly apportioned according to age and gender among the Andis, a practice continued up to the present time. Agricultural labor, except for plowing and the grinding of grain, is given over to women; they are also responsible for dairy production, handicrafts, and housework (cooking, cleaning, sewing, child care). The women also engage in small commerce; one can see as many women as men buying and selling at the weekly bazaar. The heaviest labor was reserved for men: woodcutting and construction, plowing and threshing, driving and tending livestock in the alpine meadows, driving sheep to winter pastures, mowing and transport of hay from distant hay fields, etc. Well-to-do Andis employed hired laborers from neighboring Avar and Chechen villages for these tasks. Division of domestic and agricultural labor by gender is still practiced today. According to tradition, men were supposed to be left free to devote their time to martial training and sports and social and political affairs, a belief deriving from the life-styles and social conditions of the past.

Land Tenure. Historically, arable land, a portion of the hay fields, and certain pasturelands were privately owned, alienable property—that is, they could be bought, sold, inherited, given as gifts, etc. Some agricultural lots and other items were placed at the disposal of the mosque for charitable purposes. (Such items were known as *waqf*.) The property of each settlement was also precisely known to those living in the area, either through written documents or collective memory. A portion of these territorial holdings might be bought, sold, leased, or yielded, as agreed upon by the negotiating communities and in accordance with traditional property law. Private and communal ownership of land and the buying and selling of it were abolished with the nationalization of the land and the establishment of collective farms under Soviet administration. Recent reforms and economic restructuring will doubtless lead to further changes regarding landownership.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. The patriarchal line of descent was organized into a clanlike entity called the *tukhum*, which was divided into smaller units according to the following hierarchy: the clan (tukhum), the group of related families (*haq'u*) within the tukhum, and the nuclear family. Relations through the mother, which did not form the basis for a distinct kinship grouping, ceased to be reckoned after the third or fourth kinship link.

Kinship Terminology. The Andis reckon kinship bilaterally, using compound terms to indicate more distant generations: *ima* (father), *imuv ima* (grandfather), *vosho* (son), and *voshuv vosho* (grandson). Compare the preceding terms with the following noncompound terms for collateral relations: *votsi* (brother), *vats'al* (male first cousin), *tsinaal* (male second cousin), and *mazhmutly* (male third cousin). Some terms for relation through marriage are *nusa* (daughter-in-law), *nuso* (son-in-law), *ilatloro* (mother-in-law), and *imatloro* (father-in-law).

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Andis traditionally married at the age of 15 or older. Marriages were monogamous, although polygamy was permitted. Marriages could be contracted within the clan and even between cousins; there were restrictions on marriage between classes and a preference for marital partners from the same community. Matchmakers mediated the marital arrangements, and bride-prices were not paid. A bride received as a dowry a portion of her parents' property in land and livestock. In the Soviet period, after the abolition of private landownership, this practice was simplified. The contracting of marriage (*beten*) was accompanied by a three-day wedding celebration (*lovzar*), and in some cases horse-racing competitions, with awarding of prizes, were also held. A more abridged variant of the wedding (*nusgh'ol*) was often celebrated, without elaborate festivities, in the presence of relatives and friends. Marriage by abduction sometimes occurred, especially when the parents had refused their daughter's hand to a suitor, as well as elopement, when the young couple married without the consent of their parents. Abduction and elopement could result in discord within the community and hostility between families. In some cases the young man and woman would be forgiven.

Marriage was always patrilocal, with the father providing his newly married son a separate room or even constructing a house for him. In marriage as in divorce the woman retained the rights to her portion of the immovable property. Children remained in the paternal household, especially boys. The Andis have always preferred to settle matters of divorce without resort to the courts. A marriage could be dissolved at the request of either party.

Domestic unit. Extended family units seem not to have been known among the Andis.

Inheritance. Generally children receive their portion of the inheritance while their parents are still living, on the occasion of their getting married. The youngest son stays in his father's home, which he subsequently inherits. In the event that there are no living children, the tukhum assumes the property. The term for the last person in a lineage is *vakhidob*; in such a case the property is transferred to the communal treasury of the mosque. Should the parents die before the inheritance is divided, in accordance with Sharia (Islamic law) each son receives an equal share and each daughter receives one-third of a son's share. A person might also leave a written or oral testament specifying the distribution of inheritance. Written wills were announced at the mosque. After nationalization, land could no longer be inherited.

Socialization. Traditionally Andi children, juveniles, and young adults followed a socialization pattern developed over many centuries. Even today, beginning in the early years, all games, activities, and education are geared toward a child's development. The Andis ascribe especial importance to the learning of proper behavior. Contemporary schooling adheres to the general Soviet model, leading to changes in the traditional pedagogical scheme.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. In the medieval period Andi society had a many-layered class structure. The upper stratum consisted of patricians and feudal families (*rekhedol*), among which the Shamkhalol lineage (referred to as the "shamkalate") enjoyed a special social hegemony throughout Daghestan, extending from the introduction of Islam in the fifteenth century up to the seventeenth century. Especially prominent in Andi society was the free peasantry (*uzden*), comprising more or less prestigious tukhums of noble origin. After the Russian Empire annexed Andia in the nineteenth century, a military elite was also recognized within Andi society. The lower class included freedmen (*lagi*), descendants of captives or individuals involuntarily sold into slavery. The numerous lagis, after their emancipation in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and especially during the Soviet period, were almost completely integrated into general society—although their earlier status is still remembered and is taken into consideration in the contracting of marital alliances.

Political Organization. Andia has been referred to as a "federated republic" (S. Bronevski) comprising seven self-governing communities: Andi, Gukhna, Gagatl, Rikvani, Ashali, Zilo, and Chanko. The villages of Muni and Kvankhidatl were part of a neighboring political entity (*tekhnutsal*). The Andian alliance was once the strongest in western Daghestan, particularly in the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries, at the time of the shamkhalate, the authority of which extended to neighboring Avarian and Chechen communities. Administrative and judicial powers were exercised by governors (*hilatabul*) and a council of elders (*jamati*) representing the populace. The most general powers and functions were delegated to the government of the federation. The governors were selected and sworn in annually. The police function was fulfilled by appointees of the council of elders (*dorghaqol*), and military matters devolved upon the *seduqan* (leaders).

Social Control and Conflict. The courts based their decisions on the traditional code of laws (*adat*), custom, and Sharia. Justice (according to Sharia) and spiritual authority were carried out by the *qadis* (judges), present in each village, from among whom was chosen the chief qadi of the federation. (One such social and religious figure was the fifteenth-century qadi Ali Mirza al Andi, who bore the title "Sheikh-ul-Shyukh.") Because of this juridical pluralism, a plaintiff could choose from among judicial systems. Public opinion exerted an important regulatory constraint, as did the *maslaat* (mediatory) courts. In many instances the parties settled matters without resort to the courts, on the basis of tradition and negotiation. During the time of the imamate (mid-nineteenth century) and annexation to Russia, an Andian naibate (part of the Andi *okrug*) replaced the earlier federation and was subsequently liquidated with the establishment of Soviet power. At the present time village soviets administer local authority.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. The Andis are Sunni Muslims. They definitively adopted Islam in the fourteenth century; the Muslim faith supplanted a Christianity syncretized with

more ancient religious beliefs. The pre-Islamic Andis had a cultic center on the peak of the mountain of Bakhargan, which was associated with their chief deity, Ts'ob. The Bakhargan cult declined after the propagation of Islam but did not disappear entirely. Even now, in times of summer drought, men and women ascend the mountain to perform rain-making rites. They offer thanksgiving there and perform a ritual dance (*zikr*, a term also used for Sufi rituals). This type of zikr was founded by Kunta Haji, a Chechen religious figure of the first half of the nineteenth century. There is also a cult connected with a local Andian holy man (*ziyarat*), Sheikh Umaraji (from the village of Andi). Mosques are located in all Andi villages; the chief celebrant is termed the *dibir*, and the mosque attendant is the *budun*. Until the 1930s *medresseh* schools for the education of gifted children were attached to the mosques.

The spiritual life of the Andis includes elements of superstition and various metaphysical conceptions concerning the world and the course of life. Belief in good and evil spirits is very widespread. The community of souls, which the Andis seek to appease with gifts, is imagined to be a Lilliputian world of miniature beings. According to popular belief, each person has an invisible doppelgänger, and the events in people's lives are but a repetition of what had happened earlier to their doubles. Ten days before a person's death the doppelgänger abandons him or her completely.

Ceremonies. The most elaborate Andi feast day was the festival of the "bull's departure," celebrated on New Year's Day, which traditionally occurred around the spring equinox. Twin bulls were yoked to a plow, and the first furrow was plowed by a person who had volunteered for that task at the previous holiday. During the festival, champions in running, wrestling, and stone tossing were presented, and horse races were held, with prizes being awarded.

Wedding ceremonies include a bridal procession, during which the bride is stopped at various locations, the road is closed off, ransom is demanded, supporters come to her aid, and a mock altercation takes place. An especially impressive ceremony is the reconciliation of a blood feud, accompanied by oratory and speech making, the offering of thanksgiving, etc. At Andi funerals, women perform keening rituals, which normally are not part of Islamic funeral rites, whereas the men sit together to express condolence.

Arts. Andi folk music resembles that of the Avars, but it has several distinctive characteristics. The dancing style is closer to that of the Chechens. The ancient Andi dance *tlibdil* is especially picturesque. The Andis have a keen sense of irony, and they are renowned throughout Daghestan as unsurpassed tellers of jokes and anecdotes.

Medicine. Traditionally, certain illnesses, especially neurological and psychological disorders, were believed to have been sent by spirits, and consequently magical healing practices were once widely used. There are also medical techniques based on the empirical knowledge of the people, intermixed with those acquired from practitioners of Oriental medicine. Wounds and broken bones could be effectively treated, and the technique of trephination (boring a hole into the skull) was known. Scientific medicine has now been made available to the Andi community, with clinics in the villages and a hospital at Andi. Some Andis have themselves become doctors, including the well-known neurosurgeon Rashidbeg Umakhanov from Gagatl.

Death and Afterlife. The Andis have adopted a basically Muslim eschatology. A few pagan beliefs concerning the afterlife persist (e.g., a belief in immortal souls that take on the appearance of people and participate in the daily life of the living).

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MAMAYKHAN A. AGLAROV
(Translated by Kevin Tuite)

Armenians

ETHNONYMS: Self-designation: Hay. Other names include Armyanin (Russian) and Somekhi (Georgian). The land of Armenia is called Hayasdan.

Orientation

Identification. Historically, the Armenian nation has been situated in the Anatolian highlands of Asia Minor. Greater Armenia, as identified by the ancient Romans, once lay to the east of the Euphrates River, while Lesser Armenia lay to the west. At different times Armenian kingdoms have occupied territory within the present-day boundaries of modern Turkey, Iran, and Azerbaijan, as well as the Soviet Socialist Republic of Armenia. As recently as the early nineteenth century, Eastern Armenia was controlled by Persia and Western Armenia by the Ottoman Empire. In 1828 Eastern Armenia came under Russian rule. The transition to Soviet rule was marked by a brief and difficult period of independence (1918–1921). In 1915 many Armenians fled persecution and genocide in eastern Turkey (Western Armenia) and came as refugees to Eastern Armenia. This genocide and the subsequent seventy years of Soviet rule have played a major role in shaping contemporary Armenian culture and consciousness, in addition to determining the geography and demography of present-day Armenia.

Location. The Armenian Republic (formerly the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic) is in the southwestern region of the former Soviet Union, bordered on the east and

west by Azerbaijan and Turkey, respectively, and on the north and south by Georgia and Iran, respectively. Its territory comprises 29,740 square kilometers, and its border is 1,422 kilometers long. Armenia encompasses multiple climatic zones, varying seasonally in temperature from −13° C to 25° C. Much of the land is dry and arid, which has made large-scale cultivation difficult.

The Armenian Republic consists of thirty-seven administrative regions and twenty-seven towns and has its own constitution and governmental institutions. The official language of the republic is Armenian. The three main industrial centers are the capital city, Erevan; the pre-Soviet capital city, Gumri (formerly Leninakan, and before that, Alexandropol); and Kirovakan. The republic consists of six economic regions: Ararat, Shirak, Lori, Agstev, Sevan, and Sjunik. Since the 1920s the Soviet republics of Armenia and Azerbaijan have opposed each other in a violent border dispute over the fertile region of mountainous Karabagh (the Nagorno-Karabagh Oblast), which by Soviet law is an autonomous region within the jurisdiction of Azerbaijan, but which is populated by a majority of Armenians (80 percent in the 1970s) and is, according to Armenian accounts, traditionally Armenian.

Demography. In 1990 the population of the Armenian Republic was 3,515,000, with the second-highest population density in the Soviet Union. The ethnic composition of Armenia is highly homogeneous, with Armenians constituting 93.5 percent of the population. Russians make up 2.7 percent, and Kurds account for 1.5 percent. The remaining 2.3 percent is composed of other nationalities. Nearly 66 percent of the Armenian people live in urban areas, and 60 percent (1.5 million) live in Erevan, the republic's capital.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Armenian language represents an independent subgroup of the Indo-European Language Family. The Armenian alphabet was devised in the early fifth century by Mesrop Mashtots, for the purpose of translating biblical texts and Christian liturgical materials. In the twentieth century, written Armenian has undergone two spelling reforms in Soviet Armenia, to improve the phonetic relationship between the written and spoken languages and to standardize the grammar. There are many spoken dialects in Armenia today.

History and Cultural Relations

The first known textual reference to the Armenians is by the Greek historian Xenophon, dated approximately 400 B.C. From this time on Armenians were a noted cultural presence in the Mediterranean world. Centered in eastern Anatolia, now within the boundaries of modern Turkey, historic Armenia was a buffer zone between successive empires: first between the Roman and Persian empires, and then between the Byzantine and Muslim empires. By the sixteenth century, Greater Armenia had been absorbed into the Iranian and Ottoman empires. This is the source of the division of Armenia into two cultural and linguistic halves: eastern and western. Today two dialects have been standardized: one for the Eastern and one for the Western Armenian peoples. Eastern and Western Armenia have distinctive cultural and literary traditions reflecting their linguistic differences. Today, Western Armenian is characteristically spoken in the Armenian diaspora by Armenians deriving from Turkey, Lebanon, Syria, and other countries of the Middle East—primarily those displaced by the genocide of Armenians in Turkey in 1915. Contemporary speakers of Eastern Armenian are characteristically indigenous to the region of historic Armenia (the current Armenian Republic) or belong to the Armenian communities of Iran. Yet the split between Eastern and Western Armenians predates the Soviet period; indeed, it goes back to the sociopolitical context of the Middle Ages.

According to legend, Armenia was the first nation to convert to Christianity, between the years 301 and 330, when a Parthian missionary, Saint Gregory the Illuminator, met the Armenian King Trdat. Prior to the national conversion, the first Christian Armenian church was founded by the saints Bartholomew and Thaddaeus in the first century. Despite the pressures of Zoroastrian Iranian, Islamic Seljuk (1063–1072) and Mamluk, Mongol (1242–1244 and 1400), Russian, and Soviet occupiers over the centuries, the Armenians have retained their Apostolic church to the present day. Although the church was at first subordinate to Constantinople, it broke away at the Council of Chalcedon in 451 to follow a Monophysite doctrine. Armenians nevertheless continued to make a significant cultural contribution to the Byzantine Empire, notably through their distinctive tradition of church architecture. In fact, it is rumored that when the Hagia Sophia Basilica was damaged by an earthquake, the Patriarch Basil sent for the Armenian architect Trdat to come to Constantinople and direct the repairs. Squinches, small archlike structures that make the structural transition from four walls to a circular dome (and upon which the dome rests), are often attributed to the Armenian architectural tradition, or even specifically to the architect Trdat.

Another major challenge to the authority of the Armenian church began in the late nineteenth century when, as part of a policy of Russification, the czarist government attempted to convert Armenians to the Russian Orthodox church with tactics such as the imprisonment of the Armenian clergy and the confiscation of church property. Yet the church has survived and is today enjoying a renaissance in its leadership of the Armenian people. Today several distinctive Armenian churches have formed in the diaspora, including a Protestant church (which originated under the influence of Presbyterian missionaries in Turkey in the nineteenth century); an Apostolic church with a *catholikosate* at Antelias, Lebanon; and an Armenian Catholic church. The majority of Armenians both in the diaspora and in the Armenian Republic, however, belong to the Armenian Apostolic church, with its *catholikos* (primate) at Echmiadzin in the Armenian Republic.

Today, in the context of *perestroika*, and *glasnost*, the conflict with Azerbaijan over the Nagorno-Karabagh region, an Armenian nationalist movement is growing in the republic. Born out of conditions of oppression and persecution in the late nineteenth century, Armenian nationalist parties last dominated Armenian politics in the republic during the period of independence. Often having a Socialist agenda, these parties stated as their goal the liberation and improvement of the Armenian people. These groups retained some power among Armenians in the diaspora throughout the Soviet period.

Settlements

Traditional Armenian villages generally consisted of two or three hundred households or, in the mountainous regions, twenty to thirty farms. Although separate, the households were interdependent. When village families could not produce enough to meet their own subsistence needs they engaged in barter. Individual houses were often arranged around a central courtyard or were grouped together around a communal space in which fruit trees were usually grown. The flat roofs of contiguous houses provided a space where neighbors and relatives might gather socially (although in some regions subterranean houses might have domed or cone-shaped roofs with a central opening called *yerdik'*). Most often, the individual houses each consisted of a stable and two rooms: one for the reception of guests and one for general living. Part or all of the structure was often subterranean, a building feature derived from defense tactics. External walls were built of either mud bricks or the indigenous *tuf* (tufa, a kind of volcanic rock). Kitchens and bathrooms (outhouses) were usually located in external structures. There was usually a special oven, called a *t'onir*, in the center of the earthen floor of the reception room. The t'onir is a round hole dug in the ground, which can be used for baking Armenian flat bread (*lavash*) and for heating the home in winter. In some households, the fire in the t'onir was never extinguished and was said to symbolize the family. The t'onir is still common to Armenian village households today.

Living arrangements, accommodations, and architectural styles differed from village to village and were altogether different in the towns of Alexandropol (later Leninakan, now Gumri) and Erevan, where people participated much less in their neighbors' daily lives. In the towns, family units were smaller and men were primarily artisans, merchants, and traders by profession. Residents of the villages might come to the towns to visit the bazaar, where most business was conducted. Traditionally, in addition to the Armenian populations of Alexandropol and Erevan, there have been large Armenian populations in the cities of Tbilisi (the capital of Georgia) and Baku (the capital of Azerbaijan). Generally these Armenians were also artisans, merchants, and businessmen.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. Less than one-third of the land of historic Armenia was arable, and cereals were the staple crop. Although the crops were the responsibility of the men, the women often helped during the harvest if extra hands were needed.

Clothing. For nearly 200 years European styles of dress have been popular in Armenian towns and cities. Until the Soviet period, however, traditional dress could be found in many villages. For both men and women traditional garb consisted of baggy trousers covered by long shifts and overcoats. Men in particular might wear sheepskin hats and elaborate metalwork belts made in the style of their particular region. It was popular for women to wear their hair in long braids until marriage and to wear gold and silver jewelry (especially coins), which represented the family's wealth and investments. Most clothing was made of wool, although cottons and silks were used when they were available. Many features of traditional Armenian dress are common to other peoples of the Caucasus.

Food. The Armenian diet was somewhat monotonous, consisting largely of grains and cereals. Bulgur, pilaf, porridge, and flat bread were staple items. Dairy products were also commonly eaten, such as yogurt, milk, butter, and cheese. A popular Armenian drink to this day is *tan*, a mixture of water and soured yogurt. Fruits such as apricots and figs were dried for consumption in the winter and were often eaten with nuts. Other fruits, such as berries, were canned, and vegetables were pickled. Grapes were very commonly grown in Eastern Armenia, where there is a long history of wine production. Meat was eaten rarely, usually only when an animal could not be sustained through the long winter. Livestock were kept primarily for dairy products, and in winter they shared living quarters with the family.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Traditional Armenian cultural practices have changed dramatically since the 1915 genocide and subsequent dispersal of Armenians from eastern Anatolia. Many traditional elements still characterize contemporary Armenian life, however, particularly in rural villages of the former Soviet Union. The most general category of Armenian descent was the *azk*, a nonresidential community of Armenians with kinship and political loyalties. The largest unit of Armenian kinship was the clan (*gerdastan*). While this term may refer to the immediate relatives of a single parent or grandparent, it is also used to describe patriarchal, patrilineal clans that included ancestors in the male line, sometimes extending as far back as six or eight generations. These clans resembled other European and Caucasian clan organizations dating back to the Middle Ages. Among the many responsibilities of the head of the clan were the maintenance of clan honor, consent for all marriages, the burial of deceased clan members, and the avenging of blood feuds. Clans often served the purpose of self-defense against other clans and other peoples.

Although the clans were not characteristically residential, they sometimes occupied a particular territory within a village. In such cases, a network of blood ties constituted a cooperative economic unit, and consensus was required among male members for the disposal of any property. Both residentially and nonresidentially based clans were exogamous, with strict taboos against marriage between second cousins and between god kin and against levirate.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Armenian families were traditionally patrilocal, requiring that the bride move to the home of the groom's parents at the time of marriage. In traditional Armenian society marriages were arranged by the families of the bride and groom or by a matchmaker hired by the groom's family. In-law (*khnami*) relations were very important to social life in the village, and therefore the wedding was a social event involving the entire community. The average age of a bride (*hars*) was between 14 and 16 years, while the average age of the groom (*p'esa*) was between 15

and 20. The bride and groom were generally, but not always, acquainted prior to the engagement. The engagement began as a series of negotiations between families and did not involve the participation of either the bride or groom. When the boy's father ascertained the approval of the girl's father for the marriage, the "word was tied" (*khos-gab*, i.e., preengagement, occurred), and the female relatives on both sides began visiting one another. With the first visit of the girl's entire family to the home of the boy, the actual engagement and in-law relationship was established. The engagement usually lasted from several months to two years, during which the boy and girl prohibited from talking with one another during family visits. If the girl had older, unmarried sisters, it was considered important for her to wait for them to marry first. A party to celebrate the formal betrothal was hosted by the girl's parents, and at this party the boy's mother placed gold coins or some other ornament (like a ring) on the girl (*nshan*), thus instigating the period of her initiation as bride in the boy's household.

The wedding celebration itself (*harsanik'*) was commonly held in autumn (approximately one year after the engagement). It would begin on a Friday and last between one and seven days, with the consummation occurring on a Sunday evening. On the wedding day the groom and his party would go to the home of the bride, where she would be dressed by his godmother or, if dressed by her own female relatives, she would be veiled by the godmother. An outer veil was removed after the wedding ceremony; an inner veil was not removed until after consummation of the marriage. After she was dressed, the bride was escorted to the church by the groom and his relatives. The marriage took place there, and the godparents (*k'avor* and *k'avorkin*) of the groom usually presided over the ceremony as well as over the subsequent festivities. These festivities were conducted at the home of the groom, where all the guests gathered. Upon entering the house, the bride and groom would break dishes, jars, or sometimes eggs to symbolize good luck in the new home. Also during their entrance to the house, the bride and groom wore lavash (traditional Armenian flat bread) draped over their shoulders to ward off evil spirits. The wedding festivities usually included (and still do in some regions of Armenia) the pre-Christian practice of jumping over a fire three times to ensure fertility. The bride and groom would "fly" (*t'rrch'il*) over the fire together, while the guests circled around them, holding hands and dancing. The bride was expected to remain quiet throughout the party, both in respect for her in-laws and husband and in sorrow at leaving her own family. The period directly preceding the wedding ceremony was one of joviality for the groom and of lamentation for the bride, who was about to permanently leave her home. On the day following the wedding ceremony the groom's parents would send a red apple to the parents of the bride, to recognize the bride's virginity. The bride was prohibited from seeing her family for the first week after marriage but on the seventh day her parents would visit her at the home of her in-laws, bringing symbolic gifts or sometimes the trousseau. This practice is known as "head washing" (*gloukha laval*). The bride herself was not permitted to visit her parents until after the birth of her first child or, with the permission of her mother-in-law, after forty days. Many of these practices pertaining to marriage are still common today in the Armenian Republic, although generally engagements are shorter, lasting one to two months. Similarly, whereas autumn was traditionally the season for weddings—because fruits and vegetables were still available, because the summer's wine was ready to be drunk, and because animals that could not be supported during the long winter could be slaughtered—today weddings take place year-round.

Division of Labor. Labor in the household economic unit was strictly divided according to the principles of gender and generation: the patriarch managed communal work and the incomes of all family members, while domestic work and the household itself were supervised by the wife of the head of the family. The rigidity of the domestic labor hierarchy and the pertinence of gender and generation to the associated social roles are best illustrated by the subordinate position of the new bride. Upon entering the household of her in-laws, the bride was expected to serve all of its members. Because cooking was the privileged work of the mother-in-law, the bride's responsibilities included menial tasks such as cleaning the shoes of all household members. Her face was usually veiled in public for at least one year (and sometimes it was tightly bound, a practice known as *mounj*), and during a ritual period of silence she was allowed to speak to no one except children and her husband (should they find themselves completely alone). After the birth of her first child, she was sometimes permitted to speak to the women of her household. Some women maintained a period of ritual silence for ten years or for life. The other responsibilities of the bride included kissing the hands of elders, never falling asleep if her father-in-law was still awake, and helping him to dress and undress. Humiliating tasks were considered an initiation of the new bride into the household. In general, women's responsibilities included the preparation of food, clothing, and domestic items such as candles, soap, and pottery; the weaving of rugs; and the tending of dairy animals and poultry. While women were working, the eldest children of the household would care for the younger children. This required little work in the case of infants, who were swaddled. Men were responsible for the heavy agricultural work, the building of houses and furniture, and the working of leather. The vast majority of labor was organized by family units, although occasionally an entire village might undertake a project. Hospitality, regarded by Armenians as a great virtue, was considered to be the obligation of everyone, male and female.

Domestic Unit. Within a village, families resided either in extended family (clan, or gerdastan), or nuclear (*untanik'*) units. Extended family residences were usually multigenerational and consisted of somewhere between fifteen and fifty relatives who were bound together by principles of patrilineal descent. Residential nuclear families usually consisted of an elder married son who had left the extended family home with his wife and older children.

Inheritance. The extended family home was typically inherited by the youngest son, who remained there with his wife and children and cared for his parents after his elder brothers had moved away. Property was nevertheless generally distributed evenly among brothers. The senior male of

the domestic family was usually succeeded by his eldest son, and the wife of the family head was typically succeeded by the eldest son's wife.

Sociopolitical Organization

Village organization was often distinct from clan organization. The traditional Armenian village (*kiwgh*) was governed by a local patriarchal headman, usually a senior representative of the wealthiest family in the village. However, the village headman (*tanouter*) was elected by residents, who usually cast votes by placing a nut or a bean in the hat of their candidate. The headman's responsibilities included mediating domestic and village-level quarrels, distributing tax loads, and punishing violations of custom.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs and Practices. Most rituals in Armenian tradition follow the calendar of the Armenian Christian church, so that, for example, Easter and various saints' days are often celebrated. The new year is celebrated on 1 January in Soviet tradition, and it is customary for people to go visiting from house to house on that day to wish each other luck and success for the new year. At midnight of New Year's Eve, it is common to go to the cemetery to visit and drink a toast to deceased family members. Christmas is celebrated by Armenians on 6 January, which is also the date of Christmas in the Orthodox church. Like other peoples of the Near East, Armenians believe in the evil eye and have various ritual means of diverting it, such as wearing blue clothing or a clove of garlic.

Arts. Education and the arts have traditionally been held in high esteem in Armenian society. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many young men were sent abroad for education and made significant contributions to international education, letters, and business. In the former Soviet Union, Armenians were particularly recognized for their contributions to science and the arts. A Western Armenian literary tradition has flourished in the diaspora, and Armenians have achieved a worldwide reputation for literature and painting. Armenians have been active in the government and politics of many countries of the world. Armenian folk arts notably include metalwork, woodwork, rug weaving, and verbal arts.

Medicine. In the nineteenth century Armenians practiced various healing rituals, but today medical care is primarily of the Soviet type. Exceptions are the treatment of colds or small wounds: the remedy for a sore throat is to take lemon with honey, and yogurt is used as a salve for the treatment of skin wounds.

Death and Afterlife. Armenian funerals generally take place three days after death. Prior to the burial, relatives and close friends gather at the home of the deceased; the men might stand and talk while the women take coffee and pastries together. The body is kept at home until the burial, and the coffin lid is placed upright by the front door of the house as a sign to neighbors that there has been a death in the family. The grave is visited by close friends and relatives on the seventh and fortieth days after death and on the anniversary, as well as at New Year. Until the visit on the fortieth day, male members of the family are prohibited from shaving. Food, alcoholic beverages, and flowers are common offerings for the dead.

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STEPHANIE PLATZ

Ashkenazim

ETHNONYM: Yevrei

Orientation

Identification. "Ashkenaz" refers to the first settlements of Jews in northwestern Europe, on the banks of the Rhine, and to the culture, conservative of sources and customs, as developed through study of Torah (which can refer to the first five books of the Old Testament, the entire Old Testament, or all of Jewish law) and Talmud (a collection of laws and traditions). Since at least the fourteenth century, "Ashkenazim" has referred to German Jews and their descendants anywhere in the world. Ashkenazim share with Jews worldwide an origin myth based on the cycle of stories about the Ten Lost Tribes, according to which Jews came to Germany after the destruction of the first temple in Jerusalem (586 B.C.). Ashkenazi culture then spread from Germany and northern France to Poland and Lithuania and then to Russia, among other countries. Ashkenazi society was based on the monogamic Jewish family and governed itself on community and synod levels.

This article focuses on Ashkenazim residing in areas of the Russian, Belarussian, and Ukrainian republics (formerly centers of the Jewish Pale of Residence of the Russian Empire), which were Soviet territory from before World War II until 1990 (between 75 and 90 percent of Soviet Jews).

The actions of others and their images of Jews have strongly influenced Jewish culture. Limitations on Jews' ability to express ethnicity have almost eradicated knowledge about their religion and history and have accelerated their assimilation into the dominant society. Paradoxically,

these limitations have also intensified the feeling of difference that Jews experience. Jewish identity is constructed as much in "opposition" to what is felt to be a hostile environment as in terms of common lineage and history. Vital to Ashkenazi culture are characterizations of Jews as seen through the eyes of others—for example, "Zionist" (especially since 1967), "conspiratorial" (Slavophile), "Western and materialist" (Revolutionary), "capitalist" (Stalin era), "rootless cosmopolitans," and exploitative and profiteering middlemen; also contributing to Ashkenazi culture has been the image of the Jew in literature: the sickly, cowardly, pushy, avaricious, curly-haired individual with a long hooked nose, grotesque and provincial, taking the best jobs in Russia, having secret allegiances elsewhere. The "Jewish accent," influenced by Yiddish expressions, phonetics, intonation, and syntax, is common in the Ukraine, less so in Russian cities and among the highly educated. Many jokes are made about the Jewish manner of speech, so it can be a matter of irritation, self-consciousness, or both.

Clothing styles that had hardly changed for centuries disappeared after 1917. Nevertheless, "differences" may exist between Jewish and Soviet styles, perhaps as slight nuances in tailor-or homemade clothes, and because some Jews save money and purchase goods from abroad. Despite being the most extremely assimilated Jews in the former USSR, the Ashkenazim maintain a distinct identity, involving a combination of desires to preserve their Jewishness and at the same time to be as invisible in it as possible.

Location and Demography. Census figures underestimate the Jewish population because younger Jews or those with greater social aspirations often want to hide their Jewish identity. At age 16, children of mixed-nationality marriages may choose to have either parent's nationality on their passports, and it is considered less advantageous to be known as a Jew. "How is he on the fifth point?," referring to the fifth point, nationality, on Soviet official documents, means "Is he a non-Jew?" or, in other words, "Can we hire him?" Thus, although the 1979 census showed a population of 701,000 Jews in Russia (38.7 percent of Soviet Jews, 0.5 percent of the Russian population), 634,000 in the Ukraine (35 percent of Soviet Jews, 1.3 percent of the Ukrainian population), and 135,000 in Byelorussia (7.5 percent of Soviet Jews, 1.4 percent of the Byelorussian population), a more accurate total is between 1.5 and 2 million.

Because of emigration, mixed marriage, and the relatively high percentage of older Jews (26.5 percent of Jews are over 60, but only 12 percent of ethnic Russians are), Ashkenazim are one of the very few groups with a declining population. Since as early as 1926, Jews have had the lowest birth rate of any major ethnic group in the USSR.

Nearly all Ashkenazim are now urban, a phenomenon that began at the end of the nineteenth century because of pogroms and poverty caused by village overpopulation. Small Jewish villages essentially ceased to exist after World War II. Emigration further diminished the population.

Anti-Semitism is felt to be strongest—and more constitutive of Jewish identity—in the Ukraine, Belarus, and Russian cities and towns than in the Baltic states, Caucasus, and Central Asia, but Moscow is widely considered to be the most attractive place in the former USSR (there were 8,473 Jews in Moscow in 1897; at present there are about 250,000); most Jews born there remain there or emigrate, and over one-half of Jews moving from other regions move to Moscow. Leningrad's Jewish population is about 160,000. On the opposite extreme is the Ukraine, where only about one-half of Jews born there stay.

Emigration. About 2 million Jews emigrated to the Americas and Palestine between 1881 and 1914. After the Six Day War in 1967 the attempt to emigrate accelerated; 30.9 percent of Jews in the Ukraine requested visas, 12.6 percent of Jews in the Russian Republic requested visas, and in Byelorussia 18.7 percent of Jews submitted requests (a total of 125,788 requests were granted for the three republics). From 1979 to 1985 about 12 percent of Soviet Jews emigrated, of which 60 percent settled in Israel. Interest in emigration continues to increase, motivated by desires to relate to Jewish tradition, rejoin family or friends, improve one's financial position, or (most common) to live free of discrimination. The state of Israel is valued as a symbol of historical and cultural unity and continuity.

The Six Day War was a turning point in many Jews' self-images and the beginning of a renewal of interest in Jewish culture, although much emigration is not to Israel: from 1973 to 1976, only 25 percent of those emigrating from Moscow, Leningrad, and Kiev and 6 percent of those emigrating from Odessa on Israeli visas went to Israel, though this tendency changes in different emigration waves.

Linguistic Affiliation. In czarist Russia, Jews spoke Yiddish in everyday life and knew Hebrew, the language of Jewish religion. Now children speak Russian as a first language, and in the Ukraine and Belarus they study Yiddish and Hebrew also and often speak them fluently. Before and after the 1917 Revolution the Jewish community debated whether Yiddish or Hebrew had primacy in Jewish life. In 1918 Yiddish was officially recognized as the "proletarian" Jewish language, and the instruction of Hebrew was forbidden in secondary schools. In 1909, 96.9 percent of all Jews of the Russian Empire considered either Hebrew or Yiddish their native tongue. By 1979 this had dropped to 14.2 percent (almost all older people), with Yiddish considered a second language by 5.4 percent. In Russia, the Ukraine, and Belarus the decline is much more dramatic. After the Revolution, Hebrew was taught only to a limited extent in universities. Currently, it has begun to be taught again by some 100 teachers across the former republics, with about 500 students (one-half the USSR total) in Moscow and about 200 in Leningrad. Among educated city Jewry, Hebrew is preferred over Yiddish, perhaps because it carries associations with ancient history and biblical tradition rather than with a more recent, "degrading" past.

Yiddish formed during the tenth to twelfth centuries in Germany, is based on German dialects, and contains much Hebrew (taken from the Bible and the Talmud), Russian, Polish, and Ukrainian. In a 1932 attempt to "dehebraize" the culture, Yiddish orthography was changed by transcribing Hebrew loanwords phonetically and eliminating the five final letters of the alphabet. Until after World War II Yiddish was spoken openly on the street.

Everyday use of Yiddish has largely disappeared, with knowledge of Yiddish being greater with each higher age group; some older people spoke it as a first language and use it at home; later generations were hardly exposed to it.

History and Cultural Relations

Ashkenazi travelers and traders were in Russia before the twelfth century, but significant movement east from Germany and Bohemia occurred slowly over the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries, first to Poland-Lithuania (where at the end of the fifteenth century the Jewish population was only 10,000 and 15,000) and then to the Ukraine, Belarussia, and Russia, where the first legislation mentioning Jews was in the sixteenth century.

Small Jewish communities, *shtetls* rarely had large-scale industry, surviving on trade with peasants. The central communal organization of the shtetl surveyed weights and measures, interacted with professional groups (such as midwives and town musicians) and with scribes, teachers, and other professionals to regulate fees, wages, and so forth, and also governed artisan guilds, which often combined social, administrative, religious, and economic institutions. Rabbis regulated aspects of everyday life governed by Jewish law: butchers and food preparation; ritual baths; tiny scrolls for door posts; observation of the Sabbath, of weddings, and other ceremonies; and the administration of justice. Myriad charities and philanthropic groups were supported by donations even from poor Jews. Shtetls had no public places of amusement; life centered on the *beis hamidrash* ("house of study") and the synagogue, where morning, afternoon, and evening prayers were attended by male community members.

In the eighteenth century Jews were first banished from Russia and from Ukrainian and Belarussian territories; then, on the basis of mercantilist theories, there was some readmission. Settlements increased after 1772, augmented by partitions of Poland, which added thousands of Jews to the empire. Catherine II established a Jewish "Pale of Residence." Jews were allowed to do business only in certain regions. The "Black Hundreds" anti-Semitic movement encouraged pogroms and massacres in the Ukraine.

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, pauperization of villagers caused men to travel for work, move to cities, and emigrate. Of those who moved to the cities, a small number advanced in banking, industry, and the professions, but poverty and crowding in the ghettos increased. Jewish communities had always had internal class conflicts, but they grew in severity as economic conditions worsened. Jews were active in the two large anticzarist and other revolutionary movements. Theodore Herzl's writings and the formation of the World Zionist Organization fueled a nationalist movement among all groups of Jews. The Marxist-Socialist Bund, General Alliance of Jewish Workers, was an important component of Russian Social Democracy and the Revolutionary movement. In 1903 and 1905 pogroms, about 1,000 Jews were killed and thousands wounded, despite a new self-defense movement. The 1917 revolutions abolished anti-Semitism along with all national and religious discrimination. Economic changes undermined the role of the shtetl, increasing migration to cities. Even in the traditional Pale, youth and intellectuals were attracted to Bolshevik internationalist, socialist ideals; there were Jews at the top of the Communist party (e.g., Sverdlov, Zinoviev, Yoffe, Litvinov, Radek, Trotsky) and in the party ranks: in 1927 Jewish party members numbered 44,155 in the three republics; Jews comprised the largest group of party members after ethnic Russians and Ukrainians. In 1926, 4.4 percent of the Red Army officers were Jewish. The Revolution and communism were and are now again perceived by many as non-Russian phenomena, occurring under the influence of "foreigners," especially Jews. From 1917 to 1921 over 50,000 Jews were killed in Ukrainian pogroms. Many shopkeepers and independent craftsmen adapted well to the opportunities for private economic initiative allowed in the "New Economic Policy" (1920s) but were later held up as symbols of bourgeois exploitation. The percentage of Jews in agriculture dropped from its 2.33 percent level in 1897, but when NEP failed to help economic distress and thousands of families were surviving on help from Western Jewry, Jewish agricultural settlements were established in the Ukraine, Byelorussia, and the Crimea. By 1930, 11 percent of Jews made their living on these settlements, but these tens of thousands of families had moved back by 1939. For example, in 1928 Birobijan, a 36,000-square-kilometer territory in southeast Siberia, was established as an "Autonomous Jewish Region" giving Jews the territory required by the definition of a nationality and as an "alternative" to Zionism, but by 1933, 11,450 of the 19,635 Jews who had moved to Birobijan had returned; the population has declined since.

During World War II many of the most traditional Ashkenazim were killed (estimates vary between 1.2 and 2.5 million), including 33,771 killed within thirty-six hours and up to 90,000 in the following months at Babi Yar, a ravine outside Kiev in 1941. Yevtushenko's poem "Babi Yar," a rare affirmation by a non-Jew, was important for the Soviet Jewish self-image. Two hundred thousand Jews died in the Red Army. What remained of Jewish collective farms in the Ukraine was almost totally destroyed by Nazis and Ukrainian collaborators.

After World War II, under the auspices of Stalin's campaign against "cosmopolitanism," remaining synagogues, schools (in 1949, the last Yiddish school, in Birobijan, was closed), and publications were closed; literature and religious objects were confiscated and destroyed; rabbis, writers, and Jews of all professions were harrassed, attacked in the press, imprisoned, deported to Siberia, and killed. Twenty-four Jewish writers were executed on 12 August 1952. In 1953 a group of doctors was tried for terrorism, followed by an anti-Semitic campaign. After Stalin's death this campaign was cut back and some of the accused and executed were "rehabilitated." The charge of "economic crimes," however, has often (particularly during the 1960s Krushchev regime) been brought against Jews.

Assimilation of Ashkenazim into Russian culture has at various points in history been imposed from the outside and desired by some within the community: Czar Nicholas I undertook to Russify the Jews by a combination of methods: Christianization, deportation, assigning prolonged army service, granting some the right to study in Russian schools, and establishing state schools for Jews. Alexander II liberalized the right of Jewish merchants of the first

guild, graduates of Russian schools, and skilled artisans to exit the Pale and facilitated the promotion of Jews in professions formerly closed to them. After Alexander II's assassination, this Russianization was replaced by renewed distinctions made between Jews and others. In the mid-nineteenth century the "Haskalah" Jewish enlightenment movement supported assimilation, opposing as "separatist" aspects of Judaism such as the education system and traditional dress.

Because the culture underwent specific changes during successive political and cultural eras in the twentieth century, contemporary Ashkenazim can be seen in terms of "generations"; most born at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth were raised with traditional Jewish educations, speaking Yiddish and observing religious and dietary laws. Forty-six percent of employed Jews were artisans, home workers, and factory workers; 39.4 percent were merchants, shopkeepers, and commercial agents; 2.33 percent were farmers; and 4.38 percent professionals and civil servants. Unemployment was high. Jews represented 72.8 percent of all tradesmen, 31.4 percent of artisans (primarily tailors, cobblers, and other clothing workers, stereotypical Jewish professions, but also many metalworkers, gold-and silversmiths, and barbers), and 20.9 percent of those engaged in transportation. This profile is radically different from that of other nationalities: 38.6 percent of Jews were in trade and only 3.7 percent of Russians.

In the generation between 1917 and World War II, the employed Ashkenazi population was entirely redistributed from commerce and craftsmanship to industry and "nonphysical labor." In 1918 the Yevsektsii (Jewish sections of the Communist party) were designed (under Stalin, commissar for Nationality Affairs) to help find a proletarian answer to the "Jewish question." Yevsektsii, in cooperation with Jewish local officials, were responsible both for an initial upsurge in theater, newspapers, and schools and for closing synagogues and other traditional institutions and staging trials to dramatize failings of the religion. Russian language and culture became the principal modes of life, Jewish sociopolitical and cultural activity disappeared or went underground, Jewish cultural activity in Russian declined, and the officially supported use of Yiddish was limited. The generation of the 1920s and those following were raised as Russian Communists; there was danger and little interest in consciously passing down to the next generation information about Judaism. Jews born in the 1940s and 1950s who were interested in rediscovering Jewish culture resorted to books, but the extreme difficulty of obtaining such materials made this rare. Since the mid-1960s there has been some renewed interest in Judaism, and since the mid-1980s materials, classes, and study groups have become more available.

Responding to what was called "the excessive number of Jews in establishments of secondary education," quotas were established for matriculation in 1885, but the 1917 Revolution initially suppressed them (the number of Jewish students tripled between 1917 and 1926, reaching 26 percent of university students and 46 percent of medical students in the Ukraine). This resulted in more Jews getting Russian educations, accompanied by a break with tradition. Education has in a sense absorbed the value of the rest of tradition as well as of a homeland, making the experience of encountering institutional quotas in the Soviet and post-Soviet eras particularly painful for them.

Absence of ritual slaughterers, food shortages, and lack of interest have eliminated the practice of keeping kosher at most homes, although a few individuals have recently learned kosher slaughter; others have become vegetarian so as to avoid nonkosher meat. Kosher observances have basically been transformed into a generalized desire for cleanliness in food preparation. Jewish-style fish, chicken, and other dishes have remained and influenced local cuisine. Many families mark holidays only with a meal of traditional foods, including ethnic Russian or Ukrainian dishes.

Sociocultural Organization

Jews traditionally help each other in matters such as obtaining goods and maintaining contacts. Most Jews still count many or a majority of Jews among their friends, a tendency strongest in people over 40, Ukrainian-and Belarus-area Jews, lower social classes, and certain groups of higher social classes. Preference for Jewish associates is strengthened by an awareness of shared weakness, of being a persecuted people, strangers wherever they are; the ever-present possibility of "things getting worse for the Jews" is a frequent topic of conversation.

Religion was traditionally the center of the community, and men were at the center of this ritual life. Girls' educations were usually rudimentary, and they learned religious and practical aspects of keeping a home and raising children by helping their mothers. Marriages were often arranged between parents by a marriage broker. If necessary, a woman might be a contributing or even principal wage earner; now as in the past, a strong element of matricentrism runs through this formally male- and father-centered culture. Currently a couple and their children often share the small apartment of whichever set of grandparents has room for them, though if it is feasible, they may live separately. Jews traditionally had many children, but now one or two is the norm, a slightly lower average than that of surrounding nationalities. Russians help grown children and grandchildren monetarily and otherwise for an indefinite time; this tendency is even stronger in the Jewish family. The family preserves some of its value as the highly autonomous and self-contained unit it was traditionally; social activity is often with other relatives. Women cook and clean but husbands may help, which is uncommon in Russian families. The home may contain inherited objects and books that are valued, even if they are not specifically Jewish in content, as connected to the past, understood as a time when Jews had a more substantive identity; "Jewish objects" from abroad are cherished as a form of "remembering who we are." A Hebrew-Russian dictionary published in the 1960s has long been considered necessary in many homes where no one speaks a word of Hebrew. As in the humblest Jewish home before the Revolution, there are many books, seen as investments both in one's family's education and as difficult-to-obtain treasures whose value increases.

Economy. Education is fundamental to Jewish religion; the unavailability of religious education, books, and objects

has resulted in a transformation of that center of identity. Primary responsibility for children's education traditionally rested with parents, who were also responsible for their own continuing studies. Judaism's basis in Torah, the sense that Jews are the people of the book, has been transformed into a sense that books "gave birth to the people." Prevalent among Jews is an emphasis on education, on the relation of people to books, and on a tradition of analytical thought (a common joke is that a Jew answers a question with another question). This tradition has survived among Jews, who, it is assumed by both Jews and non-Jews, will pursue higher education if possible. Both Jews and Russians would find the idea of a Jewish janitor incongruous; indeed, very small percentages of Jews work in service and housekeeping; in agriculture, less than 1 percent. Jews get more education than other groups, with 47 percent of employed Jews in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR), 28 percent in the Ukraine, and 25 percent in Belarus having higher education; the number of Jews entering higher and secondary technical education is falling as a result of demographic decline, an aging population, and quotas in university admissions.

Currently, Jewish men and women are approximately equally educated and employed. Men are slightly more likely to receive higher education, and their income levels are higher, even in similar occupations. Women tend to enter less prestigious occupations. Choices of professions have evolved in interaction with a changing political situation, which often determines which schools Jews enter; in addition, the humanities and social sciences have been quite ideologized and reserved to a large extent for Communist party members and Russian ethnics. Jews make up 0.9 percent of the population but 6.1 percent of its scientific workers and 13.8 percent of holders of the degree of "candidat." Jews are often acting factory heads with a Russian or Ukrainian holding the title above them. Jews favor careers in the exact sciences, biology, education, culture, health care, industry, transport, and construction. Technical-cultural-scientific occupations were, in Soviet terminology, upper socioeconomic levels; Jews have tried to use professional success to make a place for themselves.

Kinship, Marriage, and Family

Marriage. At this time it is estimated that, at least among Moscow Ashkenazim, as many as 50 percent (and possibly more) of marriages involving one Jewish partner are to a member of another nationality; men tend to "marry out" more than women, and Jewish women marry slightly later than those of other nationalities. Divorce is common. Intermarriage is more common among the educated and professionals. Endogamy is preferred, not only by Jews with a positive attitude to religion; the reason for this is not connected with religion but rather formulated (as is the preference for Jewish friends and business associates) in terms of the relative safety of marrying one's own kind, often in reference to possible future "hard times" when, under pressure, a non-Jew might "call you a Zhid" (the archaic term for Jew, now highly derogatory). Marriage to ethnic Russians is preferred over that to other non-Jews because of the notion that Russians are less nationalistic than, for example, Ukrainians or Belarussians. Jews between 25 and 30 years of age with higher educations and higher-status jobs and RSFSR residents have less objection to intermarriage. As early as the 1930s it was said that non-Jewish girls preferred Jewish husbands, who supposedly "drank less, took good care of and did not beat their wives."

Kinship Terminology. Russian has different kin terms for husband's and wife's sides of the family, but these distinctions are disappearing from Russian speech and even more rapidly from Jewish usage. A woman may take her husband's surname at marriage, as is traditional, but many keep their father's names (a common choice in the Soviet era). A strong survival of tradition is that a child inherits the given name of a deceased relative of the family's choice. Even antireligious Jews do not tend to name a child after a living relative. If the relative's name was a Jewish one not acceptable to Russians, a more acceptable or Russian name with the same first initial is given. After the Revolution, distinctively Jewish names became less desirable; many began to choose Russian names, using Jewish nicknames at home. Everyday usage of patronymics preserves names for a generation: "Davidovich" or "Abramovich" clearly indicate Jewish nationality.

Religion and Expressive Culture

A consistent effort since the Revolution to dissociate religion from culture has in many ways been successful, as the vast majority of Jews feel themselves Jewish but in no way religious. It should be borne in mind that in the former USSR, expression of Jewishness and especially religiosity was felt to be an act requiring courage, and was thus less likely in conservative parts of society. Some people attended gatherings at the synagogue and other places without telling their families. Since World War II, the vast majority of Ashkenazim have not observed Jewish holidays, the result of assimilation, commitment to communism, fear of anti-Semitism, or lack of information about the significance of holidays and their proper observance. Others bitterly resent the past unavailability of religious materials and opportunities for religious education and practice. Reading material related to Jewish culture, religion, and the cycle of observances is rare and immensely valued; the traditional respect for books is augmented by the fact that only through books do Soviet Jews see a possibility of rediscovering and revitalizing their Jewish identity. Since the 1960s, Jews have attended readings, skits, musical programs, and synagogues without understanding the Yiddish or Hebrew in which the performance is presented; there has also been a movement to establish study groups and seminars for Jews to educate each other in and discuss Jewish culture, music, literature, and languages, although laws have proscribed many such activities, including the teaching of religion to children. Since the late 1970s there have been a few Jewish kindergartens formed in apartments.

Religious Practitioners and Practices. Since the Revolution, rabbis have required permission to celebrate holidays. For the ninety-one (Orthodox) synagogues the authorities claim, they claim fifty rabbis; in fact only about sixty synagogues function and thirty-five rabbis serve them; the fact that Judaism allows for worship with a quorum of

ten adults (*minyan*) keeps worship possible in some places. Congregations have functioned separately, with no regular meetings of rabbis sanctioned. Of the sixty synagogues, fifteen are in Russia (one in Leningrad and one large and one small in Moscow) for a population of over 701,000 Jews, eight are in the Ukraine for a population of over 634,000 Jews, and three are in Belarus for over 135,000 Jews. Laws allow religious ceremonies to be held in apartments or open places such as forests only with special permission, but a number of services and celebrations are held in such places. A one-room yeshiva at the Moscow synagogue was inaugurated in 1957, then closed until 1974. To date not a single rabbi has graduated. A few students from the USSR study in Budapest. The Hasidic sect, which originated in the eighteenth century and stresses enthusiastic piety, claims as many as a few thousand adherents in the former USSR. These Hasidim conduct their own services alongside others in the synagogue; some men wear side curls, beards, prayer shawls, and head coverings.

Although education and high-ranking occupations have a negative correlation to religiosity, and the roles of the rabbi and synagogue with respect to legal, cultural, and religious life have been altered, synagogues remain rare visible symbols, gathering places even for antireligious Jews on holidays, seen as celebrations of Jewish history and identity. Another form of recent collective expression has been to gather at a site where large numbers of Jews were killed in World War II. A great number of Ashkenazim use what are usually considered religious forms to express not belief but rather nonreligious identification with Jewish culture. On some holidays streets around synagogues fill with Jews who stand together, sing, and talk—for many, a public gesture of defiance. It is estimated that in 1981 20,000 Jews gathered at the Moscow synagogue on Simhas Torah, 5,000 at Passover, and many on the Jewish New Year.

Ceremonies. Sabbath services throughout the 1980s were sparsely attended, mostly by older people. Religious marriages are not recognized by the state, and rabbis have rarely performed them. Recently, some religious weddings have been celebrated at home, with the traditional canopy, breaking of a glass, Jewish music, and a wedding bread. Some Jews take advantage of foreign rabbis traveling through for the celebration of marriages and bar mitzvahs.

In the 1920s and 1930s even antireligious Communists observed the custom of burying Jews only in Jewish cemeteries, but now Jewish cemeteries and Yiddish inscriptions on gravestones are rare; some cemeteries have Jewish sections. Many elders dying now were Communists, perhaps atheists. The kaddish is sometimes said.

A new awareness that the thirteenth birthday has significance is spreading, and some bar mitzvahs are marked by family celebration and perhaps a speech made by the 13-year-old when it is not known what else to do. The bat mitzvah for girls is an American innovation adopted by Russian Jews. When it is known that the ceremony involves study, reading in Hebrew, and explication of a passage of the Torah, and this is a possibility, it is done. The ceremony is easy to perform at home, as it does not require a rabbi.

Passover has been, for some Jews, a once-a-year "heroic act" since the 1970s: to go to the synagogue and buy matzo, unleavened bread that commemorates the Jews' exodus from Egypt, and to light candles, which started becoming the practice again in the mid-1980s. The making of matzo has long been suppressed. Baked secretly in the 1930s and 1940s, it was unavailable in the late 1950s and early 1960s; since 1964 limited production has been permitted at certain synagogues (in some places people bring their own flour).

Circumcision, affirming the biblical covenant with the God of Israel, should be performed, according to Jewish law, on the eighth day following birth. Although some circumcisions were secretly performed even during the Stalin era, they have been rare since World War II, owing to a lack of trained individuals, (*mohalim*), legal proscription of religion-related surgical procedures ("which may damage citizens' health"), and fear that if a boy were discovered to be circumcised in school or during a medical exam, there would be problems. There has been some interest lately in circumcision: a very few men at the time of their bar mitzvah or in their twenties have chosen to be circumcised as a gesture affirming their commitment to Judaism.

When possible, outdoor shelters have been built for the autumn festival of Sukkes, the last day of which, Simhas Torah, "Rejoicing in the Law," marks the completion of a year's cycle of weekly Torah readings and the beginning of a new one. The celebration involves dancing, singing, and processions dancing with and honoring the Torah. Since the 1960s it is the holiday most celebrated (even by atheists), an expression of national solidarity, and a favorite festival of youth with huge emotional gatherings in the streets around synagogues. In the late 1970s the tradition of *purimspiels*—plays related to the story of Esther and Mordechai, who avoided a massacre of Jews under a Persian king—was revived in Moscow and Leningrad.

Arts. Since the mid-1800s there have been dramatic changes in Jewish artistic culture (e.g., there have been important visual artists, though visual representation was interpreted as tantamount to idolatry according to the Old Testament). Bakst and Chagall (before his 1923 emigration, when he joined other Russian Jewish painters such as Soutine in the École de Paris) were among artists prominent in stage design; Marc Antokolsky was an important sculptor; Isaak Levitan was considered a great Russian landscape painter. Eisenstein was a world-famous film director.

The first influence of Jewish culture on Russian (then East Slavic) literature was in the eleventh century with both an account of the Old Testament story of the tower of Babel in the *Primary Chronicle* and a translation of Josephus's *The Jewish War*. Odessa was home to a flourishing writing culture from the 1860s until well past the Revolution, when Moscow also became a center of Jewish creativity. In 1934, at the first conference of Soviet writers, Jews accounted for 20 percent of participants. Yiddish writers wrote poetry, novels, and literary and historical criticism; these and popular classics were published and translated. Prominent in Russian literature were Babel', Mandelshtam, Bagritsky, P. Antokolsky, Ilf, and Ehrenburg; popular Yiddish writers and playwrights were Itzik Fefer, Peretz Markish, "Der Nitzer," Max Erik, Shmuel Persov, David Bergelson, Zelik Axelrod, and others. Most of these

were executed or died in prison or in exile during the Stalin era. Unofficial samizdat publications dealing with Jewish issues were passed from hand to hand at great personal risk by individuals. At the end of the Soviet era the only Yiddish magazine was the monthly literary and artistic review *Sovietish Heimland* (Soviet Homeland), first published in 1961. It is accessible only to those who read Yiddish (although each issue contains a Yiddish lesson) and is considered one of the best such journals in the world but is also government-controlled and not representative of Jewish interests. The *Birobidjaner Shtern* is a Yiddish translation of the Russian-language *Birobijan* newspaper. Some Yiddish books are published. In the 1980s a Yiddish primer and a Russian-Yiddish dictionary (with all words pertaining to Zionism and religion omitted) were published.

In the nineteenth century, the Rubenstein brothers influenced musical performance and education, and Leopold Auer founded a school that produced violin virtuosi Yascha Heifetz, Mischa Elman, Nathan Milstein, and Efrem Zimbalist. Serge Koussevitsky was an important conductor and music publisher. Pre-World War II Jewish playwrights were Yitzhak Peretz, Moiher Sforim Mendele, Sholem Asch, Haim Bialik, and Avraham Goldfaden and Sholem Aleikhem, whose "Tevye the Milkman" has been watched by all nationalities for decades in Russian theaters with Russian actors; a new musical based on it was popular in Moscow in 1989–1990. Pre-Revolutionary Yiddish plays are popular and often performed for audiences who do not understand Yiddish; even some performers of Yiddish songs do not speak the language. In 1982 the Soviet company Melodiya began recording Jewish music. A Hebrew and Yiddish chorus was organized in 1980; Jewish music festivals have become more common since the mid-1970s. The "Habimah" Hebrew theater began in Moscow after the Revolution and left in 1926 to become the national theater of Israel. Yiddish theaters remained in Kiev, Minsk, Odessa, and Moscow. Since 1970 theatrical and music-theatrical groups have been forming; all are amateur except the Musical-Dramatic People's Theater (Jewish Chamber Theater) and the Moscow Jewish Dramatic Ensemble (Birobijan); they perform music and dances and show rituals such as traditional weddings.

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DALE PESMEN

Asiatic Eskimos

ETHNONYMS: Yupik (self-designation); depending on the territory inhabited: Nevuga Yupiga, Singhinem Yupiga, Sivugam Yupiga, Ungazim Yupiga; Russian adaptations include Chaplintsy (Unazitsky), Naukantsy, and Sireniktsy.

Orientation

Identification. The Asiatic Eskimos belong to the Arctic (Eskimo) Group of the Great Mongolian racial category; they are the indigenous population of the northeastern and southeastern shore of the Chukchee Peninsula and the St. Lawrence Islands. Their territory belongs administratively to the Chukchee Autonomous District (okrug) (with its center in Anadyr') of the Magadansk region (its center is the town of Magadan). To the west Magadan borders on Yakutia, to the south on the Kamchatka region. The St. Lawrence Islands, 64 kilometers from the shore of Chukotka, belong administratively to Alaska. Contacts between Eskimos of the various settlements, especially those of the coastal and island dwellers, have been very close. After 1936 the reciprocal trips of Soviet and American Eskimos, until that time regular and very popular, were subject to the deteriorating relations between the two nations, and during the Cold War (after 1948) they ended completely. Contacts have been gradually renewed since 1988.

Location. Until the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries the Asiatic Eskimos lived on a much larger territory than they do today: along the shore of the Arctic Ocean from Bering Cape to Helena and, farther to the south, in an unbroken chain of settlements as far as the Bering Sea and along the southern shore of the Chukchee Sea to Kresta Bay. The duration of their occupation of this area has not been established. The settlements of the Eskimos abutted on those of the sedentary Chukchee. Until the 1920s and 1930s the Eskimos lived in twelve to fifteen nearly single-ethnic settlements on the northern and southern parts of the Chukchee shore. At the present time a large number of the Asiatic Eskimos are concentrated in five settlements—three village centers (New Chaplino, Sireniki, and Uel-kal') and two administrative centers (Providence and Lawrence). In these settlements the Eskimos constitute over 50 percent of the population only in New Chaplino. All the village centers are multinational: the Eskimos live in close contact with the Chukchee and immigrant Russians. The two administrative centers are settled basically by Russians: Eskimos and Chukchee constitute only an insignificant part of the population.

Demography. According to the first census, carried out by N. S. Gondatti in 1895, the Asiatic Eskimos numbered 1,307 persons. That number has remained relatively unchanged: 1,301 (1926); 1,309 (1939); 1,118 (1959); 1,308 (1970); 1,510 (1979); 1,720 (1989). It may be that the numbers for 1979 and 1989 are somewhat inflated.

The demographic structure of the Asiatic Eskimos at the beginning of the twentieth century was stable: men and women were about equal in number; there were many people capable of work, a high birthrate, and a high percentage of children younger than 16. The official thesis that the Asiatic Eskimos are suffering from "degradation" and dying out does not correspond to reality. The rather low natural growth of the population was the result of a high mortality rate, a shortened longevity, and outbreaks of exogenous mortality during years of epidemic and famine. Toward the middle of the twentieth century, as a result of a real "policy of amalgamation"—that is, the massive closure of traditional settlements and ill-conceived, sometimes forceful resettlement of the inhabitants to larger and, from the point of view of the authorities, "more suitably located places"—the demographic structure of the Asiatic Eskimos was destroyed, traditional groups mixed with each other, and the Eskimos became a minority amid the Russian population. The Asiatic Eskimos were in the worst possible demographic situation toward the end of the 1980s: an extremely high mortality rate (including child and infant mortality), an abundance of single-parent families, and the destruction of traditional patterns of marital relations all put the Asiatic Eskimos on the verge of extinction. At the present time there are signs of a gradual recovery.

In part these signs are connected with the reestablishment of direct contacts with their blood relatives on the St. Lawrence Islands. As a result of these contacts, the self-consciousness of the Asiatic Eskimos suddenly changed: they recognized that they were part of a larger ethnicity—indeed, their number "rose" from 1,700 to 2,800 persons. As they could easily see during their trips to the islands to visit relatives, another life better provided for and more dignified, was possible. This development may bring back to them their long-lost belief in themselves and inspire hope in the future.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Asiatic Eskimos speak three languages. Two are closely related: the Chaplinsky (Unaziksky) and Naukansky variants of Siberian Yupik; the third, Old Sirenikovsky, has practically disappeared. Siberian Yupik, along with two languages of the Eskimos of Alaska, belongs to the Yupik Language Group. The Yupik Group together with Old Sirenikovsky and the Innuit Group of northern Alaska, Canada, and Greenland constitute the Eskimo Branch of the Eskimo-Aleut Language Family. In the past the Asiatic Eskimo inhabitants of the extreme northeast of Chukotka spoke a language of the Innuit Group, but today it has disappeared. There are about 50 speakers of Naukansky, 200 of Chaplinsky, and 1 of Old Sirenikovsky (a 74-year-old resident of the settlement of Sireniki).

History and Cultural Relations

The contemporary Asiatic Eskimos are the cultural inheritors (and possibly the direct heirs) of the people of this region who, several millennia ago, worked out a highly effective system of cultural adaptation of the maritime (coastal) type. The Asiatic Eskimos always had very close contacts with the Chukchee, who had a significant influence on their material culture, social organization, and spiritual life. There is much evidence in the folklore of the Eskimos and Chukchee of armed encounters between the two peoples—the attacking side, as a rule, being the Chukchee. In the folklore of the Eskimos and in their contemporary, everyday consciousness, there exists a definite ethnic stereotype of the reindeer-herding Chukchee as cunning, intelligent, and wealthy, with a character different from that of the Eskimos; the Eskimos regard the Chukchee as hot-tempered, grudge-bearing, and emotional, whereas they regard themselves as peaceful, well-wishing, and good-humored.

Contacts with European culture, mainly involving trade, began in the seventeenth century with the advent of the Russians and, later, the Americans. There were no attempts at Christianization in the region. After the establishment of Soviet power in the 1920s, rather contradictory processes began. There were efforts to introduce schools and medical aid and to supply the population with provisions, which were undoubtedly beneficial but which depended primarily on the enthusiasm of transient teachers, doctors, and Soviet workers. Many of them, such as E. S. Rubtsova and G. A. Menovshchik, subsequently became doctoral candidates and then associates of the Leningrad Institute of Linguistics and did much for the study of Eskimo, including the compilation of dictionaries and grammars. The transients, however, with the self-assurance typical of Europeans at that time, sometimes unconsciously and sometimes consciously denigrated the culture, customs, and language of the local population and pushed the Asiatic Eskimos toward a rapid transition to a culture of the European type. Within the framework of "the campaign for the struggle against religion," practically all the shamans—the spiritual leaders of the Eskimo population, the bearers of the people's knowledge, tradition, and

customs—were arrested and shot. Apparently, the last shaman, Aglo, who practiced very little, died in the settlement of New Chaplino in 1975. The sedentary way of life of the Asiatic Eskimos left them vulnerable and exposed, thus rendering their language and culture less resistant to the processes of assimilation.

Settlements

The shores of the northeastern and southeastern extremities of Chukotka are medium-elevation mountain country. Deep valleys bordered by mountains extend to bays (Providence, Tkachen) or to lagoonlike lakes (Imtuk, Kirak), that are set off from the sea by narrow sand spits. In the past a settlement of Asiatic Eskimos or of maritime Chukchee was to be found in every bay or "cell" and the promontories (capes) were natural boundaries. Most Eskimo settlements were located at points of the highest concentration of biological resources. Most often the settlements were situated on small terrace-shaped ledges on spits of sand or shingle, directly on a coastal declivity, or on a spit of pebbles separating the sea from a sandy lagoon.

In the 1940s and 1950s the majority of the traditional settlements of the Asiatic Eskimo were classified as "without prospects" and closed; their inhabitants moved to larger settlements. Thus, in 1942 Aran was closed, in 1946-1947 Tasik and Kivak, in 1950 Siklyuk, in 1958 Naukan and Plover, and in 1959 Unazik. The sole Asiatic Eskimo settlement that remained in its traditional location was Sireniki. (According to the provisional evaluations of archaeologists, it has been in existence roughly 2,000 years.) This policy had an enormous negative effect on the fate of the Asiatic Eskimos, depriving them of their traditional places of habitation, which were very suitable from the point of view of productivity; it also negatively influenced their psychological state and their sociodemographic situation, which led to the irrepressible growth of alcoholism, the rise in the number of suicides, and social apathy alternating with outbursts of individual aggressiveness.

Today among the Asiatic Eskimo there is a strong movement for a return to the traditional settlements—first to Naukan, Unazik, and Aran.

In the past there were two types of winter dwelling: the large, semisubterranean *nenglu* and the ribbed tipi (*karkasnaya yaranga*) of the Chukchee type, which also served as a summer dwelling and was originally covered with walrus skins, later with tarpaulin. For heating and lighting their dwellings they used the fat of sea animals. Today they live in more or less standard wooden houses with stoves or steam heat and electric lighting. These houses are not too well adapted to northern conditions and are distinguished from the same houses in European Russia only by yet greater impoverishment.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. The basic feature of the Eskimo system of subsistence is the complex use of resources. The basic way of providing for life is the hunting of marine mammals—pinnipeds (walrus [*lakhtak*], small seals [*sivukha*]) and cetaceans (Greenland, gray, white, and humpback whales)—supplemented by fishing and hunting for land animals and maritime birds. The Eskimos also collect eggs, sea products, and edible plants. The associated lexicon is highly evolved: dozens of names for maritime animals differentiate them according to appearance, age, behavior, direction of movement, etc.

In the past among the Asiatic Eskimos there existed at least two local variants of nature utilization. The basis of the first was the hunting of large sea mammals—whales and walrus—and of the second the hunting of small pinnipeds—*nepra-akiba*, lakhtak, and *larga* (all types of seals). Toward the end of the nineteenth century the commercial hunting of furbearing and sea animals began to play a large role in the economy.

The traditional economic year was divided into four seasons: winter (December until early April), spring (mid-April until June), summer (July and August), and autumn (September to November). In winter, the basic activity was the individual hunt for seals; in spring, the collective hunt on open water with large sea-going canoes (*angyapiks*; Russian: *baydars*) for sea mammals and also transient birds; in summer, the hunt for birds and the collection of eggs and edible plants; in autumn, once again the collective hunt for sea mammals. The well-being of the settlement depended on two short periods of hunting, in spring and fall, when the amount obtained could exceed tenfold the results of efforts over the rest of the year. In addition, until the development in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries of the Chuckchee practice of keeping large reindeer herds, August was the optimum time for hunting wild reindeer.

The collectivization of the Asiatic Eskimos only began in the 1930s and in its first period involved the simplest forms of cooperation for production and distribution. The first kolkhozy somehow corresponded to old models of subsistence. In the 1950s the collective farms were amalgamated (their number decreased by 40 percent), which led to the emergence of large, diversified multiethnic economies in which the traditional types of work were crowded out by new ones such as animal trapping (Russian: *kletochnoye zverolovstvo*). This consolidation led to a decline in employment of the native population and its exclusion from the more prestigious and highly paid social and economic spheres.

Industrial Arts. The sedentary form of life and the complex, highly specialized character of maritime hunting were conducive to the wealth of the traditional material culture of the Asiatic Eskimos, to the diversity of the objects of everyday life and of the implements of work. By the close of the nineteenth century, however, the livelihoods of the Asiatic Eskimos depended on finished, imported goods: firearms, wooden sailboats and then motorboats, metal tools, and so forth. All this equipment was brought by American (rarely Russian) trading and hunting ships in exchange for local products.

Until the middle of the nineteenth century the basic tools of the hunt were: for sea animals, spears, harpoons, and thong nets; for dry-land hunting, snares and bows and arrows with bone or stone tips; and for birds, slings and snares. During sea hunting, walrus and whales were struck by a "swing (rotating) harpoon"—a remarkable invention of Eskimo hunters that consisted of a harpoon, the blade of which turned to one side on entering the carcass of the

animal in such a way that it was impossible to pull it out. Floats—the skins of harp seals inflated with air—were tied to the harpoon on a long thong. The hunters finished off the wounded animal with spears in the course of a chase that in some cases lasted several days. The presence of firearms notwithstanding, harpoons with floats are being used with success to this day. Between the 1950s and the 1970s sea hunting declined because the government forbade the Eskimos to go out to sea; officials feared that the proximity of the national boundary would provide an opportunity for a "provocation on the part of American imperialism." Some customs of the hunt have been preserved, however, primarily in the settlement of Sireniki (six animal-killing [i.e., hunting] brigades, as opposed to two in New Chaplino). Thus, in August of 1990 in New Chaplino they staged a grandiose "Walrus Day," with invitations to hundreds of guests, including some from Alaska. In the course of this festival it was proposed to arrange a "meeting" with a walrus who had just been killed; for the hunt the most experienced brigade was invited from Sireniki, which then, for the festival, killed two walrus.

Until the arrival of the Whites, the Asiatic Eskimos used two basic types of boat: the kayak, a one-seated leather boat with a hatch in the middle, the edges of which were hermetically bound around and to the belt of the boatman; and the angyapik, a multiseated boat of walrus skin, very light and durable, with a capacity of 4 tons. At the present time the art of making angyapik has not been lost; in Sireniki they make baydars for their own use and for sale. In the summer of 1990 there set forth out of Sireniki an international expedition of Soviet, Canadian, and American Eskimos and Russian, American, and Canadian Whites on three baydars that had been manufactured in Sireniki under the supervision of experienced master craftsmen. The goal of the expedition was to advertise traditional leather boats.

The basic means of land transport was the dog rig. A fan-shaped dog harness existed until the middle of the nineteenth century, when it was replaced by the general Siberian (Chukchee, Koryak, Itelmen) harness in which a pair of dogs is fastened to a central strap. At the present time few harnesses (or rigs) remain; the Asiatic Eskimos use mechanized transport (snowmobiles, including those of their own making, and trucks).

Clothing. The Asiatic Eskimos were very skillful at sewing clothes and footwear from the hides of reindeer and sea animals. The traditional clothing in the winter was of double-layered fur upper garment (*kukhlyanka*) for the men and overalls for the women; in summers, both men and women wore a single layer of winter clothing and a sleeveless mantle (*kamleika*) made from the intestines of sea animals (since the middle of the nineteenth century it has also been made from brightly colored, purchased textiles). Dress today is basically of the European type, with rare elements of the traditional costume (ornaments, sealskin pants combined with Russian quilting, the traditional hat, etc.). The traditional clothing corresponded beautifully to the needs of the sea hunt, a very arduous and dangerous activity: even if the hunter fell into icy water he could survive, because the traditional clothing was waterproof. The contemporary clothing of the sea hunter in a similar situation simply hastens his death. At this time the art of sewing traditional clothing among the Asiatic Eskimos is gradually being revived.

Trade. In the past the basic trade partners of the Asiatic Eskimos were the reindeer Chukchee, who fulfilled the role of middlemen between the inhabitants of the more western regions (Yukagir, Even, Yakut) and the litoral areas. At the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries there existed in the tundra regular places for meetings between the coastal hunters and the tundra reindeer herders for trade and exchange (for example, the middle course and mouth of the Kurupki River and the region of Penkigney Bay, among others). Products of maritime hunting were exchanged for those of reindeer breeding and imported goods. From the end of the nineteenth century onward trade developed first with Americans and then with Russian manufacturers and merchants. Eskimos delivered whalebone, walrus tusks, and furs in exchange for rifles, cartridges, iron products, tobacco, and foodstuffs—flour, tea, sugar. After the creation of collective farms—and, later, state farms—such private trade practically stopped and was replaced by state supply of provisions and wares from the eastern regions of the country. Today the settlements are supplied with *gengruz* (general freight) by ships of the merchant fleet during the short summer period when the water is navigable; they are also supplied by air.

Division of Labor. Men's traditional activities were the hunt, trade, and the construction of dwellings; women's were the collection and storage of berries and edible plants, the preparation of food, sewing, and other work around the house. The basic productive unit of the Asiatic Eskimo band was the hunting brigade, usually including four to six grown men and several adolescents related by blood or marriage. Within the band there was an assignment of roles for the hunt and for the division and allotment of game. At the present time more women than men have "qualified work"; qualified women's professions include teacher, doctor, worker in a kindergarten, and secretary; less qualified jobs include workers in animal farms, baths, and lavatories. The more qualified men's jobs are chauffeur, tractor driver, mechanic, hunter, and reindeer herder; the less qualified are handyman and stoker.

Land Tenure. The idea of "land tenure" was foreign to traditional Eskimos, but between neighboring communes there were hunting boundaries that were well known to both sides and, as a rule, strictly observed. For the turn of the nineteenth–twentieth centuries we have no information of conflicts between neighboring coastal settlements because of hunting territories. Under Soviet law, the land on which the Asiatic Eskimos live was the property of the state.

Kinship

Kinship Groups and Descent. The Asiatic Eskimos differ substantially from other Eskimo groups in that they have patrilineal clans or lineages. Clans are clearly distinguished to this day and are the characteristic feature of social organization. Being a member of one clan or another

can be a subject of pride; all adults who belong to a given clan know by name all the "relatives," even those living in other settlements.

Kinship Terminology. A precise division is observed between relatives in the paternal as opposed to the maternal line: *anana* (mother's sister), *asaq* (father's sister), *atata* (father's brother), *anaq* (mother's brother)—note *ata* (father), *ana* (mother). Cousins are also differentiated on this basis: *atalghun* (children of the father's brother) and *aghnalghun* (children of the mother's brother). The kinship terminology groups cross cousins together under one term but differentiates between paternal and maternal parallel cousins and the corresponding nepotic kin; for example, *ilughag* (father's sister's or mother's brother's children), *anagaghag* (woman's brother's children), *nughag* (woman's sister's children), *gangighug* (man's brother's children), *uyghu* (man's sister's children).

Marriage and Family

Marriage. The law of exogamy was observed strictly. As a rule, the parents or older relatives would come to an agreement about the marriage, sometimes while the couple were still children or even newborns. The actual marriage included several stages. At the beginning the relatives of the groom would give gifts (tools, hides, other valuables) to the relatives of the bride. Then the young man would perform bride-service in the house of the bride's parents for about one year, taking part in the hunt with the father of the bride and fulfilling all the male economic obligations. Sexual relations between the groom and the bride would usually begin in this period. The young couple would return to the groom's parents' house, after which time the marriage was considered validated; there was no special marriage ceremony. Divorce was similarly informal. Either the woman left or was ordered out of the man's house, and she returned to the house of her parents.

In case of the death of an older brother, his wife became the wife of a younger brother, even if he was already married. Care for the children of the dead brother lay fully on the shoulders of his younger brother and on his clan as a whole.

The Asiatic Eskimos had the custom of sharing wives between partners (*nangsaghag*), who were considered "brothers," shared food, helped each other in the hunt, and showed each other hospitality. They had the right to enter into sexual relations with each other's wives. Polygyny also existed, primarily among powerful and wealthy men such as shamans; otherwise, it was rather rare.

Domestic Unit. Within each local group the Asiatic Eskimos distinguished groups of relatives ("the big/extended family"). Each group of this sort included several small families, usually living in one large common dwelling. The head of such a large family (Russian: *rod*) was called an *umilyk* or *atanyk*. The process of the dissolution of the traditional family structure and marital-reproductive relations accelerated dramatically in the mid-1970s. It was related above all to the sharp increase in the percentage of incomplete families, the children of which were born from "temporary" fathers. The main cause of the break was the age and subsequent dying out of the generation that had been born before 1930. This generation was the bearer of the traditional model of familial and marital relations, and practically all of this generation got married and subsequently had a high rate of reproduction and stable family relations. In the generation born in the 1950s, which since early childhood had gone through the system of boarding schools and hardly understood the Eskimo language, the breakup of marital and familial relations reached a very high level: in the settlement of Sireniki, for example, among Eskimo mothers under age 30, two-thirds of the children were born out of wedlock (among mothers born after 1955, it was three-quarters), and the percentage of unmarried women between ages 21 and 30 is 75 percent.

Inheritance. Inheritance was patrilineal, and the position of "clan head" passed from father to son.

Socialization. The most important institution for the socialization of children was the large family. Socialization was achieved by means of the inclusion of children in diverse forms of communal-productive and ritual activity and also with the help of special games and physical exercises directed toward the cultivation of physically hardy and psychologically stable people.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Asiatic Eskimos subdivide into two large territorial groups: the northern and the southern. Each of them included smaller groups, which could be considered separate tribes (Russian: *plemenâ*). For each of these tribes there was—toward the end of the nineteenth century—a characteristically stable self-consciousness and a sense of opposition to other tribes, a historically stable relation to a definite territory, a special idiom (at the level of language, dialect, or speech variety [Russian: *govor*]), a high level of tribal endogamy, and peculiarities in certain elements of spiritual culture.

The basis of social organization was the patrilineal clan. Until the beginning of the twentieth century, each clan was led by an older man whose duty it was to regulate the clan's social and productive activity. He opened and closed the hunting season, fixed the time for going into the tundra for barter, and led the clan's religious ritual.

Membership in one clan or the other influenced marriage choices (usually exogamous), economic unions (hunting brigades were usually made up of the members of one clan), the acquisition of territory (different parts of the settlement were considered to belong to different clans), the order of burial (the members of a clan were buried side by side), religious activity (a clan could have its own rituals), and folklore (legends of origin and of intergroup relations and cosmological myths).

Political Organization. Government of the territory of the Asiatic Eskimos theoretically rested with the soviets (village, regional, district), in which, as a rule, there were representatives of the native population. Practically all the power—legislative, executive, and judicial—belonged to the local, regional, and district party organizations of the Communist party. Until 1990 elections to the soviets were fictional, and the very structure of the soviets and the legal regulation of their plenipotentiary power was seriously flawed. In recent times, however, there are signs of change in this system. In the entire country—and Chukotka is not an exception—there has arisen a powerful movement for

real independence in decision making, for actual—not paper—self-government. It is possible that some role in this movement will be played by newly formed social organizations: the associations of the peoples of Kolyma and Chukotka and the Eskimo Association (the latter is the only truly independently formed organization, the constitutional meeting of which took place in August 1990).

Social Control and Conflict. For the basic foods, an inequality in use, called forth by unequal property, was to a significant degree softened by the ruling social norms of mutual help and the communal allotment of the catch. There was nonetheless material inequality in the use of imported goods and in the ownership of imported objects.

Intracommunal conflicts were often resolved with the help of distinctive competitions, in which the offended parties poured out their emotions in ironic songs (Russian: *draznilkakh*). In folklore there is evidence of conflicts and skirmishes with the Chukchee and also of war with "alien tribes."

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. The Asiatic Eskimos believed in benign and evil spirits who occupied all surrounding objects, in Masters of the Sky and the Mistress of the Sea. Evil spirits (*tughneghet*) were considered the cause of all sickness and misfortune. For defense against them amulets were used, along with a special, magical coloring of the face. The Upper World, the Peoples' World, and the Lower World were distinguished. Prohibitions were widespread against hunting certain animals and birds that were considered sacred: wolves, ravens, and swallows. These beliefs have been unusually durable. To this day young people, particularly those who grew up in a family and not in a boarding school, observe, albeit sometimes half-jokingly, the rituals of their ancestors. In particular, there is almost no exception made to the obligatory custom of "feeding the spirits" before the beginning of a meal when the first piece of food (traditionally meat but now whatever is lying on the table, including candy and alcoholic beverages) is thrown or poured into a small sliding window (Russian: *fortochka*), when there is no open fire nearby. A (not strict) taboo also exists on pronouncing the name of a child or infant, but in a unique form: parallel to the official name under which each child is registered, many children have a "secret" traditional name known only to close relatives, which it is not appropriate to communicate to unknown persons or to pronounce aloud without special heed.

Religious Practitioners. Every settlement had its shaman, whose obligations included ritual and cult acts, the healing of the sick, and opposition to evil spirits. The shamanic gift, the basis of which was considered to be knowledge of songs and spells (spell-songs) capable of summoning animals or objects as helpers, was acquired through a magical experience to which the shaman subjected himself by going out into the tundra or some other isolated place (often a cemetery). The shaman could have a student whom he subjected to tests and to whom he transmitted all his secrets. After the wiping out of the majority of the shamans at the end of the 1920s and the beginning of the 1930s, shamanic séances began to be held very rarely and always "underground." Toward the beginning of the 1970s these séances had practically disappeared or had degenerated into a demonstration of tricks and the diversion of an audience.

Ceremonies. Ritual holidays were all connected with the cult of sea animals and were accompanied by generous feasts, magical singing and dancing, and athletic contests. The rituals had two goals: to request a successful hunt and to express gratitude for success in the hunt (addressed to the souls of the animals). The shaman would carry out magical acts to clarify the reasons for an illness, an accident, or failure in a hunt. Most ritual acts were carried out within the dwelling, with the exception of four holidays or festivals: the autumn requiem ritual of tossing each other a walrus hide, the summer ritual of competition in running and wrestling, and the spring and autumn ritual of lowering the baydar into water—all of these took place in the open air. The basic and obligatory element of any holiday or ritual was generous, joint feasting, and gift giving—"hosting the ancestors." A ritual act could be carried out by any family or group of people in each dwelling.

Arts. Song and folklore were highly developed, as were the applied arts—carving in bone, embroidering with reindeer hair and beads, and the production of utensils, hunting equipment, and magical objects.

Medicine. Sickness resulted from the "loss of soul," the influence of the evil spirit or some alien object, or the breaking of a taboo. The goal of the shaman was to establish the cause of the illness and to make it go away, usually by recommending that the patient stay away from certain kinds of food, or wear a certain amulet, and so forth. At the same time, the shamans also used practical medicine to a significant degree: they could treat wounds, they knew emetic, fever-reducing, and soothing techniques and remedies; however, the primary means of curing was still magic.

Death and Afterlife. The deceased was placed on a raised area in the dwelling, fellow settlers were called together, and a sumptuous feast was organized, usually to be held at night. The settlers then bore the deceased to the cemetery and left him or her there. If everything was done properly, the soul of the deceased would not return to the world of the living and would not cause the living any unpleasantness but, on the contrary, would become their helper. Until the present time, the Asiatic Eskimos have preserved ideas about the transmigration of souls that are reflected in the practice of giving the newly born the names of dead relatives. The customs of voluntary death and infanticide used to exist. Contemporary burials and burial rituals are, on the whole, similar to the traditional ones; under Russian influence, the dead are no longer covered with heaped stones but are buried in the ground, although not deeply.

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NICKOLAY VAKHTIN
(Translated by Paul Friedrich)

Avars

ETHNONYMS: Maarulal (self-designation meaning "mountain language"); exoethnonyms: Avar, Haibulu, Khundzi Yarussa. The ethnonym "Avar" became established during the last thirty or forty years and comes from the literary tradition (medieval chronicles).

Orientation

Identification and Location. The Avars are one of the most numerous indigenous peoples of the former Daghestan SSR. For the most part the Avars inhabit mountainous parts of central and northwestern Daghestan, its northern foothills, and parts of the plains to the north, situated roughly between 43°05′ and 41°43′ N at about 47°25′ E. Some of the Avars live compactly grouped in the north of the Azerbaijan SSR (Belokansky and Zakatal'sky districts), in Turkey and in other countries of the Near East. Physically the Avars resemble other indigenous Caucasian peoples. The geography of the Avar territory is characterized by ridges that run parallel to the main Caucasus chain, between which are high mountain plateaus (2,000 meters above sea level), wide basins, and valley flats with semiarid vegetation and a hot climate. These regions are relatively densely settled. The high mountain regions, however, have the typical indices of the alpine zone: a cold climate, wooded terrain, an economy oriented toward livestock rearing, and a low population density. Avar country includes the highest mountain in the republic (Mount Kazbek, 5,012 meters).

Demography. The Avars in the former USSR number 604,200, of which 495,700 dwell in the Daghestan SSR. At lower elevations in Avaria, the density is 35–39 persons per square kilometer; in high mountain country, it is 9.2 per square kilometer.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Avar language belongs to the Daghestanian Branch of the Northeast Caucasian Family. It is divided into two dialect groups: the Northern (Khunzakh and Salatav subdialects) and the Southern (Antsukh). The latter group is subdivided into five subdialects (Antsukh, Gidatlin, Batlukh, Andalal, and Keleb), each of which is divided in turn into more finely differentiated regional varieties. Some sources, however, list four major dialects; others claim that every valley possesses its own dialect. Avaria, in any case, is involved in so-called vertical polylingualism, where ethnic groups speak the languages of those living at lower elevations: many Andis speak Avar; many Avars speak Kumyk. The Avar literary language—Bolmats, or "language of the people, the host"—is based on the Northern dialect; Bolmats was also the lingua franca of many of the ethnic groups of southern Avaria and of all minor peoples of Daghestan. Bolmats is the language of literacy, used for literature, newspapers, magazines, radio programs, theatrical stagings, and teaching in primary schools. As of 1970, there were no less than fourteen district-level newspapers printed in Avar, as well as one on the republic level printed in Makhachkala. After the unification of Daghestan with Russia, the Russian language spread widely, becoming, during the Soviet period, the language of secondary schools and university education, science, record keeping, and international communication. Nevertheless, the Avars today rank among the least Russified and Sovietized of all Daghestanian groups (Bennigsen and Wimbush 1986).

History and Cultural Relations

The earliest news of the Caucasian Avars is found in the communications of ancient authors about the Leg tribe, one of the twenty-six tribes comprising the Albanian Union (Strabo 10.5.1; Plutarch, Pompey 35.6). After the conquest of the Caucasian Albanians by Sasanid Iran (3rd century B.C.), there took shape in the mountains of Daghestan a powerful new political formation called Sarir with its capital in Khunzakh, the residence of the Avar khans until 1834. The ruler of Sarir was called "Avar," which evidently served as a source for the ethnonym. Contemporary researchers reject the hypothesis of an affinity between the Caucasian Avars and the tribe of the same name (probably Turkic-speaking) that swept from Inner Asia to the Balkans in the sixth and seventh centuries. The two groups may have come into contact in the mid-sixth century, when the Turkic Avars passed through northern Caucasia. The conquest of Daghestan by the Arabs (seventh–eighth century) only touched the Avars to some extent. In the fourteenth century Tamerlane, "the Conqueror of the Universe," left the mountains, having suffered enormous losses after invading Avaria with a host of 100,000. A combined military force of Daghestan mountaineers smashed the Persian Nadir Shah in Avaria in 1747. The Avars, like other inhabitants of Mountain Daghestan, above all valued their freedom—the sole (and indispensable) condition for the existence of their local communes (the basic form of social and political organization of Avar society). The Avar Khanate achieved its greatest strength in the eighteenth century, when it influenced the military and political life of all of the Caucasus. Better known is the half-century-long struggle of the Avars against the Russian Empire during the Caucasus Wars (1817–1864). During its last twenty-five years their fight was led by Shamil, a native of the Avar village of Gimri. During the years of this war for independence a theocratic state (an imamate) was created on the territory of Avaria and Chechnia (to the northwest). Following the fall of the fortress at Gunib and the capture of Shamil in 1859, Avaria was definitively annexed by the Russian Empire, retaining, however, a significant degree of internal autonomy. A renewed general uprising against Russia in 1877 suffered defeat. In 1920, after the Russian civil war, Soviet power was decisively established in Daghestan, and on 13 November 1921, at an "Extraordinary Session" of the peoples of Daghestan, Daghestan was declared autonomous. Since that time all the laws, orders, and socioeconomic structures pertaining to the USSR have been extended to all Daghestan. In 1944, some of the Avars were deported, along with other Muslim Caucasians (Bennigsen and Wimbush 1986, 153). Among changes in the culture and way of life, the most significant have been the universal opening of schools and the establishment of institutions of higher learning, including a university (1957) and the Daghestan branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences (1949). Nevertheless, partly because of their

leadership under Shamil, their long-standing tradition of holy war, and their present-day Muslim religiosity, the Avars enjoy the greatest prestige in Daghestan and northern Caucasus political consciousness, with the current trend being a gradual unification of various Daghestan groups around them (Bennigsen and Wimbush 1986, 180–181).

Greatly popular among the Avars are the epic-historical songs about the defeat of the armies of Nadir Shah and by the cycle of songs devoted to various episodes of the War of Independence in the nineteenth century. Of the medieval poetic inheritances of the Avars the best-known are the ballads "Khochbar" and "Kamalil Bashir," the dramatic subjects of which are without direct parallel in world literature. In the second half of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, Avar culture and literature experienced a significant upsurge. Well-known Avar literary figures include the poets Aligaji of Inkho (died 1875) and Chanka (1866–1909), the lyric poet Makhmud (1873–1919), the satirist Tsadasa Gamzat (1877–1951), and the celebrated poet Rasul Gamzatov (born 1923). Avaria, perhaps more than any other part of Daghestan, was a centuries-old seat of Arabic culture with many learned scholars, visited by disciples from other Muslim lands (Bennigsen and Wimbush 1986, 177).

The script of the Avar alphabet was reformed three times. Texts from the thirteenth century testify to the adaptation of the Georgian alphabet; from the sixteenth century on the language of literacy was Arabic, and in the eighteenth century, on the basis of the Arabic script, the Avar alphabet was established by cleric and scholar Dibir Kadi of Khunzakh. In 1928 a new alphabet was created based on Latin before the shift to the Cyrillic-based alphabet in 1938.

Settlements

Avar settlements (Koroda, Urada, Mekhelta, and so forth) consisted in essence of a single complex building, about which the architects wrote that "the concept of separate ownership, of the integrity and unity of a building is not seen here; an entire quarter—perhaps even the whole *aul* (mountain village)—may consist of a single building, in the sense of an unbroken, continuous structure" (Baklanov 1924, 258). Another scholar wrote: "Nowhere as in Avaria does the density of houses reach such concentration, where the streets and thoroughfares run like tunnels, sometimes at two levels below the houses, and the densely-packed houses form one great, indivisible amalgamation" (Movchan 1972, 130). The compactness of building was dictated by the necessities of agricultural economy and of defense. A settlement would consist of several quarters, each of which also had its places for public gathering (godekan) and worship. The division into quarters was also administrative: participation in communal work and the election of commune leaders was organized by quarters. The houses were most often built in tiers, which is why the settlements had a terraced form. In many settlements the agricultural and livestock accommodations were placed around the edge of the village as separate quarters. In the alpine zones the settlements were not so large (thirty to fifty houses) and rather free in their layout. The traditional dwelling had several floors, a quadrangular shape, and a flat roof; the lower floors were used for economic purposes, and deep-set porches faced south. Since the 1960s the traditional form of the settlements has tended toward this spread-out, "free" type, and the flat roofs of the houses have been replaced by slanting ones made of slate and iron. In some places towerlike houses were preserved until the middle of the twentieth century.

In architecture the Gidatlin Valley was significantly set off by a local culture of fortresslike living complexes with hall-like quarters (up to 80 square meters of space for each room). A central pillar (*tlolbol hubi*, "the pillar of kinship") was carved in the form of a mighty oak with its top shaped like the crown of the tree. The pillar was adorned with carved ornaments and solar symbols and was revered as holy. In front of the pillar was situated the open hearth, where a fire was always burning. The layout and adornment of the interior of the home symbolized the might and longevity of clan values. The hall-like living quarters of Gidatl were preserved until the 1860s. There were other local architectural styles as well in Avaria (e.g., the places of worship). Construction materials were stone and wood. The contemporary settlement and its dwellings are convenient, but from the architectural point of view they manifest an evident degradation in the culture of spatial organization.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. The traditional economy of the Avars consisted of agriculture, livestock breeding, domestic industries, and trade. Avaria is one of the most significant regions of ancient terrace agriculture in the Caucasus. The inhabitants of mountain valleys received indispensable foodstuffs in exchange for the products of stock raising. Animal husbandry had several forms, with large stock in settled zones and the pasturing of sheep in the high mountains. The contemporary economy of the Avars in the more labor-intensive sectors is mechanized (plowing, harvesting, trucking, and so forth).

Clothing. The clothing of the Avars as a whole is of the generic Caucasian sort, but it has some distinctive features. Men's apparel includes pants, a shirt, a *beshmet* (quilted coat), a *cherkeska* (long, narrow, collarless coat), a sheepskin coat, a felt coat, a cowl, a fur cap, leather shoes, and socks of felt or wool. Avar men from the age of 15 traditionally sought to obtain the full set of weaponry for battle and display (saber, rifle, dagger, pistol); they wore the dagger as an accessory to their costume. Since the 1930s the bearing and possession of arms has been forbidden. The contemporary clothing, particularly of men, resembles ordinary European civilian clothing. Women's clothing varies somewhat from one region to another in Avaria. The community from which a woman comes could be ascertained by her clothing as much as by her speech. On the *chukht* (headdress) were sewn silver ornaments, different for each community.

Food. Dairy products and meat predominate in the diet of the mountainous regions. In the mountain valley zones vegetables and grain flour are consumed, as well as fruits, edible gourds, edible herbs, and wild grasses. The contemporary Avar cuisine and the dietary regime and etiquette of

nourishment among city dwellers have undergone considerable changes.

Industrial Arts. In Avaria, district centers have specialized in different kinds of industry. The construction industry has developed more in the cities of Sogratl and Teletl; the master masons from these centers built the best houses. Leather, woodworking, and other domestic industries, despite their great variety, served mainly to satisfy local demand. But bronze embossing (in Gotsatl and Ichichali), textile manufacture, and silk spinning had a larger market. Since the middle of the nineteenth century the village of Untsukul has achieved great renown for its woodworking products with silver inlay. The products of Untsukul masters have been celebrated with prizes at many international fairs.

Trade. Trade and exchange of goods were as important as their production. In Avaria there have traditionally functioned several weekly bazaars, as well as state and cooperative stores.

Division of Labor. The gender division of labor among the Avars was obligatory and has been preserved to a significant degree to this day. Traditionally men did the heavier work: house building, plowing, threshing, transporting the harvest, maintaining and repairing terraced fields, pasturing cattle, driving livestock. All domestic work, including receiving and processing milk products, and all remaining fieldwork (weeding, picking fruits, hilling up plants, haying on steep slopes when a scythe could not be used) was women's work. The transformation of the traditional economy into a collective-farm economy only slightly changed the gender division of labor. Domestic tasks continue to be relegated to Avar women. In the cities the male Avars, like other Daghestan mountaineers, do not hire out as servants, conductors, and janitors. Women are considerably freer than they are in the east.

Land Tenure. Because of intensive forms of agricultural economy, such as the terracing of mountain slopes since ancient times, the land traditionally was the private property of small families, whereas alpine meadows, forests, and some pastures were communal property. Every member of a commune was the private owner of plowland, hay fields, and sometimes pastures, and a co-owner of all the territory of the given commune. Property could be freely disposed of (gift, will, purchase, and sale). There were legal limits to the sale of land to someone who was not a member of the commune. After the nationalization of land and the creation of a kolkhoz structure (1932–1934) the landowners and the landless peasants became land users and workers on state farms. At the present (the period of reconstruction, or *perestroika*) there is a tendency toward the reinstatement of some progressive forms of property ownership.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Kinship is bilateral, although the line of patrilineal descent shapes the clan organization (called *tukhum* in most of Daghestan but *tlibil* in Avar, where clan consciousness is unusually strong). Every tukhum has its designation, formed most often from the name of its founder. The tukhum is a strictly patrilineal or agnatic organization—if we keep in mind the kinship nucleus—and is not usually heterogeneous, although its constituency may include persons from diverse places who have received the status of member. The tukhum in turn was divided into smaller patronymic groups the Avars called "the people of one house." The clan and the village "remain the basic cells of native society," with councils of elders and village courts; they are also the basis for Sufi brotherhoods (which have, to some extent, imposed their own territorial organization [Bennigsen and Wimbush 1986, 167]).

The generations were reckoned in the male line, and genealogies were usually short, usually three or four generations; status was determined through a person's clan membership. Feudal families (in earlier centuries) reckoned kinship on a much wider scope.

Kinship Terminology. Kinship terms on both the paternal and maternal side are primarily descriptive (e.g., grandson = "son's son"): *emsul emen* or *kudada* (grandfather), *emen* (father), *vas* (son), *vasasul vas* (grandson). Terms for the collateral line are classificatory: *vats* (brother), *vats'al* (male cousin), *tsina'al* (second cousin), *mazhimutl'* (third cousin), etc.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Traditionally Avars of both genders married at about age 15. The wishes of the parents played a basic role in the selection of a bridal couple and the conclusion of a marriage; however, a young man always had the option of informing his parents of whom he wanted to marry. A couple whose parents were not in agreement with the marriage eloped or simulated an abduction; forcible abductions were rarer. Marriage was possible with relatives as close as first cousins. The girl was not given in marriage to a young man of lower social rank. A girl was also not given to an "outsider"—anybody who did not belong to the village commune. The conclusion of a marriage was marked by ceremonies, dances, receptions, songs, and sometimes horse races. The wedding ceremony took place with witnesses to its religious ritual: the public agreement of the couple was a required condition for the conclusion of the wedding. In the Soviet period new rituals and customs took root: the registered civil marriage has become obligatory and material expenses have increased. In earlier times land, livestock, and hay fields were apportioned for the support of the couple. The residence of the newlyweds was always patrilocal but with separate living quarters: the groom's father provided them with a room or built a new house. Today this tradition is being modified toward the provision of help with labor, furniture, room to live in, and money. In divorce, as in marriage, the woman traditionally retained all the property apportioned to her by her parents as a dowry, including land and livestock; the children remained with the father. The latter Sharia-based (Quranic) custom has been modified in accordance with Soviet law: the children now remain with the mother. The formal right to divorce used to rest with the man but now a marriage can be dissolved by either party.

Domestic Unit. Historically the Avars, unlike many other peoples of the Caucasus, lived in nuclear families, which, one supposes, reflected the early establishment of private property in land and the civil nature of the village

commune. The Avars, notwithstanding the well-known modernization of their everyday culture, are very devoted to basic and traditional family values.

Inheritance. Inheritance was primarily from father to son; in the absence of direct heirs it was along collateral lines but within the tukhum. Women inherited one-third of the total inheritance. The wills were made by word of mouth to a trusted person but also in writing. Written wills were proclaimed in the mosque. Today the Avars, especially the urban dwellers, follow the Soviet laws of inheritance.

Socialization. In the education of children a major role was played by diverse games and athletic competitions, the contents of which fostered effective socialization. Study in parochial schools was free and voluntary (paid for by the commune), and at various stages there was a winnowing out of the most competent students. In the contemporary life of the Avars, especially in urban areas, education typically takes place in nurseries, kindergartens, and schools. The school reform that began in the 1980s presupposes a definite about-face in "ethnopedagogy."

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Social relations were characterized by segmentation into social classes. The feudal and clan-structural aristocracy (*nutsbi, uzden*) constituted a patrician class, whereas the emancipated serfs (or "freedmen") and the serfs (or "slaves") constituted the lower class. A special place in the social structure and the political culture was occupied by the tukhums, according to which the ruling part of the society was also of necessity, subdivided. After the unification with Russia a new aristocracy took shape based on service, and after the Revolution society was divided into workers, peasants, and intellectuals. Nevertheless, popular memory preserved the traditional division even into the Soviet period.

Political Organization. Historically, the political structure of the Avars has undergone various modifications: from centralized states (the kingdom of Sarir, ninth to tenth centuries), to the theocratization of the nineteenth century, to Soviet power in the twentieth. The basic form of government until the nineteenth century was an association of aristocratic, aristodemocratic, and democratic republics. At the head of one of them stood the family of the khan, tracing its (legendary) genealogy to the Egyptian pharaohs. After the establishment of Soviet power the Avars, as a recognized nationality of the Daghestan Autonomous SSR, shared power through the Supreme Soviet of the republic. In place of the former federations (and the imamate of Shamil) there has been created a new administrative network. Self-government is realized through local councils.

Social Control. Traditionally, administrative and judicial power was implemented through leaders and elders, together with Quranic judges. Law making and political control belonged to the Council of Elders, who represented the People's Council. Officials were selected annually: for example, the *magush* served as intermediary between the people and the leaders; there were also "policemen" (*el*), watchmen for the fields and the treasuries. The Council of Elders designated the military leader. The leaders were bound by an oath on the Quran to observe the laws of the society. Public opinion plays an important role in social control.

Conflict. The court and its organization are constructed according to Soviet law. Traditionally, in old Daghestan, court was managed by elected leaders and elders according to the written codices of customary law (*adat*), whereas the Quranic judges worked in terms of Quranic law (Sharia). A significant role in juridical life was played by common law when it came to mediating conflicts and disputes. The punishments included fines, ostracism, and blood vengeance. Today the vendetta can be considered eliminated. Quranic law functioned until the 1930s, and Quranic and customary legal forms of inheritance, the conclusion of marriage, and so forth have their place even today in legal practices.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religion. In the more distant past the Avars preferred their ancient religion with its pantheon of pagan gods located on mountaintops (the Avar "Olympus" was Mount Tlili Meer), including the chief god Ts'ob. Between the fifth and twelfth centuries Georgian Orthodox Christianity penetrated Avaria; its remnants include the temple of Datun, crosses with Avar-language epitaphs from Khunzakh, and the names of the days of the week. The prevailing religion since the thirteenth century has been Sunni Islam. Two important holy places are situated in Avar territory, and there are many Quranic schools, countless houses of prayer, and a generally high level of religious observance (Bennigsen and Wimbush 1986, 179). The religious functionaries—*dibir* (mullah) and *budun* (mosque official)—were paid not from the property of the mosques but from communal funds. There were mosques in every settlement. Attached to large mosques were parochial schools. Pagan beliefs were interwoven with those of Islam.

Ceremonies. Ancient ceremonies were preserved, among which the most popular was the New Year's festival of *ots bay* ("bull harnessing"), celebrated during the vernal equinox. A festival is always accompanied by athletic contests. Today innovations are giving these ceremonies new content, and only the basic elements of the past are being preserved. Avar wedding ceremonies are quite elaborate, accompanied by folk dances and folk music. There also exists an established genre of keening and singing by women during funerals (*mau*).

Medicine. Sorcerers using magic amulets and other such objects held a significant place in folk medicine. At the same time village mullahs would write out special incantations and prayers, as recommended in books of home cures in the Muslim world. The remedies of Eastern medicine were closely integrated with magical methods. Those who specialized in physical trauma were highly skilled; masters of traditional medicine are known to have performed trephination. The Alibutaev lineage from Sogratl had seventeen generations of healers. Today all large populated areas have medical stations and there are modern clinics in regional centers and cities.

Death and Afterlife. Avar believers imagine a life after death in accordance with Islamic eschatology, with elements of superstition from earlier religions. Funeral rituals are also carried out in accordance with Islamic prescriptions.

See also Andis

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(Translated by Paul Friedrich)

Azerbaijani Turks

ETHNONYMS: Azerbaijanis (used since 1937 in Soviet Azerbaijan); Azeris.

Orientation

Identification. Historic Azerbaijan is today divided into the independent Republic of Azerbaijan (Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic until 30 August 1991) in the north and the East and West Azerbaijan provinces of Iran in the south. The Araxes (Aras) River forms most of the boundary between the two sides.

Location. Azerbaijan occupies the western shore of the Caspian Sea, extending west to approximately 45° longitude (which runs through the middle of the Caucasian isthmus and west of Lake Urmia in Iran) and from the foot of the Caucasus Mountains in the north to just south of Lake Urmia (37° latitude) in the south. The Kura River crosses the republic from northwest to southeast. Elevation varies greatly, from the coastal lowlands and basins of the Kura and Araxes rivers in the east and southeast (at and below sea level) to the Greater Caucasus mountains (to 4,243 meters) in the north at the Daghestan border, and to the Lesser Caucasus (to 3,581 meters) in the west. In the lowlands, the climate is mild (average temperature is 14–14.5° C with 20–40 centimeters of precipitation annually), but in the mountains winters are severe (average temperature is 2–10° C; with extremes to −13°, and 100–160 centimeters of precipitation). The Azerbaijan Republic, with its capital at Baku, includes the (mostly Armenian) Nagorno-Karabagh region and the noncontiguous Nakhjivan Autonomous Republic (separated from the rest of the republic by a strip of Armenia). Iranian Azerbaijan is entirely mountainous: elevations are over 2,000 meters, with some ranging as high as 5,000 meters near Ardebil in the east. Climate is correspondingly severe. It is separated from the Caspian coast by the Gilan region. In the south, the main city, Tabriz, is located near Lake Urmia.

Demography. The population of the Azerbaijan Republic was about 7 million in 1989; Baku had a population of 2.5 million. The birthrate is high (43.7 per thousand between 1959 and 1969, as contrasted with 19 per thousand for Russians), with the median age of the population in 1979 at 15. The Azerbaijan SSR had become more ethnically homogeneous in the last three decades, both because of the emigration of non-Azerbaijanis and because of the relatively higher birthrate of the Azerbaijanis. The other major groups in the republic are Russians and Armenians. These three groups account for approximately 90 percent of the population. Other groups are Georgians, Jews, and northern Caucasians. Comparable demographic data are not available for Iranian Azerbaijan. Tabriz has a population of over half a million, and East Azerbaijan Province, about 4 million. Estimates of the total number of Azerbaijanis in Iran, however, vary from 6 million to more than twice that figure. In West Azerbaijan Province, there is a large Kurdish population and also Assyrian and other Christian minorities. Some nomadic groups still exist, although their former migration patterns were disrupted by the restrictions on moving southward across the Araxes River. Most prominent among these groups are the Shahseven.

Linguistic Affiliation. Azerbaijani is a dialect of Turkish, although on the northern side of the border the Soviet state officially called it a separate language starting in 1937; on the Iranian side it is called simply "Türki," as are Turkish dialects in Central Asia. Azerbaijani is closely related to Turkmen and Anatolian Turkish; it is intelligible to most speakers of Turkish dialects and is a lingua franca in much of Daghestan. The Azerbaijan Republic has used the Cyrillic orthography since the late 1930s, after about a decade of Latin orthography, which replaced the earlier Arabo-Persian script. The republic's government plans to reinstate Latin orthography in 1993. Azerbaijani is a language with an important literature. Azerbaijanis have a low

level of linguistic Russification, with over 98 percent claiming Azerbaijani as their first language. On the Iranian side of the border, the Arabo-Persian script is still in use. Prior to the creation of this script, Turkish had been written in other alphabets, the earliest of which was the so-called runic script of the eighth century Orkhon-Yenisei inscriptions.

History and Cultural Relations

Present-day Azerbaijanis north of the Araxes River regard themselves as descendants of the ancient Caucasian Albanians (Albania is the former name of the area), whose kingdom occupied eastern Caucasia from antiquity to the Muslim conquests; they also claim descent from Turkish nomads who first migrated to the steppe north of the Caspian in pre-or early Christian times and thereafter penetrated and mingled with the existing population of Azerbaijan. Decisive Turkicization occurred in the eleventh century. In Iran, however, as a result of the Persianization campaigns of the Pahlavi dynasty (1925–1979), official history insists that the Turks of the Azerbaijan provinces are "Turkicized Aryans." Because of the restrictions on higher education and publishing in Iranian Azerbaijan, there has been little exploration of this contention in Iran; Soviet Azerbaijani scholars have denounced it. Over the centuries, Azerbaijan has been overrun by its neighbors (Byzantium and Iran) and more distant invaders (Khazars, Arabs, Seljuks, Mongols, Timurids, and Russians). For much of its history, Azerbaijan has been ruled as part of Iran by successive groups including the Sasanids (third to seventh century); the Arab caliphate (at various times); the Turkish Seljuks (eleventh century); the Chingizid Ilkhanids (thirteenth–fourteenth centuries); the Central Asian Timurids (fourteenth and fifteenth centuries); and Safavids from southern Azerbaijan (sixteenth–eighteenth centuries).

Among historically important cities are Barda, Ganje, Ardebil, Tabriz, and Maragha. Local dynasties have occasionally exerted considerable independence, notably the Shirvanshahs of the north, who ruled during the sixth to sixteenth centuries despite the loss of suzerainty to imperial rulers in Iran or Central Asia. The region they ruled was known simply as "Shirvan" or "Sharvan." After a period of fragmentation into semi-independent khanates in the eighteenth century, northern Azerbaijan was conquered by the Russians early in the nineteenth century. The border was fixed in 1828 at roughly its present position. Northern Azerbaijan constituted two provinces of the Russian Empire (the Baku and Elisavetpol provinces) and part of the Erevan Province. It experienced rapid (if one-sided) industrial development as Baku's oil wealth was exploited from the last quarter of the nineteenth century well into the twentieth; because of the "oil rush," northern Azerbaijan received thousands of Russians, Caucasian mountaineers, Armenians, and southern Azerbaijani Turks as workers, many of whom were organized into the Socialist movement. Northern Azerbaijan became an independent republic in 1918, in the wake of the Russian Revolution and World War I, but it was reconquered by the Red Army in 1920. Southern Azerbaijan was one of the richest provinces of Iran and, under the Qajars, was ruled by the heir to the Iranian throne. It became a center of protests against the shah's foreign concessions in the 1890s and of the Constitutional Movement (1905–1911) that led to the short-lived constitutional period. This history of protest, however, so weakened the old regime that the path was paved for the coup by Reza Khan (later Shah) Pahlavi in the 1920s. Cross-border relations remained strong. During World War II, Soviet troops occupied part of southern Azerbaijan, but they withdrew in 1946. Thereafter an autonomous local government was destroyed by the Shah's troops.

The culture of Azerbaijan has historically been a rich and complex admixture of pre-Islamic Turkish, Iranian, and Islamic elements. The mix is reflected in the *dastan*, or "ornate oral history," which preserves history, customs, values, and the language itself. Later forms (dating from about the fourteenth century) of these ancient works are known today: *The Book of Dede Korkut* and *Köroglu*. "High culture" is also strongly in evidence in the form of poetry, scholarship, visual arts, and architecture. The eleventh to thirteenth centuries were the golden age, during which the poets Khagani Shirvani (1120–1199) and Nizami Ganjevi (1141–1209) and the scholar Muhammad Nasr al-Din Tusi (1207–1274) lived and worked. Later luminaries included the poet Fuzuli (1498–1556). They were internationally known and many traveled far beyond the borders of Azerbaijan. Maragha, in the south, boasted a fourteenth-century observatory and library. Mausoleums, bridges, and other structures survive from the eleventh century and later. Some remaining structures are even older. Russian influence had some impact on the upper classes in the north during the nineteenth century and far more under Soviet power. Certain members of the Azerbaijani intelligentsia in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were educated in France, Germany, or the Ottoman Empire; those desiring religious training went to Iran or Ottoman Iraq. Under Soviet rule, the Azerbaijan SSR became increasingly insulated, and cultural policies were determined by the Soviet Communist party. In addition to the alphabet changes, many works of oral and written literature were banned and denounced as "feudal-clerical" or "bourgeois." Writers, composers, and poets perished in the purges. In the south, Persianization was emphasized and Azerbaijani Turkish culture regarded as primitive, "folk" culture. Major historical personages were called "Persian" regardless of their place of birth, parentage, or self-identification. Literacy in Turkish was not counted in the 1962 Iranian census.

Settlements

The northern Azerbaijani population has been about half urban since the middle of this century. The traditional division of towns into *mahalle* (quarters) based on the ethnicity or region of origin of the inhabitants, which the names of the mahalle may reflect, survives to some degree to the present. Rural villages are numerous on both sides of the border and tend to be ethnically homogeneous. In the north, the descendants of nineteenth-century Russian settlers still remain in a few areas. The transfer of large Armenian populations from Iran after the Russian conquest has led to large Armenian concentrations in some western

and central regions of Caucasia, including many parts of the present-day Armenian Republic and the Karabagh region of the Azerbaijan Republic.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. Agriculture is a key component of the economy on both sides of the border; the region encompasses several climatic zones and produces tea, grapes, wheat, tobacco, and pomegranates, as well as mulberry trees and cocoons (for silk) and forest products. Sheep, cattle, and goats are kept. Among natural resources are copper, salt, iron ore, and, in the north, the most famous—oil. Black caviar is produced by the sturgeon off the Azerbaijan coast, but severe pollution in the Caspian Sea has virtually destroyed this industry and fishing. Industrial development, consisting of oil and petrochemical industries, is confined to the north. Pesticide use, especially on grapes and cotton, has been excessive and has caused serious health and environmental damage.

Industrial Arts. Azerbaijan has long been famous for its silks and carpets. Tabriz is known for carpets and has famous schools of miniatures and calligraphy; Shemakhi in the north was a major producer of silk cloth; various towns produced rugs. Machine production has largely, but not entirely, replaced handicrafts.

Trade. Trade in silk, carpets, wax, and oil has been important to the towns of Azerbaijan throughout its history. Baku is located on the south side of the Apsheron Peninsula and has the best natural harbor on the Caspian. It has been a commercial port for more than a millennium. Ruins of caravansaries reflect trade with South Asia as well as the Middle East. The towns of the south lay on major overland trade routes. Since the early nineteenth century the economy of each part of Azerbaijan has been integrated into the state of which it is a part.

Division of Labor. The traditional division of men's and women's work generally prevails, with the latter including unusually onerous tasks in nomadic and rural areas. In the twentieth century, especially with losses of male population in northern Azerbaijan after the abortive battle for independence, collectivization, purges, and World War II, women increasingly filled the work force. Intellectual or white-collar employment for females is acceptable in northern Azerbaijan, but physical labor is disdained by women and will be accepted only by the very poor.

Land Tenure. There was no private land in the Azerbaijan SSR, but in rural areas the population was able to use land to build houses and keep private gardens. There is sufficient flexibility in the system for a thriving black market in fruit and flowers. The republican government is committed to privatization of land, but the process is proceeding slowly. In the south, the abortive land reforms of the last Pahlavi shah did not alter the landowning pattern in Azerbaijan; land tends to be concentrated in the hands of the wealthy.

Kinship

A patrilinear pattern is characteristic. Language reflects details of relations, with different terms for the mother's brother and sister, the father's brother and sister, spouses and avuncular relatives, and so forth. Marriage bonds are very important, with clear definition of relations between children and paternal and maternal relatives. These obligations are recognized even among urban populations. Extended families are preferred, even in cities.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. People commonly marry in their early twenties, and within each family are expected to marry in order from eldest to youngest. If marriages are not specifically arranged (arranged marriages are increasingly unlikely in urban areas), Azerbaijani Turks are expected to marry someone whose family is known by or related to their own family. The first child is expected to be born in the first year of marriage, although there is no convention concerning the timing of subsequent children. Higher education may cause marriages to be deferred and may also result in marriage outside the usual circles. Nonetheless, marriage outside the national community is rare. In those instances when official "mixed" marriages are recorded by Soviet statistics, the match is usually with another Turk (a Tatar, Uzbek, etc.) or non-Turkish Muslim (Legzhi, etc.) rather than a non-Turk and non-Muslim. Intermarriage between Turks and Persians in Iran is more likely for those outside Azerbaijan. Abortion, though legal in the north, is virtually unheard of; divorce is rare, and social pressures against it are enormous. Polygamy was illegal in the Soviet Union but existed sporadically in a few rural areas under various guises (such as civil divorce, followed by a civil and religious second marriage).

Domestic Unit. An extended patrilocal family is preferred and is often necessary because of housing shortages in towns in the north. Women constitute a subculture within the household and share in housekeeping and child-rearing duties, even if employed outside the household. They may play an important role in decision making, especially concerning children.

Inheritance. Inheritance was traditionally determined by Islamic provisions that require all offspring to inherit, although males were favored. Now the laws of each state govern inheritance.

Socialization. The family is the main instrument of socialization, and public opinion exerts a powerful force. Both the Russians (under czarist and Soviet power) and Persians have tried to use schools as a means to socialize Azerbaijani Turks into the majority culture. The Russians had limited success; the Persians have had more, especially among those Azerbaijanis who leave Azerbaijan.

Sociopolitical Organization

The Azerbaijan Republic, unlike its Soviet predecessor, is characterized by various political and social organizations and parties. Its leaders have confirmed their willingness to grant cultural autonomy to ethnic minorities. Iran does not recognize ethnic or national differences nor grant autonomy to nationalities.

Social Organization. Although much of the society has been peasant and nomadic, the cities in Azerbaijan have produce a small but vigorous urban culture and merchant class. The upper class traditionally was composed of land-

owners or merchants, but in the north industrialization in the nineteenth century also created an industrial bourgeoisie. In the north, there was a secular cultural-intellectual movement in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Political Organization. The Azerbaijan Republic realized aspects of its sovereignty only slowly because of the continued control of the government by former Communists during its first months of independence. The 1978 constitution remained in force. During the spring of 1992, the former Communists lost power and were supplanted by the Azerbaijan Popular Front, the major opposition force since its founding in 1989. Its leader, Abulfez Elchibey, was elected president (7 June 1992) in the first democratic elections since 1919. The post-Communist government embarked on a program of social, political, and economic change.

Social Control. Traditional norms are enforced by the family and by community opinion. Religious values can be enforced by the religious establishment in the south. In the north, the pressure by the Communist party apparatus and Ministry of Internal Affairs is gradually being replaced by new laws.

Conflict. The main conflict is between Azerbaijani Turks and non-Azerbaijanis. The czarist period was marked by continual but only sporadically violent resistance to Russian control, laws restricting non-Christians, and Christianization and Russification campaigns. Resistance to Russification continued under Soviet rule. The use of force by the Soviet state to mobilize the population at harvest time led to occasional violence against the authorities. Sporadic but intense periods of conflict with Armenians characterized the first quarter of the twentieth century and the late 1980s and early 1990s. The latter confrontation concerns a territorial dispute over Nagorno-Karabagh (the first word means "mountainous" in Russian, the second is "black garden" in Turkish), which both nations regard as their historic patrimony.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs and Practices. Today Azerbaijan is more than three-quarters Shiite, less than one-quarter Sunni. Azerbaijan has been Islamic since the eighth century and Shiite since the sixteenth century, when Shah Ismail, founder of the Safavid dynasty, adopted Shiism as state religion. Secularization is far more in evidence in northern Azerbaijan, probably as a result of the Russian conquest. The veiling and segregation of women, common throughout Iran, is not practiced in former Soviet Azerbaijan, nor among nomads on either side of the border, although modesty in dress is the norm. Rural women often wear large black shawls but leave their faces uncovered.

In accordance with pre-Islamic belief systems common in Central Asia, including animism and shamanism, Azerbaijani Turks display reverence for nature and the elements. According to Harry H. Walsh (in Weekes, 1984, 65–66), "in rural areas of Azerbaijan, pre-Islamic practices may still be encountered among the Azeris. Holy places (*pir*) are still revered. The holiday Su Jeddim, in which Azeris seek communion with their ancestors through bathing in sanctified streams, has been observed in recent times. Certain trees, especially the oak and the iron tree, are venerated and may not be felled. Pieces of bark from the iron tree are worn about the neck of persons and horses as amulets, and are tied to cribs in order to ward off illness and the evil eye. A cult of fire, which is regarded by the Azeris as the holiest and purest element in nature, has had many adherents, and there has been a cult of rocks, particularly of a certain kind of black rock to which curative powers are attributed."

Religious Practitioners. Islam has no "clergy" in the Christian sense, as Islam is not a sacramental religion. Mullahs are prayer leaders; *ulema* (pl. of *alim*, "scholar") act as judges (*qadis*), interpreters of the law. These practitioners were driven out of northern Azerbaijan or subordinated to the Ecclesiastical Boards created in the 1840s. The Bolsheviks destroyed these boards in the 1920s. They were reestablished in the 1940s and still exist in the republic. Under the Soviet regime, these boards controlled the education, practices, and publications of official mullahs in Soviet Azerbaijan. Consequently, the populace looked upon the mullahs with suspicion and sometimes turned to "holy men." There are about 300 holy places in Azerbaijan, and pilgrimages to them are common in the countryside (i.e., there are notable differences in religious practices between rural and urban areas). With the fall of communism, interest in religion has revived but plays no significant role in political life. In Iran, on the other hand, the ulema were and continue to be a powerful and independent force.

Ceremonies. Novruz Bayram, a holiday celebrating the beginning of spring, survives from the pre-Islamic period. Another significant ceremony is Ashura, devoted to the martyr Imam Hussein. Muharrem (Shiite commemoration) and other Islamic rituals are common in the south; they were legal but discouraged in Soviet Azerbaijan.

Arts. Traditional music is extremely popular throughout Azerbaijan. The north also has a twentieth-century tradition of operas based on traditional music; most famous among these are the operas and comic operettas of Uzeir Hajibeyli (1885–1948). His national march, written for the first republic in 1918, has been adopted by the present republic. Prominent singers enjoy enormous celebrity. Hajibeyli and many singers, composers, and traditional reciters of dastans and poetry come from Karabagh, which is regarded as a cradle of music in Azerbaijani culture. Folk plays, often with religious content, are performed in Iranian Azerbaijan. Plays with secular, often social-satirical themes were first produced in the north by Mirza Fath Ali Akhundzade (1812–1878). These and similar later works are still performed.

Medicine. In the north, remnants of the inadequate Soviet system prevail. The south has the same system as elsewhere in Iran, which is also inadequate. Herbal folk medicines are still used, mainly by the rural population.

Death and Afterlife. Islamic ceremonies in mourning and burial appear to be practiced universally (and were practiced even by Communist party members in the north). A commemoration is held at the fortieth day after death.

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AUDREY L. ALTSTADT

Balkars

ETHNONYMS: The Balkars or Malkars are designated by other peoples in over a dozen ways, including Alan, Asi (Osi), Asiat, Balqar, Basiani, Basman, Belkyur, Bulgar, Malkan, Malqar, Musavi, Osson, Ovsi, and Saviar. Their most general self-designation is "Taulu" (i.e., mountaineer). The term "Malkar" (or Balkar) in the past was used only for the inhabitants of the ravine on the East Cherek River. Russian documents on the Balkars call them "Mountain Tatars" or refer to the "mountain communes of Kabardia."

Orientation

Identification and Location. The Balkars or Taulus are a constituent population of the former USSR, administratively part of the Kabardino-Balkar Republic, which is part of the Russian Republic. A small number of Balkars live in Central Asia and Kazakhstan. The northern part of the population is located in the highest mountain strip of the central Caucasus. Most of the Balkars live in the mountains and foothills of the southwestern part of Kabardino-Balkaria.

Over 80 percent of Balkar territory lies more than 2,000 meters above sea level. The main Caucasus chain includes the mountains Elbrus (5,633 meters), Shkhara (5,200 meters), Dykhtau (5,198 meters), Koshtau (5,145 meters), and others. The river valleys are cut deep into the mountains, forming gorges, pits, and canyons, the majority of which are very eroded. Avalanches and mountain torrents follow the courses or channels of these formations. The canyons afford protection from the cold northern winds in winter and from the heat of the flatlands in summer; the climate in these valleys is temperate-continental.

The vegetative zones are made up of strips of forest brakes and yellow rhododendron, changing to conifers as the elevation increases, then to subalpine meadows with thickets of Caucasian rhododendron and low-lying alpine grasses, which in turn yield to lichenous scree.

The mountain fauna include various birds, most noticeably the indigenous Caucasian *ular*. But the most characteristic animals of the high mountains are the varieties of Caucasian mountain goats: the *chegemo-bezengli*, the *balkar*, and the sugam. Also inhabiting this region are wolves, brown bears, stags, wild boars, and—rarely—lynx and leopards.

Demography. The population is small: in the middle of the nineteenth century, the number of Balkars did not exceed 10,000; in 1897, the census counted 23,100; in 1926, 33,300; in 1939, 42,600; in 1959, 42,400; in 1979, 66,000; and in 1989, 86,000. Today more than half of the Balkars live in the foothills and in the cities of Nal'chik, Chegem, and Baksan. In terms of physical anthropology, the Balkars are typical representatives of the Mountain Caucasian type.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Balkars speak the Karachay-Balkar language, which belongs to the Kipchak Subgroup of the West Hunnic Branch of the Turkic Language Family. The Karachay-Balkar language inherited traits of the Kuman, Bulgar-Khazar, and Oghuz languages. The Balkar lexicon contains words borrowed from Iranian (Ossetic), Arabic, Greek, Caucasian, and Slavic languages. The following dialects can be distinguished on phonological grounds: Baksan-Chegem, Malkar, and the mixed dialect Khulamo-Bezengi. There is a distinct dialect for almost every valley. Among dead languages, the closest to Karachay-Balkar are Old Bulgar and Kuman-Kipchak, and among living languages the closest are Kumyk, Crimean Tatar, and the Karaite languages. In 1979, 96.9 percent of

Balkars claimed Balkar as their native language (Bennigsen and Wimbush 1986, 203).

History and Cultural Relations

The origins of the Balkar people have not yet been definitively established: various hypotheses have associated them with the Huns, the Khazars, the Bulgars, the Alans, the Zikhs, the Brukhs, the Kipchaks (Qïpchaqs, Polovtsians), the Vengrians, the Chekhs, the Mongol Tatars, the Crimean Tatars, and Turkicized Japhetic groups. Some contemporary scholars attribute their origin to a cultural conglomeration of northern Caucasian tribes with the Iranian-speaking Alans and with Turkish-speaking tribes, among which the most significant were probably the Black Bulgars and the Western Kipchaks. Elements of Balkar culture indicate a long association with the Near East, the Mediterranean, the rest of the Caucasus, and Russia. In the pre-Mongol period (before the thirteenth century) the Balkars were part of the Alan union of tribes, but after the Mongol invasion they retreated into the canyons of the central Caucasus.

According to native ethnogenetic traditions, the Balkars originally settled in the basin of the main Balkar canyon, where the hunter Malkar found success and called his companions Misaka and Basiat of Majar (or Madyar) to join him. The oldest written information about this canyon dates from the fourteenth century and can be found in a Georgian epigraph on a golden cross in the Cathedral of the Assumption in Tskhovati, South Ossetia: the text refers to the canyon in question as "Basianian." In more recent times, in Russian sources, the Balkar population is also referred to as "Basian" and "Balxar."

Legends and chronicles describe the irruption into the Balkar fastnesses of Tamerlane's men, who intended to ascend the heights of Mount. Elbrus. The Balkars are mentioned in west European and Turkish chronicles at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Balkars together with the Kabardians mounted a resistance to the Crimean Gireys and maintained relations with Georgia and Russia. In 1827 the Balkars finally became Russian citizens, fixing their loyalty through the institution of amanat (with hostages). Since that time the Balkars have avoided the various tumultuous Russian-Caucasian events of the last century. Only a few persons from leading families took part on the side of the Russian armies in the Crimean War (1854–1856), the Russo-Turkish War (1877–1878), and the Russo-Japanese War (1905). At the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries a small segment of the Balkars (Chegems and Basians) emigrated to Turkey and Syria. After the civil war and the establishment of Soviet power in 1920, the Balkars were integrated into the structure of the USSR and assigned their own national-territorial unit. In early 1944 the Balkars were subjected to a mass deportation to parts of Central Asia, especially Kazakhstan. At the beginning of 1957 the Balkar territory was reestablished and most Balkars returned to their native localities.

Language and Literacy. In the Cyrillic alphabet as used by the Karachay-Balkars there are eight vowels and twenty-seven consonants. In the past the official written languages were Arabic for religious services and Turkish for business matters. From 1920 on Balkar has been the language of instruction in primary schools; subsequent instruction is carried out in Russian. Until 1928 Arabic letters were used to write the Balkar language and after that (in 1937), Cyrillic. Ninety-six percent of the population is bilingual in Balkar and Russian. Organs of mass culture, secondary school texts, newspapers, and magazines in both Balkar and Russian continue to increase in number.

Settlements

The traditional Balkar settlement was in the mountains and could comprise one or several kinship groups. Since the end of the nineteenth century settlements in the foothills and, in part, in the plains have been increasing. Traditional Balkar settlements are terraced and compact, located on the slopes of mountains. At the end of the nineteenth century there were eighteen hamlets (Russian: *otsyolki*) in Cherek, seven in Khulamo-Bezengi, twenty-two in Chegem, and twenty-three in Baksan. Such settlements are either single- or multiclan units. In the multiclan villages there is evidence of territorial organization according to individual clans (*tukhum*), which together constitute a neighborhood (*tiyre*). Settlements are found in places that are not suitable for agricultural use. For safety reasons, residential and farm buildings of the family commons constitute a complex with a closed-off courtyard, the *jabïlghan arbaz*.

On mountain slopes and amid dwellings, medieval stone towers and fortresses (*qala*) were preserved: both square (in Chegem) and narrowing toward the top (Kyunlyum and elsewhere). The towers are ascribed to individual families (Abaev, Balkarukov, Zhaboev, etc.), whereas fortresses (e.g., at Torturkala) were intended for the defense of the entire canyon from attack from both the mountains and the plains. Towers and fortresses were built with three to five stories, depending on the period. The Balkars were also situated according to seasonal settlements: winter or summer nomad "tents" (stone or wattle-and-daub structures with open hearths). Dwellings were daubed with clay on the inside and the outside. The one-meter-thick earthen roof of the house called for a massive crisscross structure of wooden beams and vertical supports.

The older types of Balkar dwellings were semisubterranean, stone, one-room houses. Next to the main one-room dwelling, a row of dwellings for young couples (*otoú*) would be built. The construction work was carried on through collective help (*ziuyu*), and even today the laying of the foundation takes place with a ceremony—an evening of sacrifices and oblations, the salutation (*alghïsh*), and a special dance, the *tepana*. The interior of the dwelling was reminiscent of the ancient culture of the nomads. The living room was divided into two parts, one for men and one for women, that is, an "honored part" and a "nonhonored part." On the honored side, beside the sacred hearth, the guests and older men were seated, whereas the women and children were in the nonhonored part. Food for the extended family was prepared in the main quarters but special places were set aside for the preparation of ritual food. Food was taken on low stools, in a strict order starting with the children.

Every communal group (rarely, every settlement) had a place for its mosque and a small square, the *nïghïsh*, where the men assembled. Since the end of the nineteenth century the structure of the new settlements in the plains has been undergoing modernization; two-storied, multiroom houses with porches have been appearing. The roofs of the houses were covered with iron or planks, later with tile and slate. The interior of the contemporary dwelling is in the urban style. Buildings are being constructed of stone (particularly the first floor), brick, and, rarely, wood. The plan of the house must include rooms for the guest(s) (*qonaq yuy*), for the large table (*ullu yuy*), and for the small table (*khant yuy*).

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. The Balkars practice animal husbandry, raising Karachay sheep, mountain goats, cattle, horses, and donkeys. Winter pastures used to belong to the whole clan, whereas irrigated hay fields were owned by individual households. Livestock remained out of doors on the summer pasture grounds from May to October, but during the winter they were kept in temporary shelters; permanent structures were found only in the family's winter quarters.

These mountaineers used extraordinary care in preparing the land for cultivation. The plots, which had been won from a harsh nature, were heritable property. The price of this much-exploited soil was fabulously high. Such plots were measured in terms of the quantity of sheaves harvested. Renting of the land was practiced (*begenda*), as was communal pasturage. The traditional branches of the economy still play the basic role today, but a large part of the population works on sovkhozy, kolkhozy, cooperatives, etc.

Clothing. The Turco-Caucasian tradition can be observed in the clothing of the Balkars. Quilted coats and Caucasian felt coats and cowls were traded with neighbors; these items, together with fur hats and *cherkeskas* (long collarless coats), constituted the military outfit of the Cossacks. Women's clothing, particularly the ceremonial apparel of young girls, was identical to that of the Kabardians and Ossetes. Wealthy women wore a large bib (*tyuyme*), with long fastenings and large ornaments, and a decorative silver belt (*kyamar*). The young woman's cap was in the form of a high or truncated cone, richly decorated with festoons and gold or silver stitching—the remnant of an ancient Turkic tradition.

Food. The Balkar cuisine is a synthesis of ancient Turko-Caucasian and contemporary cultures. The basic diet included meat: mutton, beef, goat, and horse meat; the meat of the roe deer, Caucasian mountain goat, and the stag were considered delicacies, as was boar meat before the Islamic period. When skinning and cutting up the carcasses of sheep and goats, they preserved the ancient Turko-Caucasian technique of separating the joints so that sixteen or twenty-four portions would result. Important components of the Balkar diet were sour boiled milk (*ayran*) and kefir.

Industrial Arts. Traditionally, Balkar women were known in the region as skillful seamstresses. They spun wool, made cloth, and fulled the large pieces of felt for which they are renowned; they then adorned this felt with rolled-in designs, encrusted ornaments, or appliqué work. The ornamentation of felt included various geometric and stylized animal, plant, and flower designs. Wool or fabric was tinted with plant dyes (and, since the end of the nineteenth century, artificial dyes). The Balkars have created a new economic base in the working of wool and down and the manufacture of formerly unknown products such as sweaters, jumpers, jackets, women's dresses, caps, scarves, socks, mittens, and so forth. The work of master seamstresses is in great demand in the resort markets of the Caucasus and in the North and the Far East. Since ancient times the Balkar mountaineers have extracted lead, cast bullets, made gunpowder from saltpeter, and smelted steel from iron ore. Gunsmiths made rifles for trade with neighbors. As in earlier times, Balkar women tend to be occupied with domestic work—family care, kitchen chores, needlework—while at the same time engaging actively in small trade involving the output of female arts and crafts.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Residues of clan (*tukhum*) organization have survived among the Balkars. The tukhums are divided into smaller structures: patrilineages, patriarchal communes (*antaul*), and monogamous families (*yuyur*). Each tukhum has its own cemetery. Some of the patrilineages are traced back patronymically to a founding father or matronymically to a founding mother and enjoy great prestige and communal privilege. The names of clan founders are thus preserved in the dual system of the Balkars, although blood ties on the father's side are considered more prestigious than those on the mother's side. A system of unequal kinship groups was the basis of Balkar class structure but has now lost its former significance.

Kinship Terminology. The bilateral kinship terminology of the Balkars is descriptive: *ata* (father), *ana* (mother), *qart ata* [qart, "old"] (grandfather), *qart ana* (grandmother), etc. Collateral kin terms include: *qarïndash* (brother), and *egech* (sister); in the next generation: *ata qarnash* (father's brother), *ana qarnash* (mother's brother), etc. The second cousin is called *eki qarnashdan tuughan*, "one born from brothers," and so forth. The terms for affinity through marriage preserve traces of the common Turkic system: *kelin* (daughter-in-law), *kyuey* (son-in-law), *qayïn ana* (mother-in-law), *qayïn ata* (father-in-law), *qayïn* (brother-in-law), and *qayïn qïz* (sister-in-law).

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Marriage before coming of age (16–17 years old) was not approved. Premarital relations between younger people were relatively free. Matchmakers participated in arranging the marriage. The groom's mother's brother was considered the honorary matchmaker and, thereafter, co-parent-in-law. Traditionally marriage was monogamous. Quranic norms (Sharia) were not widely observed, but customary law (*adat*) enforced strict exogamy. The nobility (*tuabiy*) only married within their social class. Kinship with the Ossetian Badilyats and Aldars was considered prestigious, as were relations with the Kabardian

Pshi and Tlokothlesh. Divorce was not common. The initiative for it came from the husband, and resort to legal bodies in matters of divorce was rare.

Domestic Unit. Residence was patrilocal. Although the small (nuclear) family prevailed, Balkars preserved the tradition of the extended family until the end of the nineteenth century. In Khulam, for example, an eighty-three-person household with a courtyard was noted. In the days of extended families, the head was the oldest male, and this practice continued in small families in the Soviet period. When an extended family separated, plots of land were divided among the men according to the laws of inheritance, with the youngest son eventually inheriting the parents' share (*atalïq-analïq*). The final decline of the extended family commune occurred in the Soviet period.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Balkar society was traditionally divided into a "white bone" (*aq syuek*) and a "black bone" (*qara syuek*). The aristocratic class consisted of *basiyat* (elders) and the tuabiy (mountain prince). The *uzden* (free peasant) class was the most numerous. The dependent class was divided into freed slaves and domestic slaves. Even now social memory preserves in a residual form awareness of the former social ranks, especially in regard to marriage arrangements.

Political Organization. The elders held the powers of government, which in earlier times were confirmed at a public assembly and later were designated by central authorities.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs and Practices. The Balkars are Masgaba Khanbali (Sunni Muslims). Islam took a long time to become established and only definitively triumphed at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Traces of pagan concepts can be seen in rituals: at times of drought people say prayers; they douse each other with water; they dress up dolls or frogs and "drown" them in water. The household is protected from the evil eye by means of a horse's skull; a horseshoe is nailed over the threshold for good luck; people and livestock wear amulets and talismans (*dua*). During a lunar eclipse the Balkars make noise with metallic objects so that the monster Jelmauuz will not devour the moon. To prevent harm to livestock that have strayed from the herd, they have recourse to the ritual of "binding the teeth" of predatory animals. Balkar mythology, like Balkar art as a whole, has preserved to the present day components of diverse epochs: the high godhead of the ancient Turks (Teiri or Tengri) and lesser deities that have been adapted to the Caucasian milieu. The most recent addition is the Islamic eschatology with its terminology and customs.

Arts. Together with other peoples of the Caucasus, the Balkars inherited the heroic epics of the Narts, preserving both the sung and the prose versions. The performers of the Nart songs are men called *zhekuako*. There are also professional keeners, ritual lamenters called *sarïnchïla*. In the Soviet period the singers, both male and female, have formed professional musical and theatrical ensembles and independent collectives: the repertoires of O. Sottaev and A. Biychekkueva include about a thousand folk songs, and Z. Altueva knows hundreds of lyric songs. Balkar literature includes the works of folklorists, bards (*zhïrchï*), and writers of various genres. The first works appeared toward the end of the nineteenth century (Orusbievy, K. Mechiev, M. Abaev). Among contemporaries the following stand out: S. Shakhmarzaev, K. Kuliev, I. Otarov, T. Zumakulova, Z. Zalikhanov, etc. Among prominent scientists are the geophysicist M. Zalikhanov, the nuclear physicist S. Eneev, and many professors of medicine, biology, etc.

The Balkar musical instruments that merit mention are the *sïbïzghï* (a kind of flute), the *sïrïyna* (a reed instrument), the *qobuz* (accordion), the *qïlqobuz* (similar to a violin), and the *khars* (a rattle, to beat out time). Rare indeed is the mountaineer man or woman who cannot dance such popular dances as the *abezek* and *istem* (Lezginka), dances for couples such as the *ayaq byukgen*, and group dances such as the *tegerek*, *tepzey*, and the *sandïraq*.

Medicine. In the fight against illness, believed to result from the machinations of spirits, some Balkars use magic techniques such as casting spells and divination. Methods derived from Oriental medicine are also in use (bloodletting and the use of heat, fats, and potions). There were also bonesetters and midwives. Scientific medicine is making advances: medical workers practice in all villages and in the larger settlements; in the cities there are clinics and hospitals. There have been notable successes in the area of surgery.

Death and Afterlife. For the dead, wakes and funeral banquets (*ash*) are held on the seventh and fifty-second days; there is a monthly ritual (*chëk*) and a yearly one, at which time the *maulut* is read—the Balkar-Karachay variant of the birth of the Prophet Mohammed. Belief in an afterlife takes the form of distribution of gifts to the have-nots (*sadaqa*) and payments for the support of the mosque (*zekat*). Certain dietary restrictions are observed.

See also Karachays

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IBRAGIM MAGOMEDOVICH SHAMANOV
(Translated by Paul Friedrich)

Bashkirs

ETHNONYM: Bashkort

Orientation

Identification. The Bashkir Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (BASSR) was one of the sixteen autonomous republics and other autonomous areas that comprised the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR). Today Bashkirstan is one of the eighteen republics that form Russia. About two-thirds of the almost 1 million who call themselves Bashkirs live in the national republic. The rest live mostly in neighboring areas. Another 90,000 live in the Central Asian republics.

Location. Bashkiria is situated between 51°31′ and 56°30′ N and 53°30′ and 60° E,astride the southern part of the Ural Mountains. The country has a variety of land forms: wooded steppe and steppe west of the Urals and forested mountains in the core region, which slope off to the east and southeast into steppe. The republic extends over 144,151 square kilometers, 80 percent of which lies in the valleys of the Belaya and Ufa rivers, which are part of the Kama River Basin, and 20 percent in the upper Sakmara and Ural river valleys. The soils are 35 percent chernozem and the remainder a variety of floodplain, mountain, and podzolic soils. The climate is continental, with relatively warm to hot summers and cold winters. Temperatures differ considerably from north to south and from west to east. Temperatures may reach +40° C in summer and descend to −40° to −50° C in winter. Average January temperatures range from −14 to − 17.5° C and July temperatures from 16.5 to 20.5° C. Precipitation is at least 55 to 60 centimeters in the north and 30 to 40 centimeters in the southern steppe. The growing season in the lowlands is about 120 to 135 days.

Demography. According to the 1987 census, the total population of the BASSR was 3,895,000, of which about 24 percent, or just under one million were Bashkirs. The rest of the population in the republic included Russians, 38 percent of the total population; Tatars, 30 percent; Chuvash, 2.9 percent; Maris, 2.5 percent; Ukrainians, 2.3 percent; Mordvinians, 1.4 percent; Udmurt, .6 percent; and others. Counting those residing outside the republic who identified themselves as Bashkirs, the total for the Soviet Union was 1,371,000 in 1979. Censuses between 1926 and 1970 show that a significant number of Bashkirs steadily turned to Tatar as a spoken and literary language. Since 1970 this process seems to have slowed or even reversed. Those who live outside the republic, however, are being absorbed by Russian or Turkic groups. Some 80.3 percent of Bashkirs are rural dwellers; in Chelyabinsk Oblast, 66.3 percent; in Perm Oblast, 77 percent; in Orenburg Oblast, 76.7 percent; in Kurgan Oblast, 95 percent; in Kuibyshev Oblast, 63 percent. In rural settings they have been resistant to assimilation. Ufa, the capital of the republic, had a population of 1,092,000 in 1987, of which just under 20 percent were Bashkirs. The other seventeen towns and urban-type settlements were mostly inhabited by non-Bashkirs.

Linguistic Affiliation. Bashkir belongs to the Kipchak, or West Turkic, Language Group. There are two dialects today—the southern (Yurmata) and the eastern (Kuvakan). The major differences are phonetic. Bashkir is close to the Tatar language, and more than one-third of present-day Bashkirs claim that language as their native tongue. Arabic script was used until 1929, when a Latin alphabet was introduced. In 1939 a Cyrillic alphabet replaced the Latin.

History and Cultural Relations

The question of the ethnogenesis of the Bashkirs is still unsettled. There is a long-standing quarrel between the Turkologists and the Finn-Ugrists. Although Turks have played a major role, the Bashkirs exhibit both Europeanoid and Mongoloid features. The first written notice of their existence was that of Ibn-Fadlan, the secretary of the embassy of Baghdad to Great Bulgar, near the juncture of the Volga and Kama rivers, in A.D. 922. This mission introduced Islam to the mid-Volga peoples and it spread into Bashkiria. A group of Kipchaks (Polovtsy or Cumans) settled along the lower Belaya River and remained part of the Kipchak federation from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries, when the Mongols assumed control. This period was decisive in the formation of language and culture. The Golden Horde (Mongols) in the fifteenth century broke up into several successor states. The Bashkirs were divided among the khanates of Kazan and Siberia and the Nogay Horde. After Ivan IV conquered Kazan in 1552, Muscovy claimed suzerainty; but the Bashkirs vigorously resisted Russian encroachments over a period of two centuries. Only with the suppression of the Pugachev Rebellion (1773–1775), in which they played an important part, were the Bashkirs finally subdued. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Russians and the non-Russian peoples of the mid-Volga region fled into Bashkiria to escape serfdom. Moscow sent governors and troops to maintain control and churchmen to minister to the Russians and to convert the non-Russians to Orthodoxy. During the reign of Peter the Great, significant development of the mining and smelting industries took place in Bashkir lands, bringing in additional Russians. The influx of large numbers of Russian, Tatar, Chuvash, Mari, Mordovian, and Udmurt peasants seriously disturbed the economy of the Bashkir pastoral nomads, who were gradually forced to turn to animal husbandry and to the growing of hay and grain. The seizure of their land, the heavy burden of tribute payments, the forced recruitment of soldiers for Russian armies, and the corrupt colonial administration led to the great frontier wars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Continued buying of Bashkir land eliminated pastoral nomadism by the middle of the nineteenth century. Many Bashkirs, unable to adjust, perished; others sought work in industries in the Urals. By the end of the nineteenth century, however, fully 90 percent of Bashkirs were engaged in agriculture. According to the 1897 census, Bashkirs comprised less than 1 percent of the town population. Russian officials considered the Bashkirs a "light-minded" people and blamed Islam for their backwardness. Islam remained strong and served as a rallying cry in the anti-Russian wars. In the 1905 Revolution a soviet of work-

ers' deputies was formed in Ufa. Although it was almost exclusively Russian in composition, some Bashkirs were reported to have participated. With the outbreak of the Russian Revolution of 1917 another soviet formed in Ufa. During the civil war that followed the Bolshevik seizure of power in late 1917, the Whites controlled Bashkiria for a short period, but on 23 March 1919, the Bashkir Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic was formed; it has retained its present borders since 1922. Throughout the 1930s—the period of the first five-year plans and the collectivization of agriculture—schools, youth clubs, medical clinics, hospitals, and administrative buildings were constructed in the larger towns. Present-day towns are typical Soviet settlements with multistoried apartment buildings, stores, theaters, libraries, museums, and radio and television stations. According to official statements, illiteracy was eliminated in the 1930s. The Bashkirs, for the most part, live in a world apart—on collective farms in primitive villages with few of the advantages of town life. Some have moved to cities and industrial settlements, where they work in a variety of industries and occupations.

The multiethnic nature of Bashkiria renders cultural relations complex. Eight different ethnic groups live in significant numbers in the republic, and there are two major religions—Islam and Christianity. This offers grounds for ethnic and religious conflict, but such conflicts are apparently nonexistent, or are not reported. The nature of the settlement pattern no doubt contributes to the harmony. Most rural people live in separate, isolated communities. Mixed settlements are rare. Towns are places of contact, but they are heavily populated by Russians and non-Bashkirs.

Kinship, Marriage, and Family

Kinship. The original patriarchal-clan society for the most part died out in the nineteenth century, except in the more remote regions to the east and southeast. During the collectivization of agriculture in the 1930s the Bashkirs were gathered into some 600 collective farms or employed on another 150 state farms. Despite the impact of this revolutionary economic and social reorganization on Bashkir society, the old patriarchal-clan organization still survives to some degree.

Marriage. Marriage is strongly exogamous, allowed within the clan but no closer than the fifth or sixth generation. In the past marriage was contracted very early, sometimes while the prospective spouses were still in the cradle; today Bashkirs do not usually marry before the age of 18. A mullah formerly participated in the marriage agreement, although the marriage itself was a secular ceremony performed in the home. Upper-caste males used to have two or three wives; ordinary persons had only one unless the first wife was unable to carry out her traditional responsibilities. Under Soviet law polygamy was outlawed and marriages had to be registered according to Soviet practice.

Domestic Unit. After marriage the young Bashkir couple lived with the husband's parents for a while before separating to form a nuclear family.

Sociopolitical Organization

Until the 1991 dissolution of the Soviet Union, Bashkiria was constitutionally an Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (ASSR); following the pattern of the Soviet Union, the Communist party permeated and controlled all institutions and organizations except the family.

Social Organization. Class structure in Bashkiria among the Bashkirs is occupational. The great bulk of the population lives and works on collective farms. The small percentage in towns serve as workers.

Political Organization. Prior to the Russian Revolution, czarist government policy was to leave local affairs in the hands of local leaders. The province (*guberniia*) had a governor and an administrative apparatus to ensure the payment of taxes, an adequate supply of recruits for the army, and the fulfillment of other requirements. After the Revolution, local authority was exercised by soviets of peoples' deputies, at least in theory. Stalin virtually eliminated soviet power, but Gorbachev's administration called for the revitalization of the soviets. The republic had a constitution patterned after that of the Soviet Union, which gave it the appearance of an autonomous entity without any of the reality. Every aspect of government was under the tight control of the central authorities.

Social Control. Until recently, the usual Soviet instruments of control existed (i.e., the party, which permeated all organizations, and the KGB—the State Security Agency). The majority of Bashkirs had limited contact with Soviet government officials, mostly through schools and collective and state farms, Soviet schools, and government officials.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs and Practices. The Bashkirs are Sunni Muslims of the Hanafi school. Ufa, the capital of Bashkiria, became the center of the Muslim Spiritual Assembly in the late eighteenth century. The assembly established a number of elementary and secondary schools that enrolled over 100,000 pupils by 1914. Another 15,000 were enrolled in Orenburg Oblast. Although these schools helped the Bashkirs retain their Muslim identity, educated Bashkir leaders were relatively more secular and frequently gravitated to the Tatar intelligentsia. There is a tiny minority of Christians, the Nagaibaks, who trace their ancestry to Bashkirs baptized in the eighteenth century; they numbered 26,000 in 1926 but have since been mostly assimilated.

Arts. The Bashkirs still engage in the traditional folk arts of wood carving, embroidery, folk songs, and dances. These exhibit both Finno-Ugric and Turkic characteristics, the latter predominating. Since the Revolution, especially since the early 1930s, the Bashkirs have been subjected to Sovietization. Schools, the press, movie theaters, radio, and television all exert incalculable influences. Although the villages are less affected, the towns and cities have theaters for producing Russian-style opera, ballet, and plays. The degree to which Bashkirs take part is difficult to determine, but there are known participants. A Bashkir Academy of Sciences exists in affiliation with the National

Academy of Sciences and encourages scholarship in all realms of learning.

Medicine. Folk remedies are still common, but Soviet-style clinics and medicine are the rule today virtually everywhere in Bashkiria. Services are free and funded from general tax revenues. Patients pay for drug prescriptions. Public-health measures have led to improved health as reflected in the average age at death and in infancy-death rates. The crude birth rate is about 30 per 1,000.

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ALTON S. DONNELLY

Belarussians

ETHNONYMS: Belorussians, Byelorussians, White Russians

Orientation

Identification. Belarussians are a majority in the nation of Belarus. Large groups of Belarussians also live in Russia, the Baltic states, Kazakhstan, and the Ukraine. The overall population of Belarussians in the territory of the former USSR was 10,036,000 in 1991. In Poland, the United States, Canada, Argentina, and Australia there are from 300,000 to 2 million people of Belarussian ancestry, according to different estimates. Linguistically the Belarussians belong to the East Slavic Subgroup of the Indo-European Language Family.

Location. The ethnic territory of the Belarussians occupies the westernmost part of the eastern European plain in the basin of the western Dvina River, the middle Dnieper, and the upper Neman. The peculiarities of the landscape were formed under the influence of the anthropogenic ice. Alternation of hills and plains with glacial low grounds, often covered with lakes or swamps, is typical. The peculiarities of Belarus's mild continental climate are determined by the heavy influence of air masses from the Atlantic. The average annual temperature ranges from 7.4° C in the southwest to 4.4° C in the northeast; the amount of rain and snow ranges from 52 to 71 centimeters per year. The period of vegetation is 180 to 208 days. A characteristic feature of the hydrography is the abundance of lakes (over 10,000); the largest is Narotch (79.6 square kilometers). The predominant type of soil is turf-ash (up to 60 percent), and approximately 5 percent is turf-humus with a large percentage of humus. Marshlands make up nearly 20 percent of the territory and swamps 12 percent; over 30 percent of the territory is forest. Among trees, pines are the most common (56.5 percent); broad-leaved ones (oak, hornbeam, maple) constitute almost 5 percent. The fauna are typical of the forest zone of Europe. A peculiar representative of the fauna is the relict animal *bison bonasus*, whose picture is often used to symbolize Belarus.

Demography. Sharp fluctuations of the population level, caused by social and political events, characterize the demographic history of Belarus. In the middle of the seventeenth century Belarus lost more than 50 percent of its inhabitants, in the beginning of the eighteenth century up to 30 percent, and in the beginning of the nineteenth century 12 to 15 percent. In the period during World War I and the civil war the population was diminished by 18 percent; the Stalin genocide and World War II took the lives of 40 percent of the population. Currently, demographic dynamics are determined by the combination of a low birth rate and a low death rate, with natural growth at 4.9 percent. The average life span is 71.7 years. Urban residents constituted 66 percent of the population in 1991. Besides Belarussians, Russians (1,342,000—13.2 percent), Poles (418,000—4.1 percent), Ukrainians (291,000—2.9 percent) and Jews (112,000—1.1 percent) live in Belarus.

Linguistic Affiliation. Seventy-one percent of Belarussians living in the territory of the former USSR, 64 percent of Poles, and 5.5 percent of Ukrainians residing in the Republic of Belarus consider Belarussian their mother tongue. Many phonetic, grammatical, and lexical peculiarities bring Belarussian close to Russian and, even more, to Ukrainian. Peculiar phonetic features include the affricates *dz* and *ts* appearing in place of the soft *d'* and *t'*; nonsyllabic *y* in place of the etymological *l* and *v*; hard *r*; proteic sounds *v* before labial vowels; *a*, *i* before consonant clusters; hardening of labial vowels before *j* and in word-final position; and lengthening of consonants before *j* and between vowels. In morphology, features include the alternations between *c*, *k*, and *x* and *z*, *g*, and *s* in words of feminine gender; dropping of the final *t* in the third-person singular present verb forms; gender distinctions in the declension of numerals; and dropping of the final *y* in adjectives, participles, and ordinal numerals in the nominative masculine forms. Syntactic peculiarities of Belarussian include preference for descriptive constructions over participial ones. The lexicon is composed of words of Common Slavic and Indo-European origin, Belarussian neologisms, and borrowings from Polish, Latin, German, Lithuanian, and Tatar languages.

Two main dialects of the Belarussian language can be distinguished: the Northeastern (the Polotsk and Vietbsk-Mogilev group of dialects) and the Southwestern (the Grodno-Baranovichi and Slutsk-Mozir dialects). There is

also a transitional group of middle Belarussian dialects between them. Especially distinctive is the West Polesk dialect region, the dialects of which come close in many phonetic and grammatic features to the northwestern Ukrainian dialects. The modern literary language has been formed on the basis of the transitional middle Belarussian dialects, the writing system mostly on the basis of the Cyrillic alphabet. In the period between the sixteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries the Polish version of the Latin alphabet was also used.

History and Cultural Relations

The early stage of the ethnogenesis of Belarussians is linked to the Slavic colonization of eastern Europe in the seventh to ninth centuries A.D., which was accompanied by the assimilation of the ancient Baltic population. Tenth-to twelfth-century sources register several ethnic formations on the territory of Belarus, the identities of which are still in dispute: Slavic Kriviches in the northeast, Dregoviches in the center and south, Radimiches in the southeast, and Baltic speakers in the southwest. In the eleventh to thirteenth centuries they were replaced by territorial entities—"lands" (*zemli*) and kingdoms. The local group of Kriviches, Polochans who were centered in Polotsk (the city was first mentioned in 862), established the earliest of these kingdoms. During the period of its prime (eleventh to twelfth centuries) the Polotsk Kingdom became one of the three largest political and cultural centers of East Slavs. The conversion of the population of Belarus to Christianity, which began at the turn of the tenth to eleventh centuries, contributed to the development of the culture. In the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries the Belarussian and Lithuanian lands were united into the Great Kingdom of Lithuania, Russia, and Zemotia. Its creation allowed both nations to retain their political independence in the struggle against the Tatar-Mongol invasion and the German expansion. Historic Lithuania—a region in the northwest of Byelorus with a mixed Slavic and Baltic population—became the center of the new state. Belarussians made up the majority of the population of the kingdom, and their language, peculiarities of which are noted in written documents beginning in the thirteenth century, became official.

In connection with east Belarussian lands, White Rus was first mentioned in the beginning of the fourteenth century. In the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries the names "Byelorus," "Belarus," and the self-name, "Belarussians," had finally became associated with the territories of the Vitebsk, Mogilev, and Smolensk regions. There are several interpretations of the etymology of the name. It is linked to the predominance of the color white in the traditional costume, the fair anthropological type, independence from Tatars in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, the relatively early adoption of Christianity relative to the other region—Black Russia, to the west of the ethnic territory of Belarussians. The term "Polessje" was used for the southern part of Byelorus from the thirteenth century on. In the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries the Belarussians created a complex system of ethnonymic names, which combined local territorial forms (Belarussians, Chernorussians, Litvins, Paleshuks) with confessional (Litvins-Catholics and Ruthens-Orthodox) and common-state (Litvins) forms that were independent of the place of residence or confession. The name "Litvins," as applied to Belarussians, became accepted by Poles, Russians, and Belarussians in the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries. Lithuanians called the Belarussians "Gudasi" and the Latvians called them "Krives."

Belarussian Renaissance culture attained its zenith at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries. The marked transformation of traditional state structures contributed to this process: trade was developing rapidly because of the disintegration of communal agriculture beginning in the middle of the sixteenth century; the peasantry became involved in the trade network, and the number of cities and the urban population increased. The development of printing in Belarussian (1517), the spread of Protestantism and humanistic ideology, the creation of an extensive network of educational establishments—all promoted the process of national consolidation, the codification of literary language, and the formation of ethnic self-consciousness.

The continuing expansion of the Moscow kingdom, however, forced the Great Kingdom of Lithuania to enter into a federal union with Poland. The creation of a new state—"Retch Pospolitaja"—together with the development of the Counter-Reformation, led to a noticeable strengthening of the position of the Catholic church and Polish culture, especially among the landed aristocracy. In 1596 in Brest the church Unia was proclaimed, as a result of which the Orthodox church, although retaining its rituals, became part of the Catholic church. In the first half of the seventeenth century Belarussian gradually lost its dominant position in the social sphere. The war with Russia (1654–1667) led to a catastrophic loss of population, mainly in the urban areas, and to the final ethnocultural separation of the feudal elite from the peasantry. This conversion of Belarussians into a "small" nation with an incomplete social structure greatly complicated the process of national consolidation in the ninteenth to twentieth centuries.

The slow rate of national formation was also determined by a number of other factors. The occupation of Belarus by Russia toward the end of the eighteenth century slowed down social and economic development—up to the beginning of the 1960s. In the nineteenth century almost 80 percent of the population were peasants. The Russian administration enacted a policy of assimilation with regard to the Belarussians, who were considered a separate ethnic group, but part of the Russian nation, "spoiled" by Polish influence. In 1839 the Uniate church was abolished. The Belarussian political movement was repressed. The anti-Russian insurrection of 1863–1864 had a national character; on its eve the Belarussian primer and a landestine newspaper (1862) were published. Between 1860 and 1870 a Belarussian political organization of Socialist trend was formed in St. Petersburg. In its journal *Gomon* the main postulates of national ideology were presented in full for the first time. National ideology started to form in the 1910s. The appearance of literary works in Belarussian can be traced to this period.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century the structure of Belarussian ethnic self-consciousness underwent

considerable change. The terms "Belarussian" and "Belarussians" replaced most local names. The name "Lithuania" at this time stabilized in its use relative to the Lithuanian ethnic territory. Belarussians did not have a national identity and were affected by religious tensions between Catholic Poles and Orthodox Russians. retained its importance. In the northwest the self-name "Tuteishia" (locals) was relatively widespread. National consciousness per se was common only among the relatively narrow stratum of intellectuals. In 1903 national parties appeared. In 1906 legal newspapers and publishing houses and national artistic culture took shape rapidly. The sign of the maturity of this Belarussian movement was the declaration of a national state—the Belarussian Peoples Republic (February to November 1918) and the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic (January 1919 to August 1991). These events, however, could not prevent the disruption of the territorial integrity of the Belarussians. In 1919 the lands of East Byelorussia were alienated by the Communist leadership in favor of Russia, and in 1921 West Byelorussia was given to Poland.

Despite this, the 1920s became the period of the highest national activity in the history of Belarussian people. The relatively liberal character of the political regime of that time allowed the creation of a national infrastructure in the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic (BSSR): a system of public education, including university education; mass media; artistic culture; and research institutions. The Belarussian language was granted its dominant role constitutionally. At this time the Belarussian national movement within the territory of Poland was particularly extensive. As a result of the establishment of a totalitarian regime in the USSR by the end of the 1920s, the ethnic crisis of Belarussians became global. By the 1930s the national intellectual elite was near complete destruction, the use of Belarussian was restricted, and Belarussian history was rewritten. As a consequence of the Soviet-German division of Poland, West Byelorussia was returned to the BSSR. This event was accompanied by mass repressions against the activists of the national movement and mass deportations.

A considerable acceleration in Russification in the postwar period entailed the replacement of the Belarussian language in the official sphere and in education. By the beginning of the 1960s Russian-based culture occupied a dominant position in urban life. Its high social status determined a rapid deethnicization of migrants from the rural areas during the period of great urbanization of the 1960s through the 1980s. The dominating Communist ideology, which was oriented toward an integration of nations, was the vehicle of this unimpeded development.

By the middle of the 1980s practically all the structures that provided the ethnocultural identity of Belarussians were either destroyed or heavily deformed. There was not a single Belarussian school left in the cities. The Belarussian language was retained only by a small number of intellectuals and in the rural areas. On a mass level, national self-consciousness lost its ethnic identity and acquired instead an administrative-regional character. The national artistic culture, which was retained by the regime for purposes of propaganda, lost its link with the consumer and turned into a self-contained system. At the same time, in the 1970s the first signs of a national rebirth of the Belarussian became apparent. At first, this took the form of cultural resistance to the regime by the intellectual elite. In the beginning of the 1980s the first informal national-cultural educational organizations appeared, and in 1988 political organizations (the Belarussian National Front) appeared, as did an uncensored mass press. The development of the national democratic movement resulted in the restoration of the Belarussian language as the official one, the declaration of independence in 1990, and a noticeable growth of national self-consciousness on a mass scale. In September 1991 the new name—Republic of Belarus—was adopted, and the white-red flag and the coat of arms "Pogona" were introduced as national symbols.

Settlements

Classical descriptions of the traditional culture of the Belarussians date back to the second half of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries. At this time peasants constituted almost 90 percent of the total population of Belarus, and their life-style remained relatively unchanged under the influence of the urbanized culture. Typical rural settlements were small household villages (5 to 100 households) and villages whose distinctive features were a church, school, or local administration. They were of several types: nonsystematic (the oldest), linear, and street. Also widespread were settlements of the hamlet type, called *okolitsi* (neighborhoods) where the land-starved nobility (*shl'akhta*) lived; *folvarki* (a complex consisting of a mansion and several peasant households) and peasant hamlets as such existed.

The traditional peasant household included a house (*khata*) and numerous household constructions: for the cattle (*khlev*) and for the storage of grain (*klet'*), food (*puna*), vegetables (*istopka*), and agricultural tools (*povet'*). Apart from the house there was a place for threshing grain (*gumno*) and a bathhouse (*bana*). Two types of household plan became common: a wreathlike plan (in the north and northeast), in which all the buildings were located along the perimeter of the household, creating a closed space, and a straplike plan (in the west), in which all the buildings were constructed in one or two rows under one roof. A free-plan type also existed, with the buildings 10–15 meters from the house. The traditional Belarussian dwelling was a two-or three-room log cabin built of pine or spruce logs. Usually the house was raised off the ground with stones or wooden blocks. Up to the middle of the nineteenth century small houses with two rooms with an earthen or clay floor, arched beam ceiling, and a stove with no chimney were prevalent. Later on there appeared chimneys, hardwood floors, and flat, board roofs with one or two longitudinal beams. The roofs were two-or four-pitched, most frequently of a rafter construction; they were covered with rye or reed thatches, more rarely by shingles or boards.

The traditional architectural decor was noted for its conservatism. It was exemplified by carved window panels and artistic pediments of thin planking (*shalevka*). A characteristic feature of the interior of a peasant home was its compositional integrity throughout the whole ethnic territory of the Belarussians. The stove, made of brick, was in

the right or left corner by the entrance, and its orifice was turned toward the side wall with windows. A wooden floor for sleeping was built by the stove along the blank wall with no windows. In the "red" corner—the one diagonally across from the stove—there was a table and above it an icon; next to it there were wide benches. Hanging shelves for kitchenware were attached to the walls. Clothes and linen were kept in wooden trunks. In winter the *krosni* (a loom) was put in the house and, if necessary, a hanging wooden cradle. The house was lit with a splinter that was fixed on a wooden or metal stand, a suspended metal frame that had its own chimney.

Economy

Belarussians are a typical agricultural people. The most important traditional agricultural crops were rye, oats, barley, buckwheat, flax, and from the second half of the eighteenth century, potatoes. The three-field system was the dominating one in agriculture. In the northeast in the second half of the nineteenth century, orchards and horticulture played an important role (for example, cabbages, beets, carrots, maize, legumes, and tobacco). The main agricultural tools were a two-tooth wooden plow of the *sokha* type and a harrow. Plows had started to appear by the end of the nineteenth century; at first they were wooden, with metal only at the points. In the northeast horses were used as draft animals, and in the southwest oxen were so used. The crop was harvested with the help of a sickle. The scythe was used for hay and to harvest oats, buckwheat, and peas. The stacks of the cut-down crops were tied into sheaves and dried either in the fields or in special buildings. Threshing was done by hand or with the help of wooden staves. Flour was ground in watermills or windmills or sometimes in the household itself with the help of millstones or in wooden mortars.

Animal husbandry traditionally was subordinate to agriculture. Its main purpose was to provide draft animals and, to a lesser degree, to provide dairy or meat products, wool, or leather. Belarussians bred horses, oxen, cows, goats, sheep, and pigs. Most of the year the cattle were fed forage crops; in winter they were kept in special premises. During the period when they were penned in, cattle were most often fed straw; horses and sheep were fed hay; and pigs were given chaff fortified with potatoes and flour.

In the north (Poozerje) and south (Polessye) fishing played an important role in the traditional economy. Nets of various kinds (for example, sweep nets) were in widespread use, as were stationary and mobile traps, harpoons, and hook tackles.

Hunting was much less important. Its objects were boars, moose, deer, and hare. Bear spears, rifles, traps, and snares were used in hunting. Gathering forest and swamp berries, mushrooms, and nettles was an additional economic occupation in summer and autumn. Beekeeping traditionally played an important part in the economy. Boats were the main means of water transportation.

Industrial Arts. Home trades and crafts were an important addition to the main occupations of the Belarussians. The timber industry was oriented toward the production of tools and implements, means of transportation (sleighs and sledges), and household utensils (barrels, churns, cooking appliances, and trunks). Weaving was highly developed—linen, hemp, and wool fabrics for clothes, linen, tablecloths, towels, and bed covers were produced. Such weaving equipment as the distaff (*kolovrot*) and the vertical loom (krosni) were widespread. Braiding and plaiting were also widespread. Containers for storing grain and clothes were made out of straw and willow, footgear (*lapti*) and bags were made out of bark, household utensils and caskets were made out of tree roots, headgear and toys of straw, and furniture of willow. Usually, there was one blacksmith for several villages. He made the metal parts for agricultural tools, joiner's and fitter's tools, parts of the interior (locks and screens), and furniture. Pottery was highly evolved. Ceramic kitchenware—pots, bowls, and mugs—was made and then burnt on potter's wheels. Leather making was also developed to a high degree.

Clothing. Local variations, in the traditional costume of Belarussians were congruent with the composition and style of dress throughout the ethnic territory. The main part of the woman's costume was a tunic shirt (*kashul'a*) made of bleached linen fabric. The sleeves, collar, and cuffs of this shirt had an embroidered or fabric ornament, usually of red thread. The skirt (*spadnitsa*) was of two kinds: the summer skirt (*letnik*) was made of linen, with a fabric ornament of hemp or red wool; the winter skirt (*andrak*) was made of wool, checkered or striped, with a red, blue, or dark-green background. In the southeast the archaic form of costume consisting of two separate sheets (*poneva*) was retained. A long white linen apron was a necessary part of the costume; it had an ornament and lace. Often a short woolen vest (*garset*) was added to the costume. *Namitki*—long linen sheets wrapped in a peculiar way around the head and neck—were a characteristic feature of the woman's costume. The man's costume included a linen shirt and pants made of cloth or wool (*spodni*), often also a vest (*kamizelka*) and headgear—a straw hat (*bril'*) or a felt cap (*magerka*). Men's and women's seasonal clothes consisted of a long, Ukrainian-style outer garment *svita* made at home out of a white, gray, or (rarely) brown felt wool fabric and decorated with an embroidery of woolen threads. In the cold time of the year men and women wore sheepskins. An ornamented belt woven with woolen threads was a necessary part of the costume. Woven linden or willow lapti were a universal peasant footgear; at the same time leather shoes became popular, too. In winter felt boots were worn. Within the ethnic territory of the Belarussians up to thirty local types of traditional costume were known, differing in the color pattern, technique of weaving, and the character of decorative ornaments.

Food. Cereals constituted the basis of the traditional diet of the Belarussians: bread, blinis, and rye, rye sourdough, oatmeal, buckwheat, and pea-flour pancakes. Cereals formed the basis of kissel or blancmange (*zur*), porridge (*culaga*, *saladukha*), and various soups (*kalatukha*, *kulesh*). Potato dishes became a characteristic feature of traditional Belarussian cuisine (there were over 500 different ways of preparing them). Potatoes were fried, baked, or boiled and cooked in a casserole; *draniki* (pancakes made of minced potatoes) as well as *kletsks* and dumplings were consumed. Meat, pork mostly, was eaten relatively rarely, primarily on

winter holidays. Meat was used to make sausages and aspic, cooked in casseroles in a sauce, and eaten with buckwheat pancakes (*machanka*). Dairy products were mostly fresh and sour milk, sour cream, farmer's cheese, and butter. Farmer cheeses became common. Among the traditional beverages there were bread, birch, and linden juice kvass; herbal infusions; and dried-fruit compote (*uzvars*). Of alcoholic beverages vodka (*garelka*) was the most popular one; beer and mead *medovukha* were less so. The traditional Belarussian food was seasonal: in winter and in the autumn the food was most nutritious and plentiful; in summer vegetarian food prevailed. Belarussian peasants would usually eat three or four times a day. Breakfast (*snedanje*) was very early and nutritious: it included first courses (e.g., soups), a main course, and always porridge. Dinner included several very high-calorie dishes. The afternoon snack (*padvacherja*) and supper (*vacherja*) were lighter meals, but they also included several courses.

Division of Labor. There was a clear division of labor in the economy of the Belarussians. Men would plow the land; sow and mow; take in the hay and sheaves from the fields; thresh; store timber; construct and repair buildings; make carts, sledges, and boats; and weave lapti (boat shoes) and baskets. The women would reap; harvest hay, hemp, flax, and potatoes; take care of cattle; prepare the food; and provide the family with clothing. Beginning at ages 5 to 6 children would take care of the younger ones. From the ages of 7 to 8 boys worked as shepherds, and by age 12 they helped with the haying. From the age of 15 they mowed and threshed, and after about 16 they had to do every kind of job. This rule was also applicable to young women relative to women's jobs.

Trade. As a rule the traditional Belarussian economy was not closely connected with the large markets; it was a semisubsistence economy. *Mestechki* were local market centers where goods were sold once or twice a week fairs (*kirmash*) were held several times a year. Trade operations were an activity mainly of members of the Jewish ethnic group.

Kinship, Marriage, and Family

The Belarussians had several types of families in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The small family (six or seven people) was prevalent; at the same time there were large patriarchical families that consisted of several generations of relatives and also fraternal families. Marriage was usually virilocal—although the husband moving in with the family of his wife (*primachestvo*) was a fairly frequent alternative. The unity of two unrelated groups or the adoption of a nonrelative (*zdolnik*) into the family for the purposes of making the economy more effective were peculiar forms of family relations. Relations both in the large patriarchical family and the small families were based on the authoritarian power of the eldest man (*batsko*) and his wife.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Traditional knowledge of Belarussians was represented by the folk calendar that was oriented toward the phases of the moon, relative to which the starting point of various stages in agricultural work was defined. Weather watching at certain calendar days made long-term meteorologic forecasts possible, whereas observations of animal behavior and natural phenomena were used for short-term forecasts. Traditional meteorology relied on length, space, weight, and volume measures.

Ceremonies. The family was the main institution through which Belarussians socialized in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The entire population of the village would participate in the celebration of holidays. The most important events of the year-long cycle were Christmas festivities (*kaladi*), calling the spring (*gukanje*), the first driving of the cattle to the pasture on Yuri day, Easter (*balikden*), Trinity (*semukha*), summer solstice (the feast of Ivan Kupala, or Saint John the Baptist), and the beginning and the end of harvest (*zazhinki, dazhinki*).

Arts. Traditional Belarussian art was very diverse. In the seventeenth through eighteenth centuries, within the framework of the early Baroque style, the Belarussian Uniate school of icon painting and sculpture was formed: it combined features of professional art and folk art. Applied decorative art was the main development in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; it was represented by weaving, embroidery, pottery, artistic forging, and wood carving. Straw weaving is a type of decorative art peculiar to the Belarussians. This technique was used for making ornaments, toys, boxes, and even architectural details of church interiors—the "czar's gates of the iconstasis." Traditional music was represented by two forms—songs and instrumental music. Archaic forms of vocal art are monophonic. Polyphony started to spread mostly at the end of the nineteenth century in the south. The most popular instruments were the violin, cymbals, different kinds of bagpipes, flute (*zalejika*), "lyre" (a string instrument with the body of a violin but with a keyboard), and the *basetla* (double bass). Puppet theater (*batlejika*) was a characteristic form of theater. Performances of a carnival character were also known. The repertoire included plays with biblical themes, for example *King Herod*.

Medicine. Folk medicine was based on a developed system of beliefs and treatments in the fields of hygiene, epidemiology, pharmacology. The most common drugs were made from herbs, dried root and bark infusions, animal fat, bile, and preparations of mineral origin. They were quite successfully used to prevent the spreading of infections and diseases (notably cholera) and to treat colds, wounds, and bruises. Baths were considered a kind of physiotherapeutical treatment.

Death and Afterlife. The funeral ritual of Belarussians included many magical elements. The dead person was buried on the third day after death. Salt, a pipe, and copper coins were usually put into the coffin. After the funeral and also on the sixth, ninth, and fortieth days and after half a year after the memorial, ritual dinners (*trapeza*) were held. *Kutsa* (a sweet barley porridge) was a necessary dish at these events. According to the traditional beliefs of the Belarussians, the next world is separated into two parts: heaven in the south, where summer is eternal, and hell in the north. God assigned people to either parts, depending on the good and bad deeds they had accomplished during their lives. Four times a year Belarussians held commemorative feasts for all the dead ancestors (*dzadi*), who re-

turned home on these days. Every participant at the ritual left some food for them (three pieces or three tablespoons of each course). There was a belief that the late relatives patronize the family and ensure its success.

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(Translated by Olga Beloded)

Bukharan Jews

ETHNONYMS: Israel, Jugur, Yahudi; Russian names: Bukharskie Evrei, Sredneaziatskie Evrei, Tuzemnye

Orientation

Identification. Most Bukharan Jews live in Central Asia (primarily in Uzbekistan and Tajikistan), some in Israel and the United States. Culturally and linguistically, Bukharan Jews most closely resemble the Jews of Iran and Afghanistan. The name "Bukharan Jews" comes from the city of Bukhara, the former capital of the Bukharan Khanate, in the territory where the majority of Bukharan Jews lived in the nineteenth century. Bukharan Jews refer to themselves as "Israel" or "Yahudi." The local Turkish population calls them "Jugur." The Russian names are "Bukharskie Evrei" (Bukharan Jews), "Tuzemnye" (local, native), or "Sredneaziatskie Evrei" (Central Asian Jews).

Location. Significant numbers of Bukharan Jews live in Samarkand (about 15,000), Tashkent (30,000), Dushanbe (10,000), Bukhara (8,000–9,000), Kokand, Andijan, Margelan, and other towns. Bukharan Jews are currently migrating to Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan (Alma-Ata, Kzyl-Orda, Frunze, Tokmak).

Demography. There are no reliable statistics on the number of Bukharan Jews. The Jewish traveler Benjamin of Tudela, referring to Samarkand in the Middle Ages, wrote of 50,000 Jews living there. In 1944, 10,000 Jews were living in Bukhara. The estimated population of the Bukharan Jews at the end of the nineteenth century was 16,000; in 1910, more than 20,000; by the end of the 1920s, about 30,000; at the end of the 1950s, more than 40,000; in the early 1970s, about 50,000; and in the mid-1980s, as high as 60,000 (and by some estimates 75,000). The fertility rate has fallen, and now most families have only two or three children.

Linguistic Affiliation. Bukharan Jews speak a Jewish dialect of the Tajik language. This dialect has a number of grammatical and phonetic differences from other Tajik dialects, and a certain number of transmissions and old Tajik semantic items have been preserved in the lexicon that are absent from other dialects; it also contains a certain number of borrowings from Hebrew. Bukharan Jews use the Hebrew alphabet, although in the USSR that alphabet was replaced by the Latin alphabet from 1929 to 1940.

History and Cultural Relations

According to one of their legends, Bukharan Jews consider themselves to be descended from members of the Ten Tribes of Israel who, after the seizure of Israel in 733/732–722 B.C. by the Assyrians, were driven deep into the Assyrian empire. They associate one particular place in Assyria in which they settled, Habor, mentioned in the Bible (2 Kings 17:6), with Bukhara; the identity of consonants in the two names is offered as proof of this. In the opinion of some scholars, Jews settled in Central Asia in the sixth century, but it is certain that during the eighth to ninth centuries they lived in Central Asian cities such as Balkh, Khwarezm, and Merv. At that time, and until approximately the sixteenth century, Bukharan Jews formed a group continuous with Jews of Iran and Afghanistan. Arabic sources of the tenth century describe large Jewish populations in Central Asia, and early eleventh-century sources note a significant Jewish population at Balkh. Benjamin of Tudela, visiting Central Asia around 1170, wrote of the populous Jewish community in Samarkand. According to Bukharo-Jewish traditional history, after the invasion of Iran by Mongols under the leadership of Chinggis (Ghengis) Khan, many Jews, particularly those residing in the Sabsavar district near Meshed, fled to Samarkand and Balkh, increasing the populations of those communities. The first mention of a Bukharan Jewish community (apparently small at that time) dates from 1240. In the sixteenth century, after the destruction of Samarkand, Jews migrated to Bukhara, which was becoming the center of Central Asian Jewry. Later, some of the Jewish population of Bukhara migrated to China, soon losing contact with Central Asia, although retaining genealogical knowledge.

At the end of the sixteenth century the Bukharan Khanate was formed, and its rulers propagated Islam in lands under their control. Having no right to live in other parts of the city, Jews of Bukhara began to settle in a special quarter called Old Makhalla. They were forbidden to buy horses from Muslims and were forced to wear a special sign on their clothing to distinguish them from Muslims. Jews were also compelled to pay a special tax, the collection of which was accompanied by a slap, intended to humiliate, and Jewish shops had to be one step lower in elevation than Muslim shops.

In the eighteenth century Islamic fanaticism in Bukhara had grown to the point that by midcentury, mass forced conversions of Bukharan Jews to Islam began. In response, many Jews became outwardly Muslim but secretly

retained their Jewish faith; they were known as *chala* (neither this nor that). Forcible conversions continued in the first half of the nineteenth century, and the number of chala increased. By the beginning of the twentieth century their number reached several hundred families. Other Jews were almost completely Islamicized and began to merge with the surrounding population, retaining only insignificant relics of Judaism. These people were, as a rule, those whose families had been longest converted. Second-and third-generation converted families were often half-Muslim and half-Jewish. After the Sovietization of Central Asia in the 1920s, when people began to be distinguished by ethnicity rather than by religion, many chala became outwardly Jewish once more. Others identified themselves with Uzbeks and Tadjiks and remained Muslims. To this day there are families among these Muslims who trace their descent to Jews and have retained certain Jewish practices.

Remoteness from centers of Jewish culture, cruel oppression, and a wave of forcible conversion to Islam brought the Bukharan Jewish community to the verge of disappearance, and it was in this state that Joseph Mamon of Tetuan (Maghribi or ha-Ma'aravi), envoy of the Safed community, found it upon his arrival in Bukhara to collect money for Palestinian *yeshivot* (religious academics). Finding the community in such a desolate condition, Joseph Mamon decided to remain in Bukhara. He procured books on Judaism and began to instruct local Jews. As a result of his activity, and, later, thanks to the influx of Jewish refugees from the Iranian city of Meshed, there was a rise in ethnic and religious awareness among Bukharan Jews.

The Jewish population of Bukhara continued to grow, and a second Jewish quarter appeared, called New Makhalla. In the mid-nineteenth century a third area, Amirabad, was established, and 1843 Jews bought a district in Samarkand that became yet another Jewish quarter. At the head of the community was a leader, or *kalontar*, chosen by the members of the community from among its most respected men.

In the second half of the nineteenth century the Russian conquest of Central Asia began. Bukharan Jews welcomed Russian occupation because Russian authorities imposed no discriminatory policies toward Jews. A significant number of Bukharan Jews emigrated from Bukhara, which remained under the control of an emir, to Samarkand and Tashkent, which were governed by Russians.

Bukharan Jews were allowed to have trade with internal regions and developed a small but influential group of merchants and capitalists. At the end of the nineteenth century, Russian authorities issued a number of limitations on the residence of Bukharan Jews in Turkestan, the Russian part of Central Asia. Jews were divided into the categories *tuzemniye* (local, native), those who had lived in the territory before its occupation by Russians, and "foreign" Jews, who had migrated there after the occupation and who were deprived of some of their rights. In practice, authorities rarely enforced the limitations on the "foreign" Jews.

In 1905, with the rise of anti-Semitic sentiments throughout the country, Bukharan Jews were accused by the Russian administration of "exploiting" the local population, although this led to no serious incidents. The Bukharo-Jewish newspaper *Rahamin* appeared in Skobeler (now Fergana) in 1910 but it folded in 1916. After the 1917 February Revolution the new Russian government declared all peoples equal, and this was echoed in the Bukharan Emirate's new constitution. In March 1918 there was an attempted pogrom, but Jews, with the help of the emirate guard, averted it. On the other hand, a heavy tax was imposed on the Jewish population for the purchase of arms for the emir's army, which was fighting the Bolsheviks. War between Communists and the emir was perceived by Bukharan Jews as a natural stage in the war between Russians and Muslims, and for this reason their sympathies, as traditionally, lay with the former. The Communist ideology among Bukharan Jews found some adherents, who later formed the basis of the local Jewish Soviet organization. In 1920 Bukhara was occupied by Soviet troops and the Bukharan Soviet Republic was formed, but in 1925 it lost its semblance of autonomy and was incorporated into Uzbekistan. Local Jews held the same legal status as the rest of the country's population.

In the nineteenth century Palestinophile ideas made definite progress among Bukharan Jews, and in 1868 emigration to Palestine began. At the end of the 1880s this movement increased, and a "Bukharan quarter" appeared in Jerusalem, the population of which reached 1,500 in 1914, or about 8 percent of all Bukharan Jews. By this time a sizable number of adherents to Zionism had appeared among Bukharan Jews. The illegal exodus of Bukharan Jews continued in the 1920s and early 1930s, and during that period approximately 4,000 Bukharan Jews emigrated to Palestine. In Jerusalem, Shimon Hakhama inspired a literary circle that published about 100 books in the Bukharo-Jewish dialect.

After the 1917 Revolution Bukharan Jews began to develop an educational system with Hebrew as its language of instruction. The Tarbut (culture) society, united youth with Zionist sympathies, conducted active cultural work in many cities, and played an important role in the ethnic consolidation of Bukharan Jews. In 1922 the society's activities were forbidden, and instruction in the Jewish dialect of Tajik replaced instruction in Hebrew in Bukharo-Jewish schools. Schoolteachers underwent training at a Bukharo-Jewish pedagogical trade school opened in 1921 in Tashkent. In 1925 the newspaper *Rushnoy* began publication in Samarkand; in 1930 it was renamed *Bayroki mikhnat* (Flag of Labor).

Another manifestation of the Sovietization of Bukharan Jews was their organization into kolkhozy: about ten Jewish kolkhozy were established in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Jews often received land unfit for agriculture, and the majority of the kolkhozy broke up rather quickly.

From the second half of the 1920s, Soviet authorities actively fought Judaism, waging an extensive campaign to close synagogues and religious schools. (This campaign subsided temporarily during World War II.) Anti-Semitism continued to manifest itself among the local population. There were specific cases of blood-libel charges in 1926 and 1930, and in 1961 and 1962 as well. At the end of the 1940s anti-Semitism took on an official appearance; anti-Jewish satires appeared in print, and in the 1960s a campaign against the use of matzo (unleavened bread eaten during the ten days of Passover) was conducted.

Bukharan Jews were made to participate in anti-Israeli demonstrations, especially following the 1967 Six Day War. In Central Asia a significant number of anti-Zionist books and brochures was published, including some in local languages.

Nevertheless, Zionist sentiments strengthened among Bukharan Jews after the Six Day War. In the early 1970s mass emigration to Israel began. In the first half of that decade more than 10,000 Bukharan Jews left, approximately 15 percent of their total population in the USSR. From the second half of the 1970s the stream of emigrants was redistributed between Israel and the United States, where approximately 2,000 Bukharan Jews settled, primarily in New York. During the same period ethnic self-awareness grew among a large portion of Bukharan Jews. Hebrew teachers appeared among them, organizing Hebrew study groups. The authorities actively fought these study groups, frightening teachers and students. In 1983 Moshe Abramov, a Samarkand Jewish ritual slaughterer and Hebrew teacher, was arrested and sentenced to three years' imprisonment.

In 1987 a new wave of emigration of Bukharan Jews to Israel and the United States began. Ethnic tensions and the rise of pan-Muslim sentiment led to the rise of anti-Semitism in Central Asia. By contrast, the politics of *glasnost* (openness) of Gorbachev permitted the legalization of many aspects of Bukharan Jewish ethnic life. Bukharo-Jewish clubs and cultural associations sprang up in many cities. In Uzbekistan a Bukharo-Jewish sector of the Writers' Union was founded, and it became possible to openly study Hebrew.

Settlements

Bukharan Jews lived in houses that differed from those of Muslims principally in the absence of a separation into men's and women's halves. The only furniture in these houses were low tables (*shulhon*), at which they dined on Saturdays.

Economy

An overwhelming majority of Bukharan Jewish men practiced the craft of yarn dying, which they monopolized almost totally in Central Asia. Those who dyed yarn with indigo dye were called *kabudgar*, whereas those who used other colors were called *rangborchi*. Men also practiced other crafts, among them weaving, jewelry making, distilling, tailoring, haberdashery, and hairdressing. Women often were cooks or laundresses or baked bread for sale; they were and continue to be dancers (*sozanda*) at weddings and other familial celebrations, both Jewish and Muslim.

After the Sovietization of Central Asia many Bukharan Jews, having lost the opportunity to engage in their traditional crafts, began to work at silk-winding, textile, sewing, cotton-processing, butter-churning, brick-making, and other factories as well as in granaries and in small-scale, low-technology workshops. Women were a large portion of the work force. About 1,000 families worked in agriculture, although most soon abandoned that.

At the present time, a significant number of Bukharan Jews work in service and trade professions. Among them are many shoemakers, hairdressers, tailors, and photographers. There are also a large number of educated people: engineers, doctors, teachers, and musicians. There is a creative intelligentsia of writers, poets, artists, and scholars.

Clothing. The traditional costume of the Bukharan Jewish man consisted of a long shirt, trousers, a robe, a round hat of Asnakhan fur with a velvet top, and leather shoes or, in winter, soft boots. Women wore over-and undershirts, trousers, a kerchief, and leather shoes.

Food. Bukharan Jews ate beef, mutton, domestic poultry, rice, fruits, flour products, and milk products. Food was strictly divided into dairy and meat products in accordance with Jewish law. Dietary laws governing the acquisition, preparation, and consumption of food were strictly observed.

Kinship, Marriage, and Family

Kinship. Before the beginning of the twentieth century, Bukharan Jewish males were the heads of their patrilineal extended families. The father regulated household expenditures and dominated his sons and their families. Each married couple had separate quarters, but everyone ate from a common kitchen. In the twentieth century a process of separation of married sons from the common household began, leading to the now-predominant pattern of separate nuclear families.

Bukharan Jewish kinship terminology was highly developed. Earlier, Bukharan Jews, as was the case with Jews in general, practiced levirate marriage as well as a ritual ceremony for its refusal, called *halitso*. Before the Sovietization of Central Asia the overwhelminging majority of marriages were monogamous, though there were instances of men having two wives; usually these were rich men or men whose first wives were barren.

Marriage. Bukharan Jews nearly always marry other Bukharan Jews. The parents of the groom send a matchmaker to the parents of the bride. When both sides have agreed to the marriage a betrothal takes place (*shirinhuri*), and later, the marriage ceremony (*kidush*). In the old days, children were sometimes betrothed while still in the cradle. Formerly, after a betrothal, a *kudobini* ceremony (meeting of the parents of the bride and groom) was also performed, as was the *rubinon* (viewing of the bride's face), at which time the first meeting of groom and bride occurred. On the Saturday before the wedding there was an inspection of the bride's dowry and a party for the bride. The family of the groom paid a bride-price (*kalin*) for the bride, but the dowry usually was larger. On Sunday the bride was taken to the baths, and on Monday the women celebrated the painting of the bride's hands with henna. On Tuesday the Hebrew marriage contract (*ktubo*) was drawn up. The marriage ceremony, performed by a rabbi, took place on Wednesday under a canopy (*hupo*), followed by a wedding feast (*tuy*). Divorce was permitted among Bukharan Jews, and a law existed to regulate marriages of widows.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Bukharan Jews follow the traditional Judaic faith and form communities that have synagogues (*keniso*). They observe the lunar calendar and all Jewish

holidays, the most important of which are Passover (Pesach), Shavuot, Sukkoth, New Year (Rosh Hashannah), and the Day of Judgment (Yom Kippur). Before 1793 Bukharan Jews observed the so-called Persian traditions in Judaism (*nusah Paras*), but after the settlement of Joseph Mamon in Bukhara they adopted the Sephardic tradition (*nusah Sefarad*) and at present consider themselves Sephardic Jews.

Religious Practitioners. Bukharan Jewish communities are led by *lakhams*, who perform the functions of rabbis, butchers, circumcisers, and cantors. At present there are approximtely twenty Bukharan Jewish synagogues in the former USSR. Formerly, religious schools (*homulo*) were attached to the synagogues. Special instructors, called *melameds*, taught primarily boys there.

Ceremonies. On the eighth day after a boy's birth, a circumcision (*milo*) is performed. At 13 years of age a boy undergoes a ceremony dedicated to his coming of age (*tefillinbandon*).

Arts. Only three literary monuments have come down to us: the poems of the *Book of Antioch* and *Seven Brothers* by the poet Joseph ben Isaac, composed in the first half of the eighteenth century, and the poem "Memories of Hudaydad" written by Ibrahim ibn Abi-l-Hayr in 1809, about a young Jew who prefers death to conversion to Islam.

In 1930 the literary journal *Haeti mikhnat* first appeared. A whole series of works by writers and poets emerged in the Bukharo-Jewish dialect, although many were arrested between 1936 and 1938. Newspapers and magazines were closed by Soviet authorities, as was a theater opened in 1932 in Samarkand. In 1940 the Bukharo-Jewish schools were shut down, and publication of books in the Jewish dialect of the Tajik language ceased.

Death and Afterlife. After death, a burial and mourning ritual is performed for the deceased. The sons of the deceased read the mourner's prayer (kaddish) every day for the first year after death, and once a year thereafter.

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(Translated by Dale Pesmen)

Buriats

ETHNONYMS: Brat, Bratsk, Buriaad, Buriat-Mongol

Orientation

Identification. The Buriats live in Irkutsk Province (Oblast), Ust'-Orda Buriat Autonomous Region (Okrug), Chita Oblast and Aga-Buriat Autonomous Okrug of the Republic of Buryatia in the former USSR. They also live in Mongolia (in the northern part of Hentei Aimak) and in the People's Republic of China (a small group in the northern autonomous region of Inner Mongolia). They call themselves "Buriaad" or "Buriat"; the form "Buliia" or "Buriya" is found in the *Secret Saga*, a Mongol historical chronicle of the thirteenth century in the register of tribes and peoples conquered by Chinggis (Genghis) Khan. The form "Brat" or "Bratsk people" is found in official Russian documents from the seventeenth century to the first half of the nineteenth century and in scientific literature of the twentieth century until the 1960s, when "Buriat-Mongol" came into use.

Demography. According to the census of 1989, there were 421,600 Buriats in the USSR: 249,500 of them in the Buriat Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic; 77,300 in Irkutsk Oblast; and 66,000 in Chita Oblast; and over 5,000 in Moscow and the Moscow Oblast.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Buriat language is part of the Northern Subgroup of Mongol languages in the Altaic Language Family. Until 1930 the Buriats used the old Mongol-Altai script. From 1931 to 1939 the written language was based on the Latin alphabet, and since 1939 on the Cyrillic alphabet.

History and Cultural Relations

According to archaeological, linguistic, ethnographic, and mythological evidence, the Buriat ethnic group arose from a blending of western Mongolian tribes (Oirot) with Turkish (Altai, northern Siberian) and Tungus groups and possibly even Samoyed peoples. The territory where the ancestors of the Buriats lived and where the nucleus of the Buriat people formed includes the regions along Lake Baikal, in particular Pribaikal'e, the island of Ol'khon, and part of the territories to the east along the Selenga River. To the north, the neighbors of the Buriats were the Evenki and Yakut and to the south and east, related Mongolian tribes. Toward the middle of the seventeenth century during the Russian conquest of Siberia, the Buriats divided themselves into several territorial tribal groups, the largest of which were the Bulugat, Ekhirit, and Khor (Khorint, Khori-Buriat). The Bulugat lived along the Angara River and its tributaries. The Ekhirit lived along the northern shores of Lake Baikal and in the valley of the Barguzin River. The Khorint settled in the upper reaches of the Lena River and on the island of Ol'khon, from where they gradually penetrated farther and farther to the east up to the Aga steppes (now Chita Oblast).

The Buriats are made up of several groups: Tubin (Soiot), Tyngyc (Evenk, Khamnigan), and those native to

Mongolia (Khongodor, Sartyl, Tsongol, Tabangyt, and others). Some of these settled in the upper reaches of the Selenga and Dzhida rivers. In the 1660s Buriatia became part of the Russian state. After the October Revolution of 1917, the Buriat-Mongol Autonomous Oblast was formed in 1921 within the Far Eastern Republic, and the Mongol-Buriat Autonomous Oblast was formed in 1922 within the Russian Sovied Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR). In 1923 the Buriat-Mongol Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic was united with the RSFSR, into which was also incorporated the former territory of Pribaikal'e Province with its Russian population. In 1958 it was renamed the Buriat Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.

Settlements

By the seventeenth century the Buriats were engaged in nomadic animal husbandry. Corresponding to this type of livelihood, their nomadic camps were circular or stretched from east to west. The Buriats' yurts (*ger*), like those of the Mongols, were made of a wooden frame and felt coverings, which were attached to the frame by rope made of braided horsehair. The wooden frame of each tent included five to eight folding, trellised walls (*hana*). The roof of the tent was in the shape of a truncated cone, consisting of long sticks (*uni*) reaching from the low end of the trellised wall to the rim of the smoke opening (*tono*) at the top of the tent. Pieces of felt of various shapes and sizes were spread over the wall and roof of the tent and covered the smoke opening. The entrance to the yurt always faced south.

Those Buriats who were hunters and lived in the taiga did not have yurts. Rather, they lived in conical huts (*chum*) made of hide. The Russian Cossacks who settled along the steppes beyond Lake Baikal exposed the Buriats to the Russian type of frame hut (Russian: *izba*). At first the Buriats began to build five-, six-, or eight-cornered wooden yurts alongside their felt yurts. Later they built huts of the Russian type. Toward the beginning of the twentieth century, the felt yurts were seldom used, but the wooden yurts can still be found in rare instances. The most common types of housing today are the apartment houses in the city and, in the countryside, the *izba* huts of the Russian type shared by one or two families.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. Until the end of the seventeenth century the Buriats were mainly nomadic cattle breeders. Hunting continued to play a significant role in their economy. In the taiga they hunted large wild animals such as elks or bears. In the steppe it was foxes, wolves, or Siberian marmots. They hunted some animals for meat, some for fur, and others for both meat and fur. They especially valued beaver and otter fur, with which they paid tribute (Russian: *iasak*) to the czar.

Food. The traditional staples of Buriat cuisine, like those of all nomads of Central Asia, were milk, milk products, meat, and meat dishes. Milk products (*tsagan ige*) were eaten fresh in summer and in early fall until the end of the milking season. From *urum* or *erme*, the layer of milk skimmed off during boiling, they made butter. The remaining milk, fermented with a special leaven (*kherenge*), was used to make several sorts of cheese (*arul, khurut, ezgii*) and yogurt (*tarag*). With a special distilling method, they made vodka from milk, varying from 6–8 percent to 45–50 percent alcohol. After distillation, the remaining curdled liquid was mixed in a separate dish with flour, roots from several plants ground into powder, and dried bird cherries. All winter this mixture was kept frozen. Pieces were broken off, cooked, and eaten. It was considered healthy and nutritious. They also made *kumys* (fermented mare's milk). Thought to have healing as well as nourishing powers, kumys was endowed with magic qualities in Buriat belief as well as in the beliefs of all Mongol peoples.

The Buriats herded rams, horses, goats, and horned cattle. Of all types of meat, they preferred mutton, except in winter, when they favored beef. They ate meat boiled in lightly salted water. To the bouillon they added millet or noodles. Mutton head was considered a dish appropriate for an honored guest. But the preferred dish was fresh mutton liver, which they roasted wrapped in fatty stomach lining immediately after the carcass was cut. They also ate the intestines and blood of the slaughtered animals. The Buriats made blood sausage, which they ate slightly cooked immediately after the butchering of the cattle. In order to have a supply of meat for the winter, they slaughtered cattle in late autumn, once frost had already appeared, cutting pieces of meat into long, thin slices and freezing it. In winter in southern Siberia, meat will keep for several months. Bread and pastry made from flour were adopted from the Russians, but these items did not have a special role in Buriat cooking. On the other hand, mixed dishes of milk and flour or meat and flour were very popular, as were flour grilled with sour cream (*salamat*) and steamed meat pies made with sweet dough (*buuz*). The common drinks were tea served either with milk, mutton fat, or baked, salted milk skin; milk-based vodka; and, in summer, kumys.

Clothing. Buriat clothing was adapted to nomadic life and to the severe Central Asian climate. It was made for horseback riding, since it did not constrain the movement of the rider, and for sitting on the floor of the yurt. Clothing was sewn of leather, fur, and wool. In the winter men wore a straight fur overcoat (*deel, degel*). The left side buttoned closed over the right side. A long sash or a leather belt adorned with silver and copper ornaments was tied around the waist. On the right side of the belt, the men carried a tobacco pouch with tobacco and a snuffbox, a knife in its sheath, and a piece of steel for starting fires. They kept their pipes in their boots. The steel, tinder, and flint for starting fires were carried in a special sack, beautifully embroidered and even adorned with silver plates. In the past the steel for starting fires was highly valued—one could even exchange it for a horse. In summer, men wore a thinly lined coat (*terlig*), styled like the coats they wore in winter. The edge of the coat and sleeves were sometimes trimmed with velvet or another beautiful fabric.

Usually women wore trousers, shirts, and a coat much like the men's coat, but with a low collar. The sleeves, cuffs, and collar were made from a colored fabric. Especially valued were Chinese silks and brocades. The hem of the coat was sometimes decorated with otter fur. Over the coat, married women wore a sleeveless jacket (*uuzha*). For

western Buriats it was just a jacket, whereas the eastern Buriats sewed a gathered skirt to their jackets at the waist. The sleeveless jacket, like the coats, had a lining and a slit down the front from the collar to the hem.

Men's and women's headgear was sown of fabric or fur (beaver, otter, fox); the elders wore hats of sheepskin. Traditionally, until the beginning of the twentieth century, men wore their hair pulled back in a braid. With Russification, this style gradually disappeared. Married women wore their hair in two braids covered with velvet. The braids hung in front, not on their backs. Silver and coral ornaments were woven into the ends of their braids. Young girls wore their hair in several braids, which were joined at the temples with coral-red thread.

Men and women wore low leather boots (*gutal*) leather with thick soles. The boots were slightly turned up at the toes. Wearing such boots a rider felt more certain that his or her feet would not slip out of the stirrups. They wore such boots year-round, but in the winter, for extra warmth, they placed felt in them. Today traditional folk clothing is worn only by old people. Classical clothing with full decoration and additional detail can be seen only in museums.

Land Tenure. After the arrival of the Russians in the Transbaikal region, the Buriats gradually adopted agriculture and hay making. According to Buriat common law, land on clan territory (*ulus*) was considered property of the community and had to be equally divided among all members. Clan property (the sign of the clan was branded on cattle) was gradually replaced by private ownership by individual members of the clan and their families. The combination of communal pasture and private herds allowed a rich, clan-based aristocracy to use its economic and administrative influence to secure plots of land for the owners of large herds.

After Buriatia was incorporated into the Russian state, the land was declared state property but the Buriat people were granted the right to communal land use. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the pastures, forests, and arable lands were taken out of communal use and became private property alloted to individual families. Toward the beginning of the twentieth century, 25 percent of the Buriats in Irkutsk Oblast were no longer involved in animal husbandry but were engaged in agriculture. They grew rye, wheat, oats, buckwheat, and vegetables. For Buriats in Transbaikalia, animal husbandry remained predominant. The Buriats living on Ol'khon Island supplemented animal husbandry with fishing, and the Buriats of the Tunkinsk region supplemented it with hunting. About 10 percent of Buriat households had 100–200 sheep, up to 100 head of horned cattle, and 20–30 horses; 30 to 40 percent of the households had 60–70 sheep, up to 50 head of cattle, and up to 10 horses.

Kinship

The Buriat social system at the time of their incorporation into Russia was an intricate web of clan and feudal institutions. The ancient clan was called *obokh*. (Sometimes it is incorrectly referred to as *okok* or *amag*). The clan was divided by lineage (*yasa, yakha*). Buriats had to know to which lineage they belonged. They also had to know their relatives by lineage nine times removed, as intermarriage was forbidden. Groups of families of the same lineage formed an *ail*. Several nomadic ail in one territory formed a *hoshun*, led by a chief (*zaisang*). Several hoshun united as an *aimag*, a large administrative unit headed by a feudal ruler (*taisha*). The term "ulus," as used by the Buriats, did not have the same meaning when used by the Mongols. For the Mongols, "ulus" meant the unification of several aimag, which they equated with a "state." But for the Buriats, the ulus was a clan territory, often designated by the name of the clan rulers. In Russian documents, such rulers were called "princes" (*knjaztsy*). The later meaning the Buriats had for the term *ulus* was simply a locality or settlement where several extended or nuclear families of different clans lived. Sometimes only one family group (*hoton*) lived in such an ulus.

In 1822 the Russian administration issued a decree on governing the non-Russian peoples of Siberia, dividing them into settlers, nomadic settlers, and nomads. Nomadic Buriats were governed by their clan leaders and feudal lords, retaining their previous ranks as taisha, zaisang, naion, *shulenga*, and others. Criminal occurrences within the bounds of Buriat nomadic settlements were subject to traditional common laws.

Marriage and Family

Domestic Unit. At the beginning of the twentieth century the Buriats still had two types of family organization: a large patriarchal family and a small family. The first consisted of members of several generations, including brothers' families, who jointly owned property, had a common household, and together raised their children. The small family consisted of parents, unmarried daughters, and unmarried sons. Cut off from large patriarchies, the small families maintained economic and social relations with each other. They grazed and raised their cattle together, bought and used agricultural equipment together, processed the products of animal husbandry together, offered each other material assistance, and celebrated holidays and conducted religious rituals together.

Marriage. Marriages were formed in the following traditional ways: arranged marriage, in which two family groups, after negotiating the conditions, entered into a kinship relation (this included marriage through bride-price or the exchange of marriageable women between two family groups, sororate, and levirate) and marriage through abduction of the bride by relatives or friends of the bridegroom, sometimes with her consent and sometimes by force. Having reached the age of 15 or 16, a young man or woman was considered of marriageable age. Young men, however, usually married between the ages of 18 and 25 and girls between 17 and 21. In preparing for marriage the Buriats attached great significance to the genealogy of the bridegroom (*udha*), that is to say, his forefathers and his family. Physical and spiritual health, fertility, and respect for national traditions were qualities that were especially valued and sought.

The wedding was preceded by a proposal and betrothal. If the proposal was accepted, the fathers of the bride and groom exchanged waistbands (*kyshak*). After this pact the marriage contract could not be broken. The day of the wedding was set after the bride-price was paid. Be-

fore the wedding the bridegroom performed a sacrifice to the gods and spirits and to the protector of his bride's clan. A ceremony was also held in which the bride's family was entertained by the groom's family. The main dish served at such a ceremony was filly meat, served with double-distilled kumys (*tarasun*). The bride hosted a party for her girlfriends on the eve of her wedding with feasting and singing of sad songs. The bride had to be taken to the bridegroom's house on horseback. The most important rite was when the bride bowed to the spirits of the bridegroom's clan—and later to the Buddhist gods—and threw small pieces of fat at the bare chest of her father-in-law and sometimes at other elder relatives of the bridegroom. Accurate aim was taken as a sign of fertility.

Socialization. Women traditionally bore many children. Since infant mortality in past centuries was considerable, people used magic practices to try to protect their children from evil spirits. They appealed to the shaman to protect their children and tried to deceive evil spirits by giving boys girls' names and girls boys' names or by giving disparaging names to both boys and girls. Every nine and twelve years they performed rites to mark the beginning of new life cycles. From early childhood, children were accustomed to working. Girls learned from their mothers how to milk cattle, sew, and prepare meals. Boys helped their fathers and older brothers tend cattle, protect them from predators and bad weather, shear sheep, and tan hides. By age 6 or 7 children assisted in caring for their younger brothers and sisters.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs and Practices. The traditional religion of the Buriats is shamanism. In the middle of the seventeenth century the first Buddhist missionaries from Mongolia and Tibet appeared in Buriat encampments. The feudal aristocracy accepted Buddhism and began the construction of the first monasteries. In 1741 the Russian Empress Elizabeth issued a degree recognizing the Buriats as Buddhists and affirming the eleven monasteries (*datsan*) and 150 lamas living in them. In 1991 the Buriats commemorated the 250th anniversary of this official recognition of Buddhism in Russia. The Buriats practiced the Buddhism of the Gelygpa school, which originated in Tibet in the beginning of the fifteenth century and constituted a synthesis of Mahayana and Theravada. Toward the beginning of the twentieth century, forty-seven monasteries were active on Buriat land, the largest of which were considered to be Gusinoozersk (Tamchinsk), Tsongol'sk, and Aga. They had printing shops and printed religious and secular literature, medical and astrological works, didactic works for adults, and books for children. They even formed a national school of Buddhist iconography and sculpture. Along with Buddhist monasteries, Russian Orthodox and even Evangelical missions existed. Religious practice in Buriatia represents its own synthesis of Buddhism, shamanism, and Orthodoxy, as well as cults of nature (earth; sky; fire; "spirits" of mountains, rivers, lakes, etc.), a syncretism that to some degree is preserved today.

In the late 1930s the Buddhist culture of the Buriats was crushed. Monasteries were destroyed. Some of the masterpieces of monastery art were given to museums. Others were destroyed. In the last few years Buddhism has been revived. Twelve monasteries are now open and functioning.

Arts. The art of the Buriat people is multifaceted. It includes the heroic epic *Abai-Geser*, related to analogous Tibetan and Mongolian epics, and folklore of small genres (such as fairy tales, proverbs, riddles, and greetings). Metalworking, including forging of metal, coining in silver, and the making of knives and decorative plates for men's belts, goes back to ancient times. Local jewelers made beautiful adornments for women such as rings, bracelets, trim for headdresses, and pendants for braids out of silver, turquoise, coral, and pearl. Leather from domestic animals was used to make bags, vessels of various sizes, footwear, and clothes, all adorned with stamped ornamentation. Like all nomads of the Eurasian Steppe, the Buriats made wooden wares such as dishes for eating, storing of flour and salt, and cooking meat. However, Buddhist wooden sculpture (especially the characters of the pantheon and historic figures who contributed to the development of Buddhism in Buriatia) seems to have no analogy in the art of other cultures.

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(Translated by Catherine Wanner)

Carpatho-Rusyns

ETHNONYMS: Lemki, Rusnatsi, Rusyny

Orientation

Identification. Carpatho-Rusyns are a national minority who have never enjoyed independent statehood. Today most live within the boundaries of three countries: Ukraine, Slovakia, and Poland.

Location. The Carpatho-Rusyn homeland is located along the crests, valleys, and adjacent lowlands of the north-central Carpathian Mountains. Elevations range from lightly forested hills of 500 meters in the west to densely forested peaks of over 2,000 meters in the east. The Rusyn-inhabited Carpathians are in the heart of Europe, and in the late nineteenth century a monument was erected near the Carpatho-Rusyn village of Dilove (today in Ukraine) to mark the precise geographical center of the continent.

The group's homeland has generally been referred to as Carpathian Rus', Carpatho-Ruthenia, Carpatho-Russia, Carpatho-Ukraine, or simply Ruthenia. In terms of administrative subdivisions, Carpatho-Rusyns in the former Soviet Union inhabited the Transcarpathian Oblast (Zakarpatskaya Oblast, historic Subcarpathian Rus') of Ukraine. In neighboring Slovakia and Poland their villages are not encompassed by any one administrative unit, although their territory in those countries is popularly referred to as the Prešov region (Priashivs'ka Rus', Priashivashchyna) in northeastern Slovakia and the Lemko region (Lemkivshchyna) in southeastern Poland. Smaller numbers of Rusyns live in the immediately adjacent territory of Romania (the Marmarosh region), and there is an emigrant group living farther away in the Vojvodina region of Serbia.

The climate is marked by heavy precipitation, which averages annually from 75 to 100 centimeters, and at higher elevations up to 150 centimeters. Average temperatures vary from $-4°$ to $-6°$ C in January and 17° to 20° C in July, with the lowland plain of the Transcarpathian Oblast tending to be a few degrees warmer and receiving less precipitation.

Demography. According to 1970 census figures, there were more than 1 million Carpatho-Rusyns: 808,000 in the Transcarpathian Oblast of the Soviet Union; 100,000 in the Prešov region of Czechoslovakia; 60,000 in the Lemko region and other parts of Poland; 30,000 in Romania; and 30,000 in Yugoslavia. With the exception of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, the figures are only estimates because, particularly in Czechoslovakia and Poland, a significant percentage of Rusyns were assimilated or, for political reasons, reported themselves as either Slovak or Polish.

Linguistic Affiliation. Carpatho-Rusyns speak a number of East Slavic dialects that are classified by linguists as belonging to the Ukrainian language. Since they live along the West Slavic–East Slavic linguistic border, however, their speech is heavily influenced by both Slovak and Polish and, because of historical circumstances, by Hungarian as well. Their alphabet is Cyrillic; although several past attempts to create a Carpatho-Rusyn literary language were mostly unsuccessful, such attempts continue. Only the Rusyns of Yugoslavia had their own officially recognized literary standard; the rest of the Rusyns in the Carpathian homeland have used other literary languages: Ukrainian, Russian, Slovak, and Polish.

History and Cultural Relations

The Carpatho-Rusyns and their ancestors have lived in the Carpathians since the sixth and seventh centuries. Further migration of East Slavs from the north and east and Vlach shepherds from the south continued from the twelfth through the seventeenth centuries. After a period of tenuous political ties with Kievan Rus' in the tenth and eleventh centuries, Rusyn-inhabited lands south of the mountain crests were joined to Hungary and those in the north (the Lemko region) to Poland. In 1772 the Lemko region became part of the Austrian province of Galicia, which, with Hungary, formed part of the Austrian and, later, Austro-Hungarian Empire. When that empire fell in late 1918, Carpatho-Rusyns strove to create an independent state or to join in federation with a larger neighbor. By 1919 Rusyn lands south of the Carpathians were incorporated into the new state of Czechoslovakia, whereas those to the north (the Lemko region) were, with the rest of Galicia, annexed to a restored Poland. In Czechoslovakia, about three-quarters of Carpatho-Rusyns lived in their own province called Subcarpathian Rus' (Carpatho-Ruthenia), where they enjoyed a measure of self-rule. In Poland, the Lemkos were deterred from joining Czechoslovakia, and until early 1920, when Poland established its authority over them, they governed themselves in a Lemko "republic." On the eve of World War II, Czechoslovakia granted Subcarpathian Rus' (by then known as Carpatho-Ukraine) full autonomy, but in March 1939 the region was reannexed to Hungary. A few months later (September) Poland fell and the Lemko region was annexed by Germany's Third Reich. In 1945 Subcarpathian Rus' was joined to the Soviet Union as the Transcarpathian Oblast of the Ukrainian SSR. This left the Rusyn-inhabited Prešov region within Czechoslovakia and the Lemko region within Poland. As a result of a Polish-Soviet agreement, nearly two-thirds of the Lemko Rusyn population were resettled in various parts of the Soviet Ukraine; the remainder were forcibly deported in 1947 to those parts of western and northern Poland (Silesia, Pomerania) that had formerly belonged to Germany.

Closely related to political change has been the question of national identity. A national revival began during the second half of the nineteenth century, and since then there has been an ongoing debate whether Carpatho-Rusyns are Russians, Ukrainians, or a distinct nationality. After 1945, with direct Soviet rule in the Transcarpathian Oblast and its political dominance over Poland and Czechoslovakia, all Rusyns were simply declared to be Ukrainian. With the political changes of the 1980s culminating in the upheavals of 1989, there has been a revival of the Rusyn identity among Rusyns living in Ukraine, Slovakia, and Poland.

Settlements

Until quite recently virtually all Carpatho-Rusyns lived in small villages with a few hundred to at most 1,500 inhabitants. The nearby towns and small cities (Uzhgorod, Mukachevo, Humenné, Bardejov, Sanok, Gorlice, Nowy Sącz), whether within or immediately adjacent to Carpatho-Rusyn ethnic territory, were inhabited primarily by Poles and Jews in the north and Hungarians or Slovaks and Jews in the south. Only since post-World War II industrialization have Carpatho-Rusyns settled in nearby towns and cities, so that today only 60 percent of the group resides in villages. The villages are generally laid out in a linear pattern along both banks of a mountain river or creek with individual houses surrounded by half a hectare or so of garden. Traditional houses were built of wood logs and were sometimes covered with stucco and painted a bright sky-blue color. The steeply sloped roofs were of thatched straw. The shape was a rectangle consisting of roughly three equal parts—the living quarters, kitchen, and a stable for animals. Today the village layout remains the same, although many traditional houses have been replaced by square, two-floor structures constructed with stucco-covered brick and covered by a gently sloping roof made of tin.

Economy

The pre-World War II economy was based almost exclusively on subsistence agriculture, supplemented in the higher mountainous areas by sheepherding or woodcutting. With the exception of some adjacent low-lying plains, most of the mountainous valleys and foothills were not especially productive, so that by the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries poverty and starvation were common, causing massive emigration (especially to the northeast United States) in the decade before World War I. The meager staple diet consisted of potatoes, milk, and varying kinds of noodles; meat and fowl were rarities served only on holidays.

After World War II, the industrialization policies of Communist regimes resulted in factories to process wood and make building materials, shoes, textiles, and glass that have changed the face of Carpatho-Rusyn economic life. Communist rule also brought an end to private landholding, as the land was forcibly collectivized from the 1940s to the 1950s. Today, the middle and older generations work for a salary in the local collective farms; the younger generations travel daily or migrate to the towns and cities, where they work in factories or in the various service sectors. Formerly self-sufficient villages, which were able to grow or make all their food, drink, clothing, and farm tools, have joined the regimen of commercial relations; families now purchase these items from the cooperatives and the village store.

Kinship

It is not uncommon to find Carpatho-Rusyn villages composed of people who almost all derive from three or four familial lines. Such relationships are most evident in the predominance of only a few family names in many villages. Distant third, fourth, and fifth cousins are often co-opted back into the family social unit by becoming godparents, who quite often are chosen from the same lineage (*fajta*) as the parents.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Carpatho-Rusyn marriages were traditionally arranged by parents, but this practice had died out entirely by the second half of the twentieth century. Seeking marriage partners outside one's ethnic group was frowned upon, especially if they were from the "ruling groups" (Hungarians, Poles) or from another race or non-Christian religion (Gypsies, Jews). In the past, suitable partners were often found in neighboring villages; today, it is most common for couples from geographically dispersed, areas to meet at high schools, universities, or places of work in towns and cities far from their native villages. Legal abortion is a principal means of birth control. Divorce is legal and not uncommon among couples who reside in urban areas.

Domestic Unit. Traditionally, it was common for the young married couple to live—often in cramped quarters—in the home of the groom's parents until they could afford to build their own house. The oldest son would inherit the family homestead, and each of his brothers and sisters would receive some form of compensation, either in money or land. Today, despite greater geographical and social mobility, a severe shortage of apartments in urban areas has forced many newly married couples to share living space with their parents in towns or even return to village homesteads until such time as their requests on a government waiting list for state-owned apartments are fulfilled.

Sociopolitical Organization

From the 1940s until recently, all countries in which Carpatho-Rusyns live have been ruled by Communist governments. Since 1989, other parties have come into existence in both Poland and Czechoslovakia, where the Communist party is no longer the dominant political force.

Political Organization. Until recently, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia were, theoretically speaking, federal states. In the Soviet Union the Carpatho-Rusyns lived in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, in Czechoslovakia in the Slovak Socialist Republic. The basic administrative subdivision is the district or county (*raion* in the former Soviet Union; *okres* in former Czechoslovakia; *województwo* in Poland). Each village has its own people's council with members elected from the local inhabitants. Heads of the village councils as well as their staff were (at least until 1989) expected to be Communist party members. The village councils carry out government policies as passed down from the federal, republic, and district levels.

Conflict. As a minority people, Carpatho-Rusyns were historically subordinate to the governments that ruled them and that, by the late nineteenth century, had tried to assimilate them. This was particularly the case in Hungary, where Magyarization policies were implemented especially in schools and cultural life. Similar policies in Poland toward the Lemkos during the interwar years culminated in

the group's displacement from their native Carpathian villages between 1945 and 1947. Thus, Carpatho-Rusyn popular attitudes are marked by a sense of resentment toward Hungarians and Poles. Internally, Carpatho-Rusyn society is marked by conflict over religion (Greek Catholic versus Orthodox) and national identity (Rusyn versus Ukrainian).

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Carpatho-Rusyns are Christian, having received that faith from saints Cyril and Methodius or their disciples in the late ninth century. According to local tradition, one of the original seven dioceses ("eparchies" in eastern terminology) founded by the Cyril-Methodian mission was located in the Carpathian Rus' homeland at Mukachevo. The early Carpatho-Rusyn church was part of the Orthodox world and under the jurisdiction of the ecumenical patriarch in Constantinople. A movement for union with the Catholic Church of Rome, however, culminated in the mid-seventeenth century with the creation of the Uniate Church. The Uniate (later known as Greek Catholic) church retained Orthodox practices (liturgy in Church Slavonic, married priesthood, Julian calendar, elected bishops) but became subordinate to the pope. Orthodoxy was suppressed until its revival in the early twentieth century. As a result, much of Carpatho-Rusyn village life has been marked by the rivalry between adherents of Greek Catholicism and Orthodoxy.

Religious Practitioners. The primary religious practitioner is the village priest (*pop*). Also of great importance is the cantor (*diak*), who not only leads the responsive singing during the liturgy (organs or other instruments are forbidden) but who, until the introduction of state elementary schools, served as the village teacher as well.

Ceremonies. Traditional Carpatho-Rusyn life is determined by the church calendar. Easter and Christmas are the most important holidays, although there are many others that derive from ancient pagan practices but that were outwardly Christianized—Green Thursday (before Easter), Rusalja (Pentecost), Saint George's Day, and Kupala (Saint John's Day). Church holidays, workless Sundays, and strict fasting during Lent are still observed by older people, although Communist regimes have tried, without much success, to impose official atheism and to curtail the role of the church.

Arts. Until the twentieth century, art and culture have been associated almost exclusively with the church. This has taken the form of icon paintings (which decorated the facade of the iconostasis, or icon screen, that separates the altar from the congregation), wooden church buildings with elaborate roofs and steeples, and religious literature (lives of saints, poems of faith, etc.). At the more popular level, the art of painting eggs (*pysanky, krashanky*) using dyes and wax is still a widespread custom during the week before Easter.

Medicine. Modern medical facilities did not reach areas where Carpatho-Rusyns live until the second half of the twentieth century. Until then, childbirth occurred at home with the help of village midwives, and minor diseases and sicknesses were cured with folk medicines.

Death and Afterlife. Death is interpreted following Christian practice: departed souls await the Second Coming of Christ, at which time they will be assigned to eternal life in heaven or damnation in hell. Many funerals are followed by feasts attended by family and friends. Little attention, however, is paid to the upkeep of gravesites.

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PAUL ROBERT MAGOCSI

Chechen-Ingush

ETHNONYMS: Chechen: Nokhchiy (sing., Nokhchuo); Ingush: Ghalghay

Orientation

Identification. The Chechens and Ingush are the most numerous northern Caucasian group and territorially one of the largest. In view of their numbers, the strategic location of their territory, and the strong leading role of the Chechens in the resistance to the Russian conquest of the Caucasus, they figure with particular prominence in Russian artistic literature depicting the northern Caucasus. Although Chechen and Ingush are distinct languages and are not mutually intelligible, in areas of population overlap communication is achieved through passive bilingualism. Learning to communicate smoothly in an unfamiliar dialect area may require several days' time. There are Chechen communities in Jordan, Syria, and Turkey, formed when many Chechens and Ingush emigrated to Muslim countries after the Caucasus Wars in the mid-nineteenth century. These émigré communities retain the language (basically Chechen dialects, although some of the émigrés are of Ingush descent) and much of the culture. The language is especially well retained in Jordan, where children still learn it as their first language.

The Chechens and Ingush are relatively tall, with fair

skin and hair color ranging from black to blond, with reddish shades being common. Stereotypically, in their own view, the Chechens and Ingush are thin and long-limbed, with thick hair and little male baldness. The two groups see themselves as physically identical to each other and physically distinct from their neighbors.

This article is based on available published sources—which are neither extensive, recent, nor of even quality—and on some elicitation and extremely limited field observation. The past tense is used for patterns reported of traditional life (some of which may still be observed) and the present tense for those reported or observed now (most of them traditional). The word "apparently" marks inferences.

Location. The traditional territory lies on and to the east of the principal road crossing the central Caucasus (leading to the Darial Pass and the Georgian Military Highway) and extends from just north of the Terek River in the southern part of the north Caucasian plains to the snow line; a few villages, speaking the distinctive Kisti dialect, are found to the south of the Caucasian crest, in eastern Georgia. At its greatest extent this territory reaches from about 42° to 44° N and about 45° to 46° E. The land ranges from plains and rolling foothills in the north to alpine terrain in the south. The northern lowlands enjoy rich soil, ample precipitation, and a long growing season; the mountain valleys also offer fertile soil and adequate-to-ample precipitation, with increasingly alpine conditions at higher elevations. The climate is continental, with hot and often humid summers and cold (though not harsh) winters. Much of the land is heavily forested. Lowland settlements are in natural plains; in mountain valleys there has been some clearing (presumably extensive in some areas).

Demography. The population in 1989 was 1,194,317 (956,879 Chechens and 237,438 Ingush); in 1979 it was 941,980 (755,782 Chechens and 186,198 Ingush); in 1926 it was 392,619 (318,522 Chechens and 74,097 Ingush). The birthrate is—and apparently always was—high.

Linguistic Affiliation. Chechen and Ingush, together with closely related Batsbi (or Ts'ova-Tush; spoken in Georgia), form the Nakh, or North-Central Caucasian, Branch of Northeast Caucasian (Nakh-Daghestanian), a stock not demonstrably related to any other (although connections to Hurrian-Urartian and to Northwest Caucasian have been sought). Typologically, Chechen and Ingush are verb-final, agglutinating, ergative, and case-marking languages, with six to eight nominal genders and with fixed initial stress, numerous vowels (phonemic length, diphthongs, sometimes nasalization), numerous consonants (three manners of articulation, including ejectives; eight points, including *c*, *ch*, uvulars, pharyngeals, glottals), but a simple root and syllable canon with geminate consonants and few clusters. Ingush has little or no internal dialect differentiation. Chechen comprises a number of dialects; a central lowlands dialect now serves as the official literary language and is the basis for the orthography. Chechen and Ingush were not traditionally written; prior to the Revolution, writing was in Arabic. Chechen and Ingush are now separate written languages. Latin orthographies were created in 1923 and replaced by Cyrillic in 1938. Both Latin and Cyrillic orthographies grossly underdifferentiate the vowel phonemes but render consonants well and economically. At present there is fairly extensive publication of textbooks, newspapers, and literature (as well as radio and television broadcasts and theater performances) in Chechen and Ingush, but almost no technical or scientific publication. Much of the population (especially among the Ingush) is fluent in Russian, and some (especially those who received primary or secondary education in Central Asia during the period of exile, 1945–1956) are bilingual and Russian-dominant.

History and Cultural Relations

According to both archaeological and linguistic evidence, Northeast Caucasian speakers have inhabited the northeastern Caucasus since about 6000 B.C. The Nakh languages exhibit a few words of early Indo-European provenance, testifying to relations with the Bronze Age steppe populations. There is surprisingly little lexical evidence of interaction with the Iron Age Iranian-speaking steppe tribes. The Nakh languages have numerous loanwords from adjacent Ossetic (Iranian) and Kumyk (Turkic). Native vocabulary suggests ancient connections with the high mountain languages of southern Daghestan, later (but still early) interaction with the Lak of the northeastern lowlands, and relatively recent interaction with the adjacent Avar. Present Chechen-Ingush territory largely coincides with the entry route along which steppe peoples and cultures penetrated the mountains and from which mountain culture periodically spread to the steppe. Inferable prehistory, with its fluctuation between mountain and steppe influences, is consistent with this picture. After the weakening of the Golden Horde in the sixteenth century, a substantial descent to the lowlands began, including the abandonment of some high mountain villages, a process that must have been periodically repeated throughout prehistory and continues to the present day. History can be traced to the seventeenth century and the first recorded interaction with Cossacks, and it begins in earnest with the Russian invasion of the Caucasus, of which there are extensive Russian records—literary, historical, military, and ethnographic. With the introduction of literacy after the Revolution, an intelligentsia, a written literature, and a remarkably strong scholarly tradition of descriptive philology were quick to form, but these developments were gutted in the purges of the 1930s. Ingushetia and Chechnia were separate autonomous regions (autonomous oblasts) until 1934, when they were joined and eventually made an autonomous republic (ASSR). During World War II the front extended to Chechen-Ingush territory. From 1944 to 1956 the Chechens and Ingush were exiled to Central Asia (with considerable loss of life), ostensibly for having collaborated with the Nazis but in all likelihood to clear Muslims and possible sympathizers with Turkey from major routes of military movement in the event of an invasion of Turkey. During this period their republic did not exist and the languages were removed from the status of literary languages. Upon "rehabilitation" most survivors returned to the Caucasus; many settled in cities instead of their ancestral villages, and most high mountain villages were not resettled. In 1991 the Chechens declared their independence and their secession from the then-USSR; the Ingush

supported their right to self-rule, and demanded for themselves the status of a republic in Russia with the return of territory (on the right bank of the upper Terek, including suburban Vladikavkaz) that had been removed to North Ossetia during the exile.

The Chechens and Ingush had close and generally peaceable relations with their neighbors to the west (Ossetes and, in the lowlands, Kabardians), south (Georgians), and east (Avars, speakers of Andi-Didoic languages; in the lowlands, Kumyks). Available sources depict warfare as occasioned only by attacks by steppe tribes; in high mountain areas, land shortages and population pressure led to tension between clans and between Chechen-Ingush and other ethnicities. In recent decades there has been some local tension between Ingush and Ossetes, the result of dual claims to territory that was Ingush until the deportation and has been Ossetic since. Major literary influence has come from Ossetic (epic verse), Kumyk or other Turkic languages (lyric songs), and, presumably via Georgian, Persian (lyric songs). The culture is solidly North Caucasian overall. Most Chechen-Ingush speakers today live in the Chechen and Ingush Republic; outside of it are Vladikavkaz (Soviet Orjonikidze) in North Ossetia, the Kisti villages in eastern Georgia, and outlying villages in northwestern Daghestan.

Settlements

A typical lowland village consists of single-story wood or brick houses on rectangular fenced lots in a compact and generally rectangular arrangement. Modern brick now replaces adobe—which traditionally was tempered with straw and manure, sun-dried, and, once in place, covered with stucco—although the adobe (said to be of Ukrainian origin, brought to the Caucasus by the Cossacks) is probably superior to all other materials in preserving an even, comfortable temperature. A fence or wall encloses the house, outbuildings, work space, and the household's garden and fruit trees. In high mountain villages the layout is less regular. Mountain houses were traditionally multistory structures of hewn and fitted stone interspersed with similar stone defense towers up to five stories in height; they were owned and maintained by clans. Both houses and defense towers were inhabited. The stone buildings are no longer inhabited, and many were destroyed during the period of deportation. Village populations range from a few hundred in the mountains to a few thousand or (in a few cases) a few tens of thousands in the lowlands. There are two true cities, both with sizable Russian populations and both originally Russian military forts: Groznyi in the Chechen lowlands and Vladikavkaz in the Ingush and Ossetic highlands. In villages, but not in cities, settlement is kin-based, with members of the same clan occupying the same street or neighborhood.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. Raising livestock, especially sheepherding, was the traditional economic mainstay in the highlands; grain agriculture was the mainstay in the lowlands. High mountain villages were not self-sufficient in grain because of the short alpine growing season and the scarcity of arable land, so they traded livestock and eggs for grain in lowland bazaars. Where this trading did not suffice, some horse thievery and other robbery (especially from Georgian nobility, to judge from folklore) rounded out the economy. There was, and is, a renowned bazaar in Nazran' in the Ingush lowlands and a lesser but still sizable one in Vladikavkaz. The lowlands were more than self-sufficient in grain, which was exported to the highlands. The staple grain since approximately the seventeenth century has been maize. There apparently was no traditional production of manufactured items for trade. In the modern economy, some 40 percent of the population remains rural and primarily agricultural. Nearby oil fields have made Groznyi a center of industry and urban employment.

The traditional diet relied on grains and dairy products. Traditional ethnic foods include unleavened corn bread (*siskal*); meat in dough casings boiled in stock (*khingal*; the dish and a term resembling this one are also found among other peoples of the Caucasus); pancakelike, unleavened-wheat pan bread stuffed with cheese, squash, or other dairy or vegetable products and brushed with melted butter (*ch'ä:pigish*); cheese, curds, sour cream, yogurt, butter; fruits (including apples, pears, plums; medlars were harvested from wild trees); nuts; and meat, typically mutton. The proportion of fat, especially dairy fat, was high by modern urban standards.

Division of Labor. Men were responsible for livestock, fieldwork, construction, and defense; they sometimes took salaried work in lowland villages. Women were responsible for poultry and gardens, as well as for cooking, weaving, sewing, preserving, and caring for young children. In the modern urban household the woman generally remains in full and exclusive control of the kitchen, whereas the man makes purchases and does all heavy work and most household repair.

Land Tenure. Lots, gardens, and orchards were privately owned by households. Fields were communally owned by clans or villages (except that cleared land belonged to the household or head of household that had cleared it). Pastureland, at least for cattle, was communally owned by villages. Livestock was privately owned by households. Virgin land was not owned and was open to use by anyone (subject to strict cultural controls, for example on what species of tree could be cut). Roads and paths apparently were not owned. Food, once harvested and prepared, or livestock, once slaughtered, were to some extent subject to distribution by the owner to guests, neighbors, kin, people held in deference, and to fellow clan or subclan members with whom the owner had mutual obligations of support and hospitality. In high mountain villages where land was scarce, there was a strict limit on the number of livestock a household could own. When a herd exceeded this limit, the entire herd was confiscated and redistributed. (The Kisti and Batsbi settlements in Georgia are said to have received some of their population from highland people emigrating to avoid confiscation.) Land was not in short supply in the northern lowlands, but periodic incursions of steppe tribes are thought to have made expansion dangerous.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Descent, in the form of clan membership, was reckoned through the male line. Clans (*taip*) were grouped into tribes that generally corresponded to dialects; tribes were not considered kin groups, though they were traced to mythic ancestors. Clan fission could occur if a feud or other serious disagreement led a family to adopt a different name or if a family needed to hide its identity from the authorities (as happened in czarist times), but in general clans strove to become as large as possible. Modern family names are said to derive generally from the clan name among the Ingush but from the first name of a paternal ancestor (the paternal grandfather, when family names were fixed, and by now a more distant ancestor) among the Chechens.

Kinship Terminology. The kinship system is minimally classificatory: basic terms (mother, father, brother, sister, son, daughter, wife, husband) are combined to yield transparent phrases such as "mother's father," "father's father's sister," etc. The only simplex classificatory terms appear to be *nuskal* ("daughter-in-law"—the element *nus-* is pan-Caucasian and an evident Indo-Europeanism), *shicha* ("first cousin," male or female), and *meakhcha* ("second cousin," male or female); the latter two have the Turkic suffix **chi*.

Marriage and Family

Marriage was obligatorily clan-exogamous and usually tribally endogamous. The socially sanctioned form of marriage was by arrangement, but elopement was probably more common. Elopement outwardly resembled capture but was usually arranged in advance with the knowledge and cooperation of the girl's mother; to judge from folklore sources, the girl took the more active role in choosing her partner and making arrangements for the elopement. In arranged marriages the groom, his family, and the bride's family agreed on the union; the consent of the bride was not traditionally required. There was a bride-price, usually payable in livestock. Marriage by kidnapping to avoid the high bride-price, although it could trigger a feud, is reported in some nineteenth-century sources. Among urban families the bride-price now often takes the form of a negotiated gift, usually paid to the young couple in currency, apparently often with a fund-matching contribution from the bride's parents. Divorce is increasingly common, especially in cities. Divorce settlements are made by clan elders; the bride-price can be returned to the husband's family if the wife is deemed to have been at fault, or it may be retained by the wife if the husband was at fault. A divorced or widowed woman with children can generally hope to remarry only if she leaves the children with the husband's family; if she keeps the children, her chances of remarriage are slim because she would be bringing children of another clan into her new husband's household.

A man avoids contact with his wife's parents and observes the etiquette of deference with her brothers and sisters. A woman at first avoids her husband's parents, but after some time—typically by the time the first child is born—she can converse with them. She never mentions the names of her husband's parents or siblings, whether in or out of their presence.

There was no formal adoption. Orphaned children were raised by a father's brother or by the nearest relative in the clan. A childless family might raise a son of the husband's brother as its own. In such cases children were raised in their own clan (and never, for instance, in their mother's clan).

The usual household consists of a nuclear family when space and resources permit.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Traditional Chechen-Ingush society is highly egalitarian. The only hierarchical relationships are those of age, kinship, and earned social honor. Hierarchical relationships are signaled and maintained by two partly intersecting forms of behavior that can be called "deference" and "formality." Deference is a form of interaction; it includes rising (by men) or standing (by women) in the presence of the deferree, maintaining silence to some extent, and markedly formal behavior; details of deference differ depending on the situation and kin relation between the individuals. A man gives deference to older males in his own clan (including his own father and older brothers) and to all males of his mother's clan (since to all of them he is a nephew and hence counts as younger). A woman similarly gives deference to elders, to members of her mother's clan, and to in-laws. All members of society, even children, offer deference to people who have earned particular respect. Formality is not necessarily a form of interaction; it is triggered by the mere presence of a relevant person. One is formal in the presence of elders (especially deferrees). Formality involves dignified behavior, erect posture, measured speech, and refraining from any form of intimacy (expression of one's personal feelings, displays of affection, etc.). Proper observance of formality and deference are particularly important to the institution of hospitality. Hospitality remains central even in modern urban life. To fail or refuse to give hospitality is unthinkable; to decline to take it (or, more generally, to fail to maximize others' opportunities to offer it) is ill-mannered and offensive. Observance of all aspects of the etiquette of deference and formality is an essential part of ethnic identity. Proper behavior and the code of etiquette are not explicitly taught to children, who are expected to observe for themselves and learn.

Political Organization. Villages were traditionally autonomous (although villages, or perhaps clans, apparently held mutual defense obligations in times of warfare). Clans were also autonomous in their respective spheres. Each clan had a headman, typically a respected elder. Clans had religious and legal responsibilities, which to some extent they still retain, as well as shared economic interests. Clans or subclans had support obligations in vendettas. Clans still have their own traditional cemeteries. In villages, elders held collective adjudicatory responsibilities.

Social Control and Conflict. Social control in this egalitarian society was effected by a system in which bringing honor to one's household, clan, and ancestors was highly valued, and bringing dishonor was avoided even at high cost. A man could bring honor to his line by scrupulous

lifelong observance of formality and deference, generous hospitality, and economic productivity. He could bring dishonor by failure to observe formality or deference, failure to extend hospitality, and apparently also by failure to receive hospitality (or create opportunities to receive it). Women were credited with maintaining harmony within household and community and with making hospitality possible; thus they indirectly brought honor to their households and ultimately to their husband's clan. A woman could dishonor clan and household by immodest public behavior or by nonchastity (especially nonvirginity at marriage); rape brought dishonor to the woman's household and clan (the man risked retaliation but not dishonor). The system was enforced by feuding: offenses against deference, the rape of a marriageable woman or public questioning of her chastity, the kidnapping of a bride, murder, and perhaps grave offenses against hospitality could all trigger feuds.

Women were, for all practical purposes, owned by the immediate head of household (father or brother, husband) and ultimately by his clan. Their chastity, especially their virginity before marriage, was jealously guarded. Rape made a woman unmarriageable (and since elopement was minimally distinguishable from rape, a change of mind on the man's part in the first days could render the woman permanently unmarriageable). A nonvirgin bride was rejected and left disgraced and unmarriageable (but traditional custom seems to have given young men little experience that would enable them to judge virginity with great accuracy). Nevertheless, especially prior to the conversion to Islam, a certain amount of sexual freedom for married women is suggested in some folklore and historical sources.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. From about the ninth to sixteenth centuries, there is thought to have been missionary activity by the Georgian church (Eastern Orthodox), chiefly among the Ingush. Only traces remain of this tradition—ultimately Greek names for days of the week and an occasional abandoned medieval church in the high mountains. The indigenous traditional religion was basically animistic, with a number of nature and patron deities (the head of the pantheon was simply Deela, "God"), an ancestor cult (the probable source of patron deities), a hearth cult, and belief in an afterlife where the well-being of one's deceased ancestors was determined by one's behavior on earth. Funerals were held the day after death, a few days later (a feast with contests enabling the deceased to rise from his bed in the afterworld), two years later, and three years later. A widow resumed regular dress and could remarry (usually a brother of the first husband) after the third-year funeral. She was buried with her first husband in his family tomb and belonged to him in the afterworld. There were no funerals for women since they did not pass down the clan name. The lowland Chechens converted to Islam (transmitted by the Kumyks) in the eighteenth century and the Ingush in the early nineteenth century. The conversion is described as originally political in motivation, a move to identify and ally oneself with the Caucasian resistance to the Russians. By now, Islam (specifically, Sunni Islam of the Hanafi school) is devoutly professed as religion by most of the population and is widely considered an essential element of ethnicity. Bennigsen and Wimbush describe a system of conservative Islam that takes the form of clandestine brotherhoods (*tariqa*). Islam spread to the Chechen-Ingush via these brotherhoods along clan and subclan lines; the Soviet repression of Islam, including wholesale destruction of mosques during and after the period of deportation, only strengthened the brotherhood organization. Tariqa are described as fulfilling in modern society a number of the functions traditionally performed by clans and subclans (e.g., determination of preferred patterns of marriage, legal and religious responsibilities, etc.). I have not been able to replicate this information, nor the claim of "an absolute confusion between religious, clan, and national loyalties" (Bennigsen and Wimbush 1986, 188).

Arts. Perhaps the most conspicuous art form is architecture, represented by the finely built tall defense towers in the high mountains. None have been built in historical times, and their construction is sometimes attributed to semimythical previous inhabitants. Wood carving, weaving, felt making, leatherwork, and other crafts were traditionally practiced. Music includes instrumental dance music (now mostly played on the accordion, plus drum) similar to that of Daghestan and (to a lesser extent) Georgia. Dance of the Caucasian type is highly developed. There are lyric songs (*yish*) primarily for solo voice, occasional polyphonic choral songs suggesting Georgian influence, and long epic song-poems (*illay*); solo music is sung to the accompaniment of a three-stringed strummed instrument (*pondar*). Traditional music and dance continue to flourish. Novels and lyric poetry, some of distinct merit, have been published in recent decades. There are theaters of note, both Ingush and Chechen, in Groznyi; they perform both Chechen-Ingush and translated dramas, all in Chechen or Ingush.

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JOHANNA NICHOLS

Chukchee

ETHNONYMS: Self-designation: Luoravetlan ("genuine people"); Chukchi

Orientation

Identification. The Chukchee are native to the Chukchee Autonomous District (okrug) formed in 1930 in the Magadan Province (oblast) of Russia. They also live in the Lower Kolyma District of the Yakut Republic and in the north of the Koryak Autonomous District (*okrug*). According to the 1989 census, the Chukchee numbered 15,184.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Chukchee language is classified with the Chukchee-Kamchatka Family, found primarily in the extreme northeast of the former USSR. The Chukchee-Kamchatka Family also includes Koryak, Itelmen, and other languages. At first the Chukchee system of writing used the Latin alphabet, but in 1930 the first Chukchee alphabet was developed, and the following year it was institutionalized. The first primer was published in 1932 bv B. D. Bogoraz and I. S. Vdovin with the help of two Chukchee, Attuvgi and Anakymylgyn, students at the Institute of Northern Peoples in Leningrad. At present the Chukchee use the Cyrillic alphabet. The Chukchee language was taught by Chukchee who had been trained at the Anadyr Pedagogical College and at the pedagogical institutes of Magadan, Khabarovsk, and Leningrad and at Leningrad State University. The Magadan publishing house publishes political and literary works in Chukchee.

History and Cultural Relations

From the earliest times, the Chukchee were nomads and hunters of wild reindeer, whereas domesticated reindeer were used as a means of transportation through the tundra. These animals formed an indispensable part of their lives. They gave people food, warmth, and light. From reindeer hide they made clothes and footwear and covered their dwellings. Reindeer fat was used in lamps.

The first reference to the Chukchee as a rather numerous people in Northeast Asia dates to 1641–1642. By that time the Chukchee were divided into two economic-cultural groups: "deer" Chukchee, who called themselves "Chauchu" or "Chavchu" and were nomadic reindeer herders of the tundra; and the maritime "settlers," the Ankalin Chukchee, who were sedentary hunters of sea mammals. Sometimes another group of Chukchee is delineated, the "walkers" (i.e., they did not ride reindeer), who also hunted sea mammals. These groups maintained close trade relations with one another.

In the seventeenth and at the beginning of the eighteenth centuries the Chukchee gradually began to penetrate the coastal territories inhabited by the Eskimos. They changed to a sedentary way of life and began to engage in sea-animal trade and to assimilate some of the Eskimos. During this time, elements of Eskimo culture actively enriched Chuckchee culture.

The Chukchee appeared in Yakutia comparatively recently. In the middle of the nineteenth century, with the permission of the authorities, they crossed the Kolyma River and began to migrate through the broad western tundra territory between the Kolyma and Indigirka rivers. This area attracted Chukchee reindeer breeders because it was rich in reindeer moss. By the nineteenth century the Kolyma-Indigirka Chukchee were separated from their eastern relatives, although they maintained ties with them. They became close to the Yukagir and Even. Western Chukchee were typical tundra reindeer herders who spent most of their time on the open tundra.

Settlements

The Chukchee reindeer herders did not have permanent settlements. Rather, they made small nomadic camps of two to three families, usually not exceeding ten to fifteen people. In the nomadic camps there were from one to four *yarangas*, or tents, although some camps had up to ten. The large camps had from twenty to thirty people. Each camp was a self-sufficient unit. They maintained only loose, friendly relations with their neighbors, with whom they united for festivities or games. The herders who mi-

grated to the coast traded with maritime Chukchee and Eskimos, whereas the Western Chukchee traded with Russians. The yaranga of the Chukchee herders was collapsible, cylindrical, and cone-shaped and was covered with reindeer hide. Inside the tent they set up a bed made of fur, a big sack sewn from thin hides of young reindeer. The tent stretched over thin poles in the form of a large, four-cornered box without an opening for light. In such a "room" one could accommodate several people. The sleeping area was lit and heated by a fat-burning lamp.

Until the mid-nineteenth century the maritime Chukchee traditionally had a wooden, semisubterranean type of house, the *poluzemlyanka*. The replacement of such houses by the yaranga was a large step forward, significantly facilitating their lives.

Economy

Chukchee men mainly brought the herds to pasture, which meant that they constantly had to search for new pasture. They herded and protected the reindeer without the help of herder dogs, under extremely difficult conditions. They would spend days with their herds in the harshest weather, without rest, shelter, or fire, and with almost no food. The life of the women was no easier. Their duties included the daily maintenance of the tent and sleeping area, preparing food, tanning hides, and sewing clothes and footwear.

Much of the time and effort of all inhabitants of the tundra is spent extracting roots from stunted willows. This is the only source of firewood on the open tundra. Only during the darkest and coldest winter months, December and January, would the Chukchee go to "the edge of the forest," as this area provided an abundance of firewood and cover from the wind. With the appearance of the sun they migrated more frequently and grazed the herds in the open tundra. But far from all reindeer Chukchee allowed themselves the luxury of moving into the "warm" forest tundra. Part of the herd spent the winter in the tundra.

Coastal Chukchee mainly hunted sea mammals. During the winter and spring they hunted seals and *nerpas* (freshwater seals). In the summer and spring they hunted walrus and whales. During a seal hunt maritime Chukchee crept up to the seals with surprising skill, imitating their movements. Walrus and whale hunting was done collectively, usually in several canoes. The diet of the maritime Chukchee was based on sea-mammal meat, whereas the reindeer Chukchee ate venison. Fishing and the fur trade played a secondary role. The gathering of sea cabbage and wild edible roots and leaves was also widely practiced. Reindeer and draft dogs served the maritime Chukchee as a means of transportation.

In the 1940s the transition from simple production units to agricultural cooperatives gained momentum, productivity increased in herding, fishing, and the trade in furbearing and marine animals.

Clothing. Chukchee women traditionally wore a *kerker*, a fur outfit made from the hides of young reindeer. Currently, the Chukchee generally prefer to wear manufactured clothing.

Marriage and Family

In the past the Chukchee lived in large, extended families. The head of the family was the one who ensured its subsistence. Many social problems arose for the reindeer-herding Chukchee in connection with the gender-age structure. (There were fewer girls than boys.) Although it has entirely vanished today, polygamy was practiced for a long time. The traditional Chukchee wedding ceremony was rather simple. The bride, accompanied by her close relatives, traveled by reindeer to the bridegroom. At the yaranga they slaughtered a sacrificial reindeer. With the blood of this reindeer they made the family mark of the bridegroom on the bride, the bridegroom, and the relatives present. Interethnic marriages among the Chukchee, in the past as today, have not been a rarity. Those between Russian men and Chukchee women predominate. Ethnic affiliation ("nationality") is defined matrilineally by the majority of Chukchee.

A child is usually named two to three weeks after birth. According to Chukchee genealogies, Chukchee first names are extremely old. In each Chukchee settlement or nomadic camp there were a certain number of the most prevalent names. Today the Chukchee system of names follows the norms generally accepted in the Russian Federation (i.e., the family name is taken from the father, the parents give the child a first name, and the patronymic is formed from the father's first name).

Sociopolitical Organization

In the beginning of the nineteenth century the fundamental units of socioeconomic organization for the coastal Chukchee were the canoe-making cooperatives. Relatives formed the core of a cooperative. Groups of relatives lived together and formed settlements. Sometimes all members of the settlement were related, whereas at other times it consisted of several groups of relatives. For quite some time a natural exchange existed between the herding and the maritime Chukchee.

In the early 1950s reindeer and maritime Chukchee households were united in large reindeer-herding industrial kolkhozy, from which a number of sovkhozy were created in the 1960s and 1970s. The life-style and culture of the Chukchee changed. Settlements were erected with well-built houses and multistory buildings made of concrete. Chukotka became a region with a rapidly developing mining industry. A national intelligentsia was born, which included writers, doctors, teachers, scientists, livestock specialists, and others. Newspapers, a journal, and literature are published today.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs and Practices. In the past the religions of the Chukchee were shamanism (early forms) and hunting and family cults. Ancestor worship among sedentary and nomadic Chukchee had a distinctively patriarchal character. The Chukchee attributed all kinds of illnesses and other misfortunes to evil spirits, *kelet*, which tirelessly hunted human spirits and human bodies to eat.

Religious Practitioners. The basic and most important function of the shaman was healing. With the help of a

tambourine and singing, the shaman made contact with protective spirits and with the spirits of the ancestors, and at the same time he exerted an influence over the psyche of those present. The shaman participated in almost all festivals and ceremonies, in the course of which shamanistic séances were organized. Shamans skillfully imitated different animal and bird sounds, which helped them establish contact with the spirits. Playing the tambourine, chanting, reciting texts or recitatives, and dancing, the shaman brought himself to an ecstatic state. Chukchee shamans did not have special costumes. Shamans of "inverted" gender (i.e., a man who had become like a woman and vice versa) were thought to be especially powerful.

The ethnocultural contact of the Chukchee with neighboring peoples is reflected in their folklore. Many Chukchee myths are analogous to those of the Koryaks, Itelmen, Eskimos, and North American Indians (e.g., myths containing the image of a crow with chicken wings).

Medicine. Shamanistic ways of curing now belong to the remote past. From the 1930s on there was intensive building of schools and medical and cultural-educational centers. In the organization of public health care, traveling medical units, which served the nomadic and sedentary populations, played an important role. The first stationary medical institutions (hospitals and ambulatory units) were created in the cultural centers. In the past the most widespread illnesses among Chukchee were tuberculosis and consumption. The establishment of medical institutions—antituberculosis dispensaries, sanitary-epidemiological stations, hospitals, medical (including airborne) assistance units—allowed for earlier detection of illnesses, the use of the most effective methods of healing, and the development of preventive treatment. Births outside of a medical institution have now become a rare exception. Some Chukchee became doctors and nurses, receiving specialized education in medical institutes and colleges. The health of mothers and children among sedentary and maritime Chukchee populations is safeguarded by regular medical checkups. In every national village the government opened day-care centers and nursery schools, which children of herders and single mothers attended.

Arts. The work of cultural enlightenment took many forms among the Chukchee. At the beginning, films were shown and discussions were held in mobile red *yarangas* and *chyms* (tipis). Later came cultural agitation brigades, which not only functioned as mobile clubs but also served as a catalyst for the development of national culture.

The eradication of illiteracy, the introduction of universal education, the creation of a network of cultural institutions, the establishment of a local printing press, and the general growth of culture all led to a rise in the modern professional forms of art and literature among the Chukchee. The name of the Chukchee writer Yuri Rytkheu, the author of a series of novels and stories and a prominent social activist, is widely known. His work has been translated into a number of foreign languages. The poets and writers V. Keul'kut, A. Kymytval', Arachaivyn, V. Tyneskin, and V. Yatyrgin all have won recognition.

Chukchee decorative folk arts for a long time included carving and engraving on bone, artistic appliqué on fur and sealskin hides, and embroidery with reindeer hair. The center of bone-carving art became the studio, which was created in 1931, in the village of Uelen. The best works of Chukchee bone-carving masters are exhibited at international expositions.

The centuries-old life of wild-reindeer hunters was reflected in the dance with which the ancient Chukchee used to try to influence the vegetable and animal worlds and solicit the benevolence of the spirits that were embodied in animal and vegetable forms. For the maritime as well as for the sedentary Chukchee, animist representations were characteristic. The age-old powerlessness of man in the fight with the harsh elements of nature was reflected in a cult of nature and the elements.

It was entirely natural that this cult was represented in particular ritual dances. They consisted mainly of movements that imitated certain household activities. The reason for this was that these dances of the nomadic people were performed on specific holidays, celebrating the beginning or end of some important process: the mass slaughtering of reindeer in spring and fall, the winter solstice, the driving of the herd to summer pasture, the return of the herd at the end of summer, the calving of the reindeer, etc. In these festivities and corresponding ritual dances the Chukchee attempted to win over the spirits on which the well-being of the family and the prosperity of the reindeer herds presumably depended. Improvised ritual dances included "The Expulsion of Evil Spirits," "Vivrel'et" (the Trembling Knees), "Dance with Grimaces," and others.

The dances of the maritime Chukchee, like those of the reindeer herders, were linked to the major holidays of the year, which were devoted to the whale and Keretkun, the protective spirit of sea mammals. In early spring they celebrated the holiday of the canoes. Dances were also performed on the holiday of the walrus in the middle of summer. The hunting holidays of the maritime Chukchee were in many ways similar to those of the Eskimos. Pantomimic dances represented all processes involved in whale hunting and the cutting up of whale meat. The dances were performed in a sitting position. Sometimes during the whale holiday the maritime Chukchee performed comic dances wearing masks. Sometimes the men imitated the sitting dances of the women.

As the maritime Chukchee adopted a sedentary life and took up sea-animal hunting, over time they lost their original holidays and dances, which were linked with reindeer herding, and adopted some ritual ceremonies and dances from the Asian Eskimos.

Especially noteworthy are the playful dances, which are performed at various times on any occasion "for the sake of having a good time." The Chukchee dance *pich'einen*—or, as it is sometimes called, *pilgeinen* or *pich'geinen*, which in Chukchee means "wheezing throat"—is one such dance without a specific theme. The dance is performed with guttural singing and outcries from the dancers. Men and women sometimes take part in it separately.

The movements of arms, shoulders, and head play a special role in the dance. Despite the fact that they dance in heavy costume (double fur overalls and fur shoes), the Chukchee women are noted for graceful coordination and agility of neck and head. All performers stand facing the

hearth. The dance begins with slow squatting movements and simultaneous, arbitrary arm movements. The dynamic of the dance gradually increases as the squatting movements become quicker and more abrupt. The dancers move their arms from one side to the other, simultaneously lifting and lowering their shoulders, gently turning their heads in various directions, and moving their necks back and forth. The dances last as long as the performers sing. After one performance, they often begin anew. Some of their dances imitate the gait of the reindeer.

The Chukchee were noted for skillfully imitating in their dances everything that surrounded them in nature and daily life. They created a pantomimic dance called "Fight of the [reindeer] Bulls," an imitative improvised dance called "Crane," the "Dance of the Seagull," "Duck Dance," and "Crows."

The transformations in the economic and cultural life of the Chukchee in the 1930s and 1940s also had an impact on their dance. The imitative dances of the Chukchee, while preserving their plasticity, continued to develop. The first scenic dances appeared. They entailed an exact fixation of the plasticity of movements and a musical accompaniment. Mass art forms exerted a significant influence on the development of popular dance culture. In Chukchee settlements amateur performing ensembles were created. These ensembles blended traditional dances such as "Walrus Hunt," "Crow," "Crane," and others with many new ones, such as "The First Rays of the Sun," "Builders of Houses," "Workdays of the Housewife," "Sewing," and others.

In 1968 the first professional ensemble, Ergyron (Dawn), was founded. It spurred the establishment and flowering of professional singing and dancing in Chukotka. Their songs and dances reflect the work and life of maritime-animal hunters and of reindeer herders. Particularly popular are the pantomimic dances of the Chukchee: "Faithfulness of the Cranes," "Dance with Snowplows," "Chattering Women," "Men's Games," "Family Talks," "A Holiday in the Tundra," "Reindeer Breeders," and others.

During the long winter nights the Chukchee listened to storytellers. A good storyteller could tell stories for many hours without interruption by stringing various episodes together.

The tambourine was for the Chukchee not only a ritual cult object but also simply a musical instrument. Since ancient times the Chukchee played simple musical instruments made out of wood, willow, bone, whalebone, and metallic plates. Instruments that imitated various elements of nature and the sounds of certain birds and animals were especially widespread. One such instrument is the *vargan*, as it is called in Russian, or in Chukchee, *vannyiarar*, a dental tambourine. Other examples are the *telitel* (a vertical wind instrument), the *v'yutkunen* (a variation on the telitel), various whistles made of willow, and flutes.

Songs and melodies accompanied the Chukchee throughout their whole life. Every Chukchee family had its own rather simple tunes, which were passed down from generation to generation. Among families that exchanged fire, there existed identical or very similar tunes. But together with shared melodies each family had its own songs, which were composed for their own use and frequently were improvised. The Chukchee also had unique kinds of singing competitions (in wheezing, for example). The winner was the one believed to be the most tireless.

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(Translated by Catherine Wanner)

Chuvans

ETHNONYMS: Chuvantsy, Etel

Orientation

Identification. "Chuvans" is an official and popular name of the small group of creolized natives in Pacific Northeastern Siberia who are occasionally listed among the twenty-six titular Soviet Arctic and Siberian minorities (the so-called Peoples of the North). The group was formed through the mixture of a former Yukagir tribe with a similar ethnic name and a few families of other Yukagir, Even, and Koryak ethnicities, and people of Russian peasant and Cossack descent.

The sedentary creole population of the Anadyr Valley contributed its support and enthusiasm to the establishment of the new Soviet power in the early 1920s. Dozens of local Chuvans, literate and fluent in Russian, were active in the collectivization process as administrators and

functionaries at the village and district level. With the wave of economic centralization that started in the 1940s to 1950s, several smaller villages were relocated and their residents were removed to the larger settlements of Markovo, Chuvanskoe, and Lamutskoe. Markovo, with its current population of 2,200, is the main center in the inland part of the Anadyr Valley, and is expected to become a small Arctic town of standard multiapartment buildings. Most of its current residents are Russian newcomers, who quickly assimilate local creole families through intermarriage. The Chuvans in Markovo are mainly engaged in commercial fishing, small-scale gardening, and community services. Smaller villages, such as Chuvanskoe, Lamutskoe, and Slautnoe, are more native in their ethnic composition of mixed Chuvans and even Chukchee and Koryak families. Resident Chuvans are mostly reindeer breeders; their surnames resemble those of the Chukchee and the Koryak, and they speak Chukchee or Koryak fluently as their second or even main language. The separation between these two subgroups of Chuvans is accelerating as the reindeer breeders become culturally closer to their native neighbors and the Markovo residents mix with Russians and become more acculturated, although they still preserve some traces of creole culture.

Location. The majority of Chuvans currently live along the Anadyr River and its tributaries, in the villages of Markovo, Tavaivaam, Chuvanskoe, and Lamutskoe of the Chukchee Autonomous Okrug, or district (recently declared the Chukchee Republic). During the 1910s several Chuvan families moved southward from the Anadyr River to the valley of the Penzhina River, where their descendants can be found in the villages of Aianka and Slautnoe of the modern Koryak Republic (the former Koryak Autonomous Okrug). This whole area lies between 63° and 65° N and 168° and 178° E. Although geographically close to the Pacific coast, the area has an inland Siberian appearance: a hilly river plain covered with larch, willow, and poplar forests in river valleys and tundra shrubs on the hillsides and watershed uplands. The area, which is generally flat and marshy, is crossed by numerous streams connected to the main river systems of the Anadyr and Penzhina. As an ecosystem, it most closely resembles the Yukon-Kuskokwim plain of central and southwestern Alaska; the area was a portion of the same continuous ecological zone before the submersion of the Beringia Holocene land bridge. The climate of the Anadyr and Penzhina valleys is markedly continental and cold, although made slightly milder by the nearby Pacific Ocean. The average yearly temperature is about −8 to −7° C; winters can be as cold as −22° C, with heavy snowfalls and periodic tempests, but summers average +13°, with occasional highs at about 21 to 27° C. Rivers are usually frozen from October to early mid-June, but the growing season proved to be long enough to support small-scale Russian gardening introduced in the twentieth century.

Demography. The approximate size of the original mid-seventeenth-century Chuvan population was 500 to 600 people. It declined with the installation of Russian administration in the Anadyr Valley and particularly during the Russian-Chukchee wars in the early mid-eighteenth century, when the Chuvans and the other Yukagirs allied themselves to the Russians and suffered heavy losses in raids by the nearby Chukchee. When the Chuvans recovered in the Anadyr Valley in the second half of the nineteenth century, this time as a mixed creole group, their number was again about 500, of whom about 350 were sedentary fishermen and hunters and the other 150 reindeer herders. This population grew slightly, reaching 700 to 750 in the 1920s, and dropped again in later decades because of flu epidemics in the early 1940s. Their present number of 1,511 (Soviet census of 1989) is the result partly of natural increase, but mostly of the recent trend among old local Russian residents of mixed origin to register as members of a "native" group to gain the benefits of subsistence quotas and affirmative-action policies.

Linguistic Affiliation. The original language of the Chuvans, which was preserved as a single short word list recorded by a Russian expedition in the 1820s, was a branch or dialect of Kolyma Yukagir. Since the mid-1800s the Chuvans along the Anadyr River have spoken only Russian, with the exception of a few elders who still remembered isolated words in their original language in the 1890s. The Russian spoken by the Anadyr Chuvans was, however, a peculiar local creole dialect, with many local words, native and Russian archaic forms, and highly distinctive phonetics. This dialect is still preserved in the area by a few local families and folklore groups. The reindeer Chuvans used to speak mostly the Chukchee or Koryak of their respective nomadic neighbors. Their younger generation is currently shifting to standard Russian, as are most native peoples of the Anadyr River Basin.

History and Cultural Relations

The Chuvans of the mid-seventeenth century lived in the remote and mountainous area north of the Anadyr Valley, as reindeer hunters and fishermen or as small-scale reindeer pastoralists. The Russians, who arrived in the 1640s and 1650s, imposed a general annual fur tax (*iasak*) on each able-bodied man between 15 and 50 years of age. Tax registration and annual payments were made at an Anadyr fortress built and equipped by a Russian military garrison. With the beginning of the Chukchee expansion and the Russian-Chukchee hostilities in the 1700s, the Chuvans moved closer to the fortress and to the Anadyr Valley, losing most of their domestic reindeer and becoming gradually mixed with the remnants of other Yukagir bands already subdued by the Russians. Northern groups of Chuvans left in their home area were assimilated by the Chukchee during the eighteenth century. Both their original Chukchee names (Chavan, Chaun) and the Yukagir label "Sholilayi" (the Russian form of "Shelagi") are still found in some modern place-names (e.g., Chuan Bay, Chaun River, and Cape Shelagski on the East Siberian Sea shore). The Anadyr Chuvans were totally destroyed by the Chukchee by the 1770s. After the abandonment of the Anadyr fortress they fled to the Russian settlements along the Kolyma and Penzhina rivers. Some of their descendants returned to the Anadyr Valley between 1820 and 1850, already a creole population mixed with Russians, Tungus, and Koryaks, who spoke Russian, bore Russian family and first names, and were converted to Orthodox Christianity. They settled around the abandoned fortress and along the

nearby rivers to create a mixed community with a few Russian families of peasant and Cossack origin. This creole community received new names, "Anadyrtsy" or "Markovtsy" (after their main village of Markovo), under which they were recorded in pre-1917 sources. A small group of Chuvans in the late nineteenth century turned to reindeer pastoralism and came to resemble the reindeer Chukchee and Koryak.

Settlements

The settlement system of the sedentary Chuvan (and of the whole group of Anadyr River creoles) was centered around the main village of Markovo with its 300 to 350 residents, local school, Orthodox church, etc. It included five to seven other, smaller hamlets of three to five families (fifteen to forty people) each and a network of summer fishing and hunting camps (Russian: *letniki*) occupied for a few months a year. When the Anadyr River and its tributaries became ice-free in mid-June, the residents of Markovo abandoned their main village for dozens of camps that were bases for salmon fishing and reindeer hunting. They returned to their village log houses in September. Reindeer Chuvans lived in nomadic camps of some two to four families, each settled in a movable skin tent, like the nomadic Chukchee and Koryak.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. Indigenous Chuvans of the seventeenth century were mainly mobile caribou hunters and fishermen, but they also had small stocks of domestic reindeer for transportation. Their creole descendants of the nineteenth century had a mixed economy based on salmon fishing, caribou and other land-game hunting, dog breeding, commercial fur trapping, and trading. Net fishing for king salmon was practiced during the summer runs in July and August; the annual catch was about 2,000 to 3,000 salmon per family in the 1880–1890s. Wild reindeer (caribou) killed with rifles and/or with lances from boats at river crossings during annual spring and fall migrations was the staple game resource. The reindeer runs in the Anadyr Valley terminated by the 1900s, owing to overexploitation and natural population cycles, making local residents even more dependent on fishing. In summer Chuvans hunted for birds (mainly for moulting geese) and collected and stored plants and berries. Black bears, wolves, red and Arctic foxes, wolverines, Arctic hare, ermines, and marten were the main fur animals pursued both for subsistence and commerce. Bears and wolves were hunted with rifles, foxes and wolverines were trapped with wooden traps of Russian-Siberian style (Russian: *past'*, *kleptsa*, *kulyoma*), and hare and ermines were caught with snares. Reindeer Chuvans lived mostly by pasturing their herds and slaughtering domestic reindeer; the meat and skins were both for their consumption and for trade with sedentary neighbors.

Industrial Arts. Sedentary Chuvans and other Russian creoles were skilled in blacksmithing; building dog sledges; making wooden canoes and utensils, birch-bark containers, and decorated boxes; and processing reindeer skins.

Trade. Before the 1870s the Anadyr River valley was one of the major crossroads in the Russian-native trade network in northeastern Siberia, as local nomads and hunters moved there annually in search of manufactured Russian goods. Chuvans and other creoles were then very active as middlemen in the exchange of Russian tobacco, tea, flour, metal objects, and ammunition for furs, reindeer and sea-mammal skins, and walrus tusks brought by the natives. When American whalers and traders established themselves in the Bering Strait area, this pattern of local trade was disrupted and the amount of goods exchanged decreased by one-half. Creoles became mobile traders, traveling in dogsleds during the winter and exchanging products of their domestic industries, like homemade metal and wooden objects, for furs. This pattern survived until the 1920s and 1930s, when Markovo residents became active participants in the Chukotkan exchange of Arctic fox furs for American and Soviet manufactured goods, food supplies, and ammunition.

Division of Labor. Hunting, fur trapping, and fishing traditionally were the predominantly male occupations, whereas women were active in sewing, reindeer-skin processing, and housekeeping. During the summer salmon and caribou runs, family members usually worked together in close cooperation, although men were more involved in butchering reindeer carcasses and women were preoccupied with skinning and preserving fish. Plant gathering was done mainly by women.

Land Tenure. Each creole family possessed preferential rights to its traditional summer letnik, which it usually occupied for years and sometimes even decades. Although the idea of individual ownership of hunting and fishing grounds was never fully developed, cabins, rafters, and fish- and caribou-meat dryers were used as personal markers of site ownership to prevent use by unauthorized intruders.

Kinship

The creole Chuvans' kinship system has never been fully described. Most of its unique features reflect the mix of the dominant Russian Orthodox tradition and the original Yukagir one. Kinship terminology, as revealed through isolated references, was generally of the Russian style, with strict terminological separation of consanguineal and affinal lines. Descent was usually patrilineal. As Chuvans received Russian-style family names (such as D'iachkov, Kobelev, Petushkov, Shitikov, Sobol'kov, etc.) through Orthodox conversion, children born of parents who were duly wed were registered under their fathers' names and tax-tribute statuses. Those born out of wedlock or in widowhood bore the names of their mothers (that is, the name of the mother's father). Major kin groups were formed by extended families, easily incorporating relatives from both sides and in-laws, because of the indigenous Yukagir tradition of matrilocal residence and of specific obligations of the son-in-law toward his wife's relatives.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Although the Russian (Orthodox) pattern of marriage and family was generally the dominant pattern and normally both men and women tended to marry in

their early twenties, a significant portion of the community members avoided fixed marriage ties. Illegitimate births were rather common (10 to 30 percent), and unwed women and widows bore numerous offspring, fully approved by their extended families. Whole genealogical lines were recognized by their incidental biological progenitors or even under their matronymic names formed on the first name of the older matriarchs. No marriage restrictions are recorded, other than the standard Orthodox regulations (which were generally not respected in temporary affairs and unions). When planned, marriage was arranged through family envoys (Russian: *svaty*). The wedding ceremony followed the Russian Orthodox ritual, augmented by wide collecting and exchange of gifts, ceremonial shooting, and the special role of the bride's younger brother or of any adolescent male relative as a symbolic middleman in the bride's transfer to the groom through marriage.

Domestic Unit. According to records of the late 1800s, a household or a residential family had an average of 7 to 7.5 members and consisted of two or, more often, three generations. Both Russian and traditional Yukagir residence patterns, the former patrilocal, the latter matrilocal or at least bilocal, incorporated in-laws and distant consanguineal relatives from both sides as approved coresidents.

Inheritance. Patterns of inheritance were never specifically recorded. As among other Siberian creole groups, they were mainly patrilineal, particularly regarding hunting and fishing implements, hunting rights, camp sites, etc. Because of the lack of fixed patrilineal kin groups (except for tribute payment), mixed or even matrilineal inheritance was possible in the absence of close male relatives.

Socialization. Nuclear and extended families and the village community as a whole were the main channels for socialization and group identity. Although several authors reported tensions, sexual looseness, and low manners of the Russian creole communities, family relations were generally cordial and cooperative. Traces of traditional Yukagir patterns of intrafamily avoidance survived into the late nineteenth century, particularly between in-laws (father/daughter, father/son, brother/sister, etc.), between married brothers, and between parents and their married sons.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Social organization in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was based on the bilateral kin groups. The nucleus of a local band, usually of some fifty to sixty members, consisted of patrilineally related men, although in-law male relatives with their families and some sort of "subordinates" were widely listed in early Russian reports. Modern Russian authors present the Chuvans as a "tribe" of some twelve to fourteen "clans," but the real nature of in-group social relations is still unclear, given bilateral filiation, frequent matrilocal residence, and adoption of in-laws and outsiders. In administering the collection of iasak (tribute), the Russians retained the former band division and labeled each band a separate "tribute clan" under the name of its leader. Through the decades of clashes, famines, and administrative pressure, these original tribute groups have decreased in number and lost their inner clan bonds. In several cases, fragments of these tribute clans were later rearranged by the authorities into purely "administrative clans"; the only remaining obligation common to the entire group was to pay regular fur tribute.

Political Organization. Political organization of the creole Chuvans in the second half of the nineteenth century reflected these artificial social divisions. People of patrilineal Russian descent were registered as "peasants" or "petit bourgeoisie" (*meschane*) to pay respective taxes, whereas the descendants of native genealogical lines continued to pay iasak, according to former administrative-clan filiation. By the 1890s the highly mixed creole population of the Anadyr Valley was reorganized into five status "communities" (two Russian and three native, the largest one called Chuvanski), each with its elected "community elder." This affiliation was used in the 1920s to 1930s as the base for a new Soviet ethnic labeling, which again separated local mixed "Russians" from the so-called natives, including Chuvans. For a short time the latter gained the protected status of an Arctic minority group and a new official ethnic label, "Etel" (which was their standard name in Koryak and Chukchee). Both new privileges were canceled in the late 1930s, because of the creole image of the Chuvans, their lack of a native language that could be used in Soviet schools, and administrative policies. The Chuvans were then excluded from the list of twenty-six Soviet Arctic minorities and were not registered as a distinct ethnic group in the Soviet censuses of 1959, 1970, and 1979. Their minority and ethnic status was restored in the 1980s.

Social Control. Public opinion, intervention by elders, and appeals to traditional practices were the most efficient mechanisms of conflict resolution before the establishment of a permanent Russian administration in the Anadyr Valley in the late 1890s. Since that time the district supervisor and local police officer have been in charge of keeping order among the sedentary creole population, which was always obedient and loyal to the district officials.

Conflict. Since the early nineteenth century, with the end of Russian-Chukchee hostilities, no clashes have been recorded in the Anadyr Valley between the Chuvans and any of their neighbors. Local conflicts over hunting regulations, land, and inheritance claims were solved mainly through village community meetings, which followed the pattern of self-government of Russian peasant communities. In cases of confrontations over land and game rights with outsiders, the usual pattern was to submit appeals to district and province administrators, who sided mostly with the native residents.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. The sedentary Chuvans of the Anadyr Valley were devout Orthodox Christians and followed religious practices similar to Siberian Russian peasants and other Russian-speaking creole groups. The village of Markovo, the largest in the area, was a center of Orthodox activity. The main practitioner, the local priest, held regular services there and kept parish duties and records.

Arts. Sedentary Chuvans, like other Russian and creole residents in general, were skilled in several crafts, such as the making of decorated skin clothing, embroidered bark

and and wooden boxes, and bead jewelery. They were and are famous for their unique folklore, which preserved archaic Russian songs, tales, legends, and epic stories. A modern amateur choir and dancing group of the Markovo village, established in 1955, still performs some Russian songs of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries at local and district festivals.

Medicine. Healing practices of the sedentary Chuvans developed as an amalgamation of the Siberian Russian and several local folk traditions. Folk practitioners were mostly older women; they used Russian treatments based on different "plant teas" (water boiled with local plants, tree bark, and leaves) combined with the use of animal fats and sea-mammal oil. On recovery after serious illness, the Chuvans usually changed their names, as did the Chukchee and the Siberian Eskimos.

Death and Afterlife. The same mixture of Russian peasant and local native traits was typical of burial practices (which mainly followed the Orthodox rite) and beliefs in an afterlife. Chuvans have adopted the Chukchee and Eskimo idea of reincarnation by way of newborn babies within the same family. Ascertaining the name of the "returned" (reincarnated) person was seen as essential to the newborn's survival. Any illness or early death was therefore attributed to the wrong guess.

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IGOR I. KRUPNIK

Chuvash

ETHNONYM: Chavash (self-designation)

Orientation

Identification. The Chuvash live in Russia, primarily in the Chuvash Republic but also in Tatarstan and Bashkirstan and in the Ulianov, Kuibyyshev, and Saratov areas, where they migrated in the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries. Some have also lived in Siberia and Central Asia since the nineteenth century. In the name "Chuvash," the first vowel is pronounced like the English *u* in "but." Its etymology is unknown. All attempts to link it to the tribal names "Suvaz," "Suvar," and "Sabir," mentioned by Arabic travelers in the tenth century, are phonetic dead ends.

Location. Chuvashia is bounded on the north by the Cheremis Republic, on the east by the Tatar Republic, on the south by Ulianov County, and on the west by the Mordvinian Republic and Gorki County. It is located at approximately 54°30′ to 56°30′ N and 46° to 48°40′ E. The capital is Cheboksary. Geographically, Chuvashia is a lowland valley of the Volga, Sura, and Civil rivers. Ninety percent of it is less than 200 meters above sea level, 10 percent is between 200 and about 400 meters, and 30.5 percent of the territory is wooded. In 1987, 50 percent of the forests consisted of pine, 40 percent were oak, and the remainder were birch and poplar. The climate is moderately continental. The mean temperature in January is −12.6° C; in July it is 19° C. With a growing season lasting 180 days, the region receives an average annual precipitation of 46 to 51 centimeters.

Demography. The population of the Chuvash then Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (ASSR) in 1987 was 1,330,000. The capital of the Chuvash Republic had, at that time, 414,000 inhabitants (up from 104,000 in 1959 and 216,000 in 1970). Since 1970 about seventy-nine ethnic groups have lived in Chuvashia. In 1979, 68.4 percent of inhabitants described themselves as ethnically Chuvash, 26 percent as Russian, 2.9 percent as Tatar, 1.6 percent as Mordvinian, and 1.1 percent as members of other groups. In the other territories of the USSR, 844,000 individuals identified themselves as ethnically Chuvash in 1970. Population density in Chuvashia in 1979 was 72 persons per square kilometer.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Chuvash people living in villages speak Chuvash, the only living language of the Bulgaro-Turkic Branch of the Turkic Group of the Altaic Family. Eighty-two percent of the Chuvash speak Chuvash as their mother tongue. The closest language is Volga-Bulgarian, which was extinct before the close of the fifteenth century. All Common Turkic languages are distant relatives of Chuvash. The majority of Chuvash people living in towns are bilingual in Chuvash and Russian; the younger generations prefer Russian. The Chuvash now use a modified variant of the Cyrillic alphabet created by I. Ya. Yakovlev in 1872. Its characteristic feature is the phonematic transcription of sounds. Chuvash texts written in Cyrillic without modifications existed 130 years before Yakovlev; the Arabic alphabet was used by Chuvash elders in the fourteenth century. Modern Chuvash has two dialects: the Virval in the north and the Anatri in the south of the republic, with Anatri the basis of the literary language. Chuvash has loanwords from ancient Samoyed, Persian, Arabic, Old and Modern Russian, Middle Mongolian, Volga Kipchak, Permian, and Volga Finnish.

History and Cultural Relations

The reconstruction of the early history of the Chuvash is incomplete. Because the "Chuvash" ethnonym does not appear in Russian historical sources until the sixteenth

century, the relation of the Chuvash to the other Bulgaro-Turkic tribes is difficult to determine. The following is known about the Bulgaro-Turks.

The ancient Turkic Language Family split into Common Turkic and Bulgaro-Turkic at the beginning of our era. Bulgaro-Turkic tribes moved westward from their Inner Asian home. Byzantine sources from A.D. 465 mention the Ogur, Onogur, Saragur, Utigur, and Kutrigur tribes, and from 481 on the "Bolgar" ethnonym appears. In the fifth and sixth centuries these tribes settled on the lowland between the Dnieper and Don rivers. In 630 a group of these people moved to the lower Danube under the guidance of Asparuch. Between 670 and 680 the majority of the people were under the control of the Kazars, who founded their state on the Caspian Sea. According to recent studies, Kazars also spoke a Bulgaro-Turkic dialect. At the end of the ninth century some Bulgar tribes migrated north to the Volga, Kama, and Viatka rivers and founded the Volga Bulgar Empire. This state, named Magna Bulgaria (Great Bulgaria), existed for two and one-half centuries and was prosperous, according to Arabic sources. Its capital, Bolgari, was a major cultural and commercial center. In 1230 Mongols invaded Magna Bulgaria, gaining control in 1241. According to Volga-Bulgarian inscriptions, two groups remained from their population until the fifteenth century. Both of them spoke Bulgaro-Turkic dialects but they were not direct ancestors of the Chuvash. An inscription dated 1307 is unquestionably in the Chuvash language and can be regarded as the first written evidence of the Chuvash dialect differentiated from other Bulgaro-Turkic dialects.

In the fifteenth century the Golden Horde disintegrated. The Kazan Khanate was organized, and the Volga Bulgar population, who spoke two non-Chuvash dialects, was absorbed into the Kipchak population. The Chuvash population preserved its language but was much influenced by the Kipchaks.

In 1551 the Chuvash people joined forces with the Russians and helped them besiege Kazan. From 1552—the taking of Kazan—the Chuvash have lived in the Kazan Province of the Russian Empire. After initial prosperity, living conditions deteriorated as Russian and Chuvash feudal oppression increased, and the burden of the agricultural population was increased by the tax paid to the Russian Orthodox church. The Chuvash participated in numerous peasant uprisings led by Stepan Razin (1670–1671) and Yemelian Pugachov (1773–1775). The life of the serfs of the Volga region in the eighteenth century was especially difficult, as landowners sent non-Russian villagers to the Russian imperial public works projects as unpaid workers. Thousands of Chuvash were impressed into the shipyards at Azov, Voronezh, and Olonec. Many worked in construction, in St. Petersburg to transform it into the imperial capital and in Kazan to erect an admiralty. In different parts of the country, Chuvash peasants had to work building fortresses, and later they were forced to haul barges transporting salt from Perm to Nizhni Novgorod. At this time, entire Chuvash villages migrated to more distant territories hoping to avoid forced labor. In the nineteenth century capitalism developed in Chuvashia, and in the 1890s, 10 percent of the peasantry were kulaks, 55 percent middle class, and 2 percent poor. The kulaks opened factories; by 1913 more than 400 factories were in operation in Chuvashia. After the 1917 Revolution, local soviets formed in Chuvashia. In 1920 the Chuvash Autonomous Region was established, and in 1925 it became the Chuvash Autonomous Republic. In the post-Soviet era, it is the Chuvash Republic.

Settlements

The Chuvash traditionally lived in small villages. In village communities, farms consisted of *kilkarti* and *ankarti.* Kilkarti were quadrangles with a living house, summer house, Russian-type bathhouse, granary, toolhouse, barn for dry feed for animals, stable, cow house, and fowl house. All buildings were of wood. Behind the animal houses was the kitchen garden, and at its far end began the ankarti, the plowed field of the family. The last forty years saw a major shift of the population to urban centers. In the Chuvash Republic there are nine towns and eight cities. Today, more than one-fourth of the republic's inhabitants live in cities.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. After the formation of the Chuvash ASSR, small factories were put under government management and the peasant properties collectivized. The development of heavy industry on a large scale began in the Middle Volga region in 1941. There are no mineral resources in the Chuvash Republic, but there are important deposits of lime, shale, and peat. On the poor-quality fields, large-scale animal husbandry developed; where the soil was fertile, mechanized agriculture was practiced. The most important agricultural products are wheat, rye, potatoes, hemp, hops, dairy products, poultry, beef, and pork. Industrial investment attracted workers from elsewhere in the the former USSR.

Industrial Arts. For the workers in the republic, employment opportunities are provided by industrial facilities producing hydroelectric and thermal energy, electric surveying instruments, industrial tractors, metalworking machine tools, cement, chemicals, wood products, textiles, tricot goods, and clothing.

Trade. The majority of the products of agriculture and industry were bought by the Soviet state and sold in state stores. Market conditions existed only for the recently developed producers' cooperatives.

Division of Labor. Today, Chuvash men and women both take part in work at home and outside the home.

Land Tenure. Under the Soviet system, land was public property of the members of kolkhozy and sovkhozy, but every family had a household as part of it.

Kinship, Marriage, and Family

Neither tradition nor early written records corroborate the existence of extended Chuvash families. Although monogamy is traditional, sororal polygyny has occurred in rare cases. Brides were selected by the groom's parents, who paid the purchase price as the redemption of the dowry. Bride-theft was a common practice. There was no ethnic endogamy among the Chuvash. Today the basic family unit is the nuclear family (*semye*), in which the parents

(mother, *anne*; father, *atte*) and the children (daughter, *xer*, son *ival*) live together. The other members of the consanguinal family are the elder brother (*picce*), younger brother (*sallam*), elder sister (*appa*), younger sister (*yamak*), the grandmother (*asanne*), the grandfather (*asatte*)—their names are not different on the mother's side and the father's side—the uncle (*muci, tete*), and the aunt (*manakka, inke*). Affinal relatives are the father-in-law (*xun', xun'asa, pavata*), mother-in-law (*xun'ama, pavana*), son-in-law (*y'isna*), daughter-in-law (*kin*), sister-in-law (*xer pultar, appa, xun'aka*), and brother-in-law (*pultar, payaxam, eskev*). Traditional marriage practices have disappeared; only those related to fertility have survived into the twentieth century, but these were ended by the Orthodox church and replaced by Soviet ceremonies. Divorce traditionally did not occur, but it has been allowed since the beginning of the Soviet period.

Sociopolitical Organization

The constitution of the Chuvash ASSR was passed in 1937. Under the Soviet system, the general organ of the state power was the unicameral parliament (Supreme Council of the Chuvash ASSR) under the control of the Communist party. Each deputy represented 8,000 inhabitants. Eleven deputies represented the Chuvash Republic on the Council of the USSR. Social control was exercised by the trade unions, which depended on the ruling party.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs and Practices. An inscription dated from 1307 shows that some Chuvash were converted to Islam, and religious terms occur in Chuvash in the form of Tatar loanwords; sources do not, however, specify Muslim religious practice among the Chuvash. Russian sources of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries mention the Chuvash as "people of different belief" (*inorodci*), a term known to denote worshipers of images and spirits. The Russian Orthodox church tried to Christianize the Chuvash by force in the seventeenth century without success. In the eighteenth century it changed tactics; the Bible was translated into Chuvash and preachers began to use the Chuvash language. The Chuvash nominally accepted the Christian faith and traditional names were changed into Russian names, but traditions of Orthodox worship did not take hold. According to reports of travelers in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Chuvash peasants offered sacrifices in places deemed holy by them, believed in home spirits, and practiced idolatry. Nowadays, the traditional beliefs are disappearing and atheism is gaining ground.

Arts. In Chuvashia folk art developed from home industries. Its best-known branch is the carving of objects (drinking cups, jugs, mugs, spoons, dippers, etc.) from a single piece of wood. Important features of Chuvash culture include different forms of folklore (songs, tales, and legends), hand-embroidered articles of clothing, and goldsmiths' works. Folk ornaments also appear on modern personal belongings. In the fine arts of the Soviet era, a Socialist-Realist style prevailed.

Medicine. Medical care is now general, free, and provided by health institutions of the state. Until the beginning of the twentieth century, folk medicine was important. There was a male or female healer (*yumsa*) in each village who "healed" either with medicinal plants, witchcraft, or psychomancy.

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KLÁRA AGYÁGASI

Circassians

ETHNONYMS: Adyghe, Cherkess (Tscherkess), Dzhigets, Kabardians, Ubykhs (Oubykhs)

Orientation

Identification. The Circassians and their close kin, the Ubykhs, all call themselves "Adyghe" (three syllables). They originally inhabited an area of the northwestern Caucasus, though after the Russian conquest of 1864 fully half of them emigrated to the Ottoman Empire. Today they live not only in their original homeland but also in scattered groups in Turkey, Syria, Jordan, Israel, and Yugoslavia, with small communities in Europe and North America (New

Jersey, New York, and California). Within the Soviet Union they are found, going from west to east, in and around the Adyghe Republic (also known as Adyghea), the Karachay-Cherkess Republic, and the Kabardino-Balkar Republic, all three being federated with the Russian Republic. In Adyghea they share their territory with Ukrainians; in the Karachay-Cherkess Republic with Ukrainians, Turkic Karachays, and Northwest Caucasian Abazas; and in the Kabardino-Balkar Republic with Great Russians and Turkic Balkars. Racially they are comprised of varied European types. In certain tribes many people have blue eyes and blond or red hair, whereas others have dark hair with light complexions. Some groups show a propensity toward long, aquiline faces and dolichocephalic heads, whereas others tend toward round faces and brachycephaly. Many have almond-shaped eyes and fine features. Epicanthic folds are common. Their physical variety attests to their long and varied history.

Location. Originally their homeland extended from the Black Sea coast at the mouth of the Sea of Azov (Taman Peninsula), down along the coast to the Psu River, thence over the Caucasian massif and southeastward along its eastern slopes down into the basins of the Baksan, Malka, and Kuma rivers, then into the so-called Kabardinian plain to a point north of the Terek River, thence northwestward to the course of the Kuban, and along the south bank of the Kuban back to the Taman Peninsula. This original homeland was bounded on the west by the Black Sea; on the northwest by the Crimea; on the north by the Ukraine; on the east by the territory of the Chechens and Daghestanis; to the south by the upland territories of the Ossetes, the Georgian mountaineers, and the Svans; and to the southwest by the land of the Abkhazians. In terms of latitude and longitude their homeland is roughly demarcated: 45°30′ N, 38°09′ E at its northwestern extremity; 45° N, 44°45′ E at its northeastern extremity; 43° N, 41°05′ E at its southeastern extremity; and 43°30′ N, 39° E at its southwestern extremity. On the coastal plains of the Black Sea (to the west of Adyghea) the climate is warm and humid, growing cooler as the Caucasian foothills are crossed. In the three administrative units the climate is cooler in the highlands and moderate in the rolling hills and plains of the lowlands, where more than half the year is frost-free. Rainfall is moderate. Vegetation ranges from steppe meadows in the plains, to beech and oak forests in the foothills, to evergreen forests and alpine meadows in the mountains. There are many rivers and streams throughout the region, many of which run through heavily forested gorges.

Demography. The vast majority of Circassians live outside the Soviet Union, where their exact numbers are impossible to determine. The following estimates have been made: Turkey, 150,000–1,000,000; Jordan, 20,000–100,000; Israel, 15,000; and New Jersey, United States, 18,000. Within the Soviet Union there are 46,000 Cherkess, 322,000 Kabardians, and 109,000 Adyghes, but the latter figure does not count many Circassians living to the west of the Adyghe Republic. The Karachay-Cherkess Republic is overwhelmingly Ukrainian, with the Circassians accounting for only 9 percent of the population; the Kabardino-Balkar Republic has many Great Russians, with the Circassians accounting for roughly 50 percent of the population, the Adyghe Republic has no more than 25 percent native Circassians within its boundaries, but the population is perhaps greater than 50 percent Circassian in the region surrounding it. In all three regions the Circassians form a rural village population, with the cities being predominantly Slavic.

Linguistic Affiliation. Circassian and Ubykh form two branches of the Northwest Caucasian Language Family, the third being the Abaza-Abkhaz Branch. Ubykh (nearly extinct) formed a transitional language between Circassian and Abaza-Abkhaz. Circassian itself is divided into a conservative Western or Kyakh language, often called Adyghean, and an Eastern one, Kabardian. Besleney, centered in the Karachay-Balkar Republic, is a dialect transitional between the two. Besleney has strongly influenced Abaza, the Abkhaz language spoken in and around the republic. The languages of this family are remarkable for their complexity—for example, the verb can inflect for all persons in a sentence, and most of the vocabulary is formed from more basic roots by extensive processes of compounding—and for their radical departure from the grammatical patterns that characterize the dominating Turkic and Indo-European languages of this region.

The nobility used a "hunting language" derived from standard Circassian by wordplay and distortions. I was once told by an old Ossete (Alexander Zuraetae) that the upper-class Circassian women shared in a northern Caucasian women's language, which was monosyllabic with distinctive pitch. Professor Tamerlan Guri of the North Ossetic Research Institute has suggested that a special jargon or language for small girls was current among some Circassians, as it was among Ossetes. The hunting language died out in the nineteenth century; the women's (or girls') language survived into the twentieth.

Some attempts were made to formulate a Circassian written language in the nineteenth century, using the Arabic script. In the 1920s two literary languages emerged, Adyghean based on the Chemgwi (Kemirgoy; Russian: Temirgoy) dialect of western Circassians and Kabardian based on the Baksan dialect. The first alphabets were based on the Arabic script, then the Latin was adopted, and finally in the late 1930s the Cyrillic was used. Currently efforts are under way to devise a new Latin-based script.

Folklorists both within and without the Soviet Union have recorded extensive texts in all the Circassian dialects and in Ubykh. In the Middle East, only Israel allows publication of material in Circassian.

History and Cultural Relations

At a remote period (3000 B.C.) the Circassian homeland was the site of the Bronze Age Kurgan culture, now identified with the Proto-Indo-Europeans. It is possible that the ancestors of the Circassians may themselves have taken part in this Kurgan culture, for very remote linguistic links between the Proto-Indo-European and Northwest Caucasian languages can be posited. In any event, the Circassians have been in or near their homeland for millennia and have had contacts with the myriad peoples who have passed across the steppes to their north: the Proto-Indo-

Europeans; the Kimmerians (from whom the Circassian tribe of the Chemgwi, earlier Kemirgoy,) are descended; the Scythians, Sarmatians, and Alans; the Goths; the Huns; the Khazars; the Turkic peoples; the Mongols; and lastly the Cossacks, Ukrainians, and Russians. During these millennia the Circassians knew almost constant warfare with these steppe neighbors. More peaceful contacts prevailed between the Circassians and the ancient Greeks in the trading cities along the Black Sea coast, later between them and the Genoese, and then with Venetian traders. Between A.D. 1379 and 1516 Circassians formed a Mameluke dynasty that ruled over Egypt. There is some evidence linking these Mamelukes with the fourteenth-century expansion of the Kabardians eastward of the Caucasian massif. Despite the lack of a centralized government the Kabardians formed a homogeneous political unit resembling a state, whereas the other Circassians remained organized around tribal and clan patterns. During their history the Circassians seem to have been conquered only three times: first by the Kök Turks, the first Turkic empire; second by the Mongols; and last by the Russians. When in the sixteenth century one of the Kabardian noble families, Kemirgoquo (Russian: Temryuk), established close ties with the Russian court (the origin of the Cherkasski family), the Circassians did not see this alliance as an act of submission. Nevertheless, when czarist imperial ambitions brought Russian troops to the Caucasus in force in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Kabardians did not offer prolonged resistance, whereas their kin to the west fought on—at first with Ottoman support and then independently—until 1864, five years after the fierce Daghestanis and Chechens had surrendered. An account of this Circassian resistance has been written by Henze (1990), though many details remain to be documented. After defeat, fully half of the Circassians—including many Kabardians and all the Ubykhs, as well as all the "Fighetts," a tribe of uncertain affiliation—sought refuge in the Ottoman Empire. There they were scattered to the farthest, least desirable regions, where many died of hunger and disease. This emigration was a crucial error, for in the Ottoman Empire and its successor states they have known as much repression as their compatriots who stayed behind. Recently (1991) the old Soviet administrative units—the Adyghe Autonomous Oblast, the Karachay-Cherkess Autonomous Oblast, and the Kabardino-Balkar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic—were elevated in status to three republics and were allowed to fly the old common Circassian flag, the Sangyak Sherif, with three crossed arrows and above them two arcs of stars (nine above and three below, one for each tribe), all on a deep green background. Cultural affairs for all three republics are governed by one common Circassian cultural council, or *khasa*. A program for the repatriation of diaspora Circassians has been instituted, and some few have in fact returned to grants of land and other incentives. All these changes have survived the dissolution of the USSR itself. The avowed goal of the Circassians is an ethnically and linguistically pluralistic society in which Circassian cultural institutions can once again enjoy a territorial basis. The future of the region promises to be interesting.

The Circassians in the Soviet Union underwent forced resettlement onto kolkhozy and into new villages in the lowlands. Traditional housing styles were replaced with standard Soviet rural brick homes with small plots around them. Some Circassians have moved to the new local cities and have established themselves in modern urban life. The Circassians in Turkey are still largely peasants, with a few that have taken up military careers. The Ubykhs still persist as a distinct type of Adyghe, but their language is now spoken only by one man and one woman. In Jordan, the Circassians are concentrated in and around Amman, where they own a great deal of property and have been entrusted with the state electrical and power monopoly. They enjoy Circassian radio and television but are not allowed to publish in their language. In Syria the Circassians were concentrated in five villages in the Golan Heights. After the 1967 Arab-Israeli War these Circassians withdrew into Syria, specifically to slum districts of Damascus. Finding their settlements unacceptable, they petitioned the United States in the mid-seventies to be granted asylum. The United States initiated a program with the aid of the Tolstoy Foundation of New York City to enable many of these Circassians to immigrate into America, where they settled in New Jersey and New York City. In Israel, the two villages of Circassians appear to enjoy relative freedom and have a tradition of serving Israel as an elite border patrol. In the United States, the Circassian communities are largely urban. Here there is considerable tension and debate between those few who came directly from the Caucasus and the vast majority who have come from the Middle East as to the purity of their traditions and the best way to salvage their heritage, for there is considerable anxiety that they are destined for extinction as a people. Some harbor dreams of a repatriation of all Circassians to the Caucasus, and there is a movement, based in Holland, dedicated to achieving that end by peaceful means. It might be mentioned that the only Ubykhs outside of Turkey reside in southern California.

Settlements

The traditional Circassian *wuna* was a long rectangular house with a porch extending along its front. It was made of wattle coated with mud, with a thatch roof. The kitchen and eating area had a conical flue over the hearth. There were several rooms, including at least one for the women. The house itself had a vegetable garden behind it and several satellite houses for sons and their families, as well as outbuildings for livestock and food storage. This complex was enclosed in a stockade. Close to this perimeter was a guest house for visitors. The main house would have a large tree planted before its door to symbolize the growth and strength of the family. The whole complex would be near a forest where the family could take shelter in the event of a raid. These units would be spaced fairly far apart along the course of a river, generally in the higher country, though trading posts were in the lowlands. Thus, the traditional Circassian village was much like a necklace, with a river for its chain. Today, in the lowland villages to which they have been moved in the Soviet Union, standardized small brick country homes with surrounding garden plots have replaced traditional patterns. In their immigrant villages in the Middle East, Circassians still build wunas and live in extended family compounds, but the other tradi-

tional features have vanished. In the Soviet Union, they live in cities. In Adyghea there is Maikop, with nearby Armavir and Krasnodar lying outside its boundary. In the Karachay-Cherkess Republic there is Cherkassk and nearby Stavropol. In the Kabardino-Balkar Republic there is Nalchik and nearby Mozdok. These centers do have Circassian institutes and schools, and some Circassians have moved there to be near their work in the city industries, but there are no official statistics regarding how many Circassians have done so. In Maikop, for example, it seems that of a population of 105,000, roughly 20 percent is Circassian.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. The Circassians traditionally practiced agriculture and animal husbandry. They grew a variety of grains (millet, maize, wheat, rye), fruit, vegetables, and nuts. They raised chickens, cows, sheep, goats, pigs, and especially horses. Many families were known for their horse breeds, and skill in horsemanship was highly valued. They also practiced apiculture, producing honey and mead. In the highlands, hunting also supplemented the food supplies. The traditional diet consisted of bread, pilaflike dishes, milk and cheeses, thick gruels made of various grains, vegetable and fruit dishes, and the occasional meat dish in a spicy nut sauce.

Industrial Arts. Home industries—metalworking, the creation of leather goods, and the production of cloth and clothing—were also pursued. As a group Circassians show considerable dexterity and geometric sense, and some immigrants are surgeons or precision machinists.

Trade. The two tribes of the Black Sea coast, the Natukhay and Shapsegh, appear to have engaged in trade. It is not clear whether this was also the case with the Ubykhs, who also lived along the coast. In this honor-oriented culture, money and material possessions were and still are treated with disdain, and trade was not as extensive as raiding.

Division of Labor. Men tended to metal-and leather-working and even some sewing. Women tended to household chores, the vegetable garden, spinning, and weaving. Men occupied themselves with animal husbandry, especially that of horses, but both genders helped in planting and harvesting. The men hunted.

Land Tenure. In the Soviet Union there was no private property. Now land is being slowly turned over to private ownership. Earlier, land was passed down from father to son, with several sons often dividing a large holding. Sometimes sons would move off with their families to establish homesteads elsewhere. With a history of nearly constant warfare, Circassians seem never to have had a problem with overcrowding.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Families were patrilocal and partially patriarchal. Descent was patrilineal. Nuclear families had mixed rule. The wife had authority over many household matters, but the husband was ultimate arbiter in cases of dispute. When the nuclear families were gathered into an extended one, which was usually the case, the father of the sons and his wife assumed comparable roles over the whole. The extended family itself was set within the larger context of the *tlapq*, the blood frame or clan, consisting of linear and collateral male relatives, with their position in this framework determined by their *tl'aqu*, the male descendants of a particular ancestor. Members of a tlapq all share a common name, though only patronymic and given names (in that order) and nicknames were used socially.

Kinship Terminology. Kinship terminology is analytical. It reads like a literal translation of the anthropologist's elicitation list: "father's sister's son" (i.e., cousin). In West Circassian, consanguineal terms must use the grammatical markers of inalienable possession (for example, one must say *s-sh'he*, "my son"), whereas affinal kin terms are alienably possessed. "Father," "mother," and "wife" show alienable possession but with a special intimate-association prefix. The semantics of this analytical system show some peculiarities. For example, in Bzhedukh West Circassian "brother" is *sh'he* and "daughter" is *pkhu*, and yet together they form "sister," *sh'he-pkhu*. Imposed on this kin network is a set of emotional relationships that have made this system a paradigm within kinship theory: the Cherkess-Trobriand kinship system. The relationship of the husband to his wife and children is very formal and limited in a public setting (saying nothing of the actual emotional content of these relationships within the privacy of the home). The relationship of a woman to her brother(s) and of her children to their maternal uncle(s) is, on the contrary, highly spontaneous and familiar. Male Ego's brother's sons are his sons. A widow is supported by her husband's surviving brothers.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Marriages traditionally were based on love or interest on the part of both man and woman as long as exogamy beyond the clan was observed and both members were deemed Adyghe. Flirting took place around the well or stream, and romantic trysts were arranged by maternal uncles. Circassians married late, usually in their early thirties. The ceremony consisted of a nocturnal abduction, with the young man being assisted by his friends and the family of the bride offering token resistance and pursuit. (The man paid a bride-price beforehand.) The woman came to live with her in-laws, who then held a celebration that often consisted of several days of feasting and horse races. The young men would observe the odd custom of vying with one another to be the first to throw himself on the bed of the newlyweds before the couple themselves could use it. At one time the young women wore elaborately knotted, tight leather corsets to ensure a thin figure. After the wedding night this corset had to be publicly presented intact as a sign that the groom had exhibited self-control. In some tribes divorces were common, amounting almost to a pattern of sequential marriages. The man continued to support his "divorced" wife and children. Both men and women could obtain divorces. In a valid (legally recognized) divorce the bride-price was not repaid, but it did have to be repaid by the family of the woman if she incurred shame.

Domestic Unit. Outside of urban centers the extended family is the most common unit, consisting of an elder man and his wife, their sons and their wives, with perhaps yet more elderly parents relegated to the status of merely honorary heads of the household. There are no statistics on its size, but it must tend to be large, for the Circassians in the Caucasus have grown substantially in population during this century (100,000 in the twenty years between 1950 and 1970) despite heavy persecution under Stalin. Because of extreme longevity in certain areas of the Caucasus, the extended family may include as many as four or five generations. The extended family itself forms part of a clan with matrimonial and other social links to certain other clans. The clans are characterized by "surnames." Since the sons of a man's brother were considered his own sons, the nuclear family could be enlarged at the death of a brother by a man taking on the surviving widow and her children, though the widow was technically not a co-wife.

Inheritance. The males alone inherited land and other significant wealth.

Socialization. Children were taught to be respectful, particularly of the elderly, and they often enjoyed loving relationships with the elders in a village, often helping the elderly with their needs, waiting upon them at banquets, and such. Boys were taught to be proud both of their clan and of their social presence, to show courage and stamina, and to acquire skill in arms and horsemanship. Girls were taught to be discreet, to observe household etiquette and patterns, to be graceful, and to be knowledgeable regarding remedies and cures. Girls were taught to be thoughtful and generous hostesses so that they could observe the all-important functions of welcoming and housing guests. Girls of marriageable age were given their own reception room in which they could entertain young men. A code of strict etiquette governed such entertainment, and at the first offensive or suggestive remark from the young man, the girl would summon one of her kinsmen to eject him. Both sexes were taught to dance, a paramount form of socializing. Refinement and skill in speech were valued for both sexes. Respect was displayed toward someone, especially the elderly, not only by standing in their presence but also by standing at the mere mention of their name.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. With the exception of the Natukhay and Shapsegh tribes, all Circassians were organized into four castes: princes (*pshi*), nobles (*warq*), freemen (*tlfaquat'l*; *tlkhwaquat'l* in Kabardian), and slaves or vassals (*pshit'l*). Within these rigid strata, various families had rankings. The princes organized the overall wealth (storing and distributing surplus) and external relations of their village. They conducted raids and warfare, drawing upon the fighting skills of the nobles. The freemen practiced agriculture, animal husbandry, and small industry. The slaves, usually prisoners of war, served the princes and nobles as servants and workers. Today this old system survives merely as a tradition of origin for families. Its dissolution was precipitated by the emigration of most of the freemen and slaves in 1864, with the princes and nobles primarily staying in the Caucasus. There is a tradition that this emigration followed a bout of internecine warfare between the social castes after the defeat by the Russians. The most important form of social organization among the present-day Circassians of the Russian Federation consists of the Circassian Council (Adyghe-khaasa). This is composed of elders from all the various Circassian groups, and its cultural and social authority transcends the boundaries of the three political regions to encompass all Circassians living in or near the Caucasus. In 1989 it was influential in dissuading many Circassian youth from going south to help their Abkhaz kinsmen in the fighting between the latter and the Georgians. Furthermore, in 1990, to bolster the council's cultural role and perhaps to reward it for its prudence, Moscow granted the council a sum of several million rubles to encourage the growth of Circassian cultural institutions and activities throughout the Caucasus.

Political Organization. The prince presided over a village and promoted village cohesion with feasts, bestowing honor among individuals by assigning to them the position of *t'hamata*, master of ceremonies. Outside the village the highest level of organization was the tribe. The tribes were the Ubykh, the Natukhay, the Shapsegh, the Hakuchi, the Abadzekh, the Bzhedukh, the Hatukay, the Yegerukhay, the Chemgwi (earlier Kemirgoy), the Mamkhet, the Makhochey, the Besleney, and the Kabardians. The Bzhedukh consisted of two subtribes, the Khamych and the Chercheney. These tribes themselves had rankings, with the Kabardians being ranked high because of their cultural and political influence and the Ubykhs being ranked high because of old religious status, whereas the Shapseghs and Natukhays were looked down upon because of their lack of a caste system and their involvement in trade. Tribes had councils of princes, and grand councils could be called involving more than one tribe. Tribes were based on fictive kinship, such as Besleney, "Those of (Prince) Beslen," or regional identity, such as Abadzekh, "Those in the region of the Abaza." Others may reflect ancient cases of assimilation, as with the Natukhay, "White-Eyed [light-eyed] Ones," perhaps Circassianized Crimean Goths, or the Shapsegh, "Pointed Head or Hat Ones," perhaps an old Alanic tribe.

Social Control. A body of oral, traditional law tightly governed conduct. Furthermore, rules of etiquette were extremely important: these usually consisted of hospitality coupled with a conversational discretion that bordered on taciturnity. The wrong words could ruin social face and engender bloody conflict. The princes and nobles practiced fosterage with their slaves or vassals. It was a great honor for a vassal to rear a child of his prince or noble. The child was returned to his biological home at maturity. The greatest honor for a vassal was for such a mature child to choose to stay in the house of the slave, to become a *qan*, "one who remained." Such fosterage formed a fictive blood link between slave and master.

Conflict. A Circassian was never without his dagger, and few things were more important to him than his weapons. This reflected the prevalence of the blood feud. Indeed, the word "vengeance" (*tlish'ezhen*, "to make blood again") must take the marker of inalienable possession in West Circassian. The blood feud, in turn, sprang from the *khabza* (custom, law) that any death inflicted upon a

member of another clan, regardless of whether it was intentional or accidental, had to be avenged by a corresponding death. The obligation of blood feud extended to the protection of one's guests as well as to one's "milk brother," a fictive-kinship bond. Indeed, blood feud obligations could be abrogated by a man of one clan putting his lips to the breast of a woman of the other, thereby forming a fictive-kin link of milk brotherhood between the two warring groups. Blood feud obligations were temporarily suspended during times of war, so that armies could be assembled. Women tended to be outside the blood feud. Injuries were recompensed by money, the amount being determined by a council of elders or by the prince. Theft of livestock within the clan was intolerable; material goods could be stolen by stealth, but it was a disgrace to be caught. This reflected the relative contempt for material possessions. In fact, if a fellow clan member asked for some item, one was obligated to give it. In this way, material goods tended to circulate among the community. In matters of dispute, the council of elders, headed by the prince, interpreted khabza to reach a settlement. Such decisions were usually obeyed since the dreaded blood feud was the most frequent alternative. A husband could mete out punishment for violations within the sphere of the family. Women enjoyed great respect and status in that they could halt the bloodiest fights merely by dropping their kerchief between the combatants. A maiden could also bestow her kerchief upon a favored youth, in classic feudal manner, so that he could act as her champion in acts of valor and adventure.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. The Circassians have been Sunni Muslims for the past three or four hundred years, though as late as the first half of the nineteenth century some of the woodland Abadzekh seem to have retained a form of Christianity. The Circassianized Armenians of Armavir (Yermedls) are Christian, and there were some Jewish Circassians in the bodyguard of Chaim Weizmann, the founder of Zionism. Nevertheless, many pagan relics are to be found in their oral traditions, particularly the heroic Nart sagas or Nart epics, which are myths of great antiquity with many striking parallels to the mythologies of ancient India, Greece, and Scandinavia. Herein are a host of pagan gods, each dedicated to one simple function, such as the god of cattle, the god of forests, the god of the forge, a female fertility figure, etc. The gods held Olympian banquets, led by their own t'hamata, at which they drank a sacred brew, *sana* (wine). They conducted war and intrigues. The gods themselves had gods, but these were nameless. Also evident from the folklore is a belief that the universe was self-creating, that the world had no boundary and is made up of nine layers. In the myths are numerous monsters, cyclopean giants, lizard men, demons, giant eagles, and dragons. Heroes are defined by slaying these monsters, by thrusting their weapons into all nine layers of the earth and then by being the only ones capable of extricating them again, and by their prodigious appetites and thirsts. Certain groves and large trees were held to be sacred.

Various individuals were thought to be warlocks or witches, with the power of the evil eye and control over the weather and the well-being of livestock. A woman could not cross a man's path if she was carrying an empty pail without running the risk of being labeled a witch. There was a belief in ghosts as well, demonic forms that lurked in cemeteries. Eclipses of the sun were thought to be caused by a devil.

Religious Practitioners. Old engravings show that the prince conducted religious ceremonies among the Christian Abadzekh. Today the community elects an imam.

Ceremonies. Some Circassians would shoot arrows at nearby lightning bolts and then look for blood to see if they had made a hit. The Abadzekhs conducted a dance around a tree to the god of thunder, offering sana "(the Peaceful One)". Abadzekh princes would also sacrifice cattle before the cross. Other rites seem to have been conducted in sacred groves or before a sacred tree. Funerals were accompanied by wailing among the women. The deceased's clothes were displayed, and, if a man, his weapons were also laid out. Much effort was expended to retrieve for burial in tribal soil the bodies of those killed on raids. Today the usual Muslim holidays and rituals are observed.

Arts. Oral lore is of paramount importance among the Circassians. They view it as the chief monument of their civilization. Their folklore is extremely rich and varied. There are tales of battles with the Goths, the Huns, the Khazars, and the early Russians. Both men and women can be bards. This folklore has served in the twentieth century as a base for a modern literature both of poetry and prose. It has been collected in seven volumes, *Nartkher* (The Narts) by A. M. Hadaghat'la (Gadagatl). Some writing exists from the nineteenth century, but most is a product of this century. Some material has been produced in Jordan, most notably by the late Kube Shaban, and this has now been published in Maikop. Most Circassian literature, however, is a Soviet product. Some of it is extremely good and deserving of translation, especially such works as A. Shogentsuk(ov)'s (1900–1941) *Kambot and Liatsa* (1934–1936, in Kabardian); A. Shortan(ov)'s (born 1916) *Bgheriskher* (The Mountaineers) (1954, in Kabardian), or Yu. Tliusten's (born 1913) *Wozbaanuquokher* (The Ozbanokovs) (1962, in Chemgwi). The collected works of major writers are still appearing, such as those of T. Ch'arasha (1987–1989, in Chemgwi). Bards are still active and their output recorded, such as Ts. Teuchezh's *The Uprising of the Bzhedugs* (1939, in Bzhedukh). Active playwrights include I. Tsey (1890–1936), Dzh. Dzhagup(ov), and M. M. Shkhagapso(ev), among many others. For an ethnic group of its size, the Circassians' literary output has been prodigious.

Circassian song had a lead singer accompanied by a chorus, either on the same melodic line or in a counterpoint. Syncopation and triplets were abundantly used. Today in Jordan and the Circassian republics there are Circassian composers writing in variants of Western polyphonic styles, such as N. S. Osman(ov), D. K. Khaupa, and U. Tkhabisim(ov), to mention just a few, as well as Circassian musicians and conductors, such as K. Kheishkho and Iu. Kh. Temirkhan(ov).

Pictorial arts are based upon folk motifs, which are pleasing scrollwork designs of floral and cuneiform patterns on open backgrounds. It might be added here that

the elegant folk costumes of the men's *cherkeska*, a caftan-like tight coat with cartridges across the chest, worn with a sheepskin hat, and the women's flowing gown with long, oblate false sleeves have spread throughout the Caucasus and have even been adopted by the neighboring Turkic and Slavic Cossack peoples as festive dress.

Finally, wood, usually a tree stump, is sculpted to produce a bust or totem-polelike representation of a god or heroic figure. For example, outside Maikop, in a children's playground on the edge of a wooded area there are several such figures—knight in armor, mushroom with a distorted face on its stem, and a totem-polelike representation of the god of the hunt, She-Batinuquo, with a wolf or dog sprouting from his right shoulder and an eagle soaring atop his head.

Science. The Circassians have produced a notable number of outstanding linguists, such as Z. I. Kerash(eva), G. V. Rogava, A. A. Hatan(ov), M. A. Kumakh(ov), and Z. Iu. Kumakh(ova), among others, who have helped establish literary norms Sfor their dialects by producing dictionaries and grammars while at the same time writing a wide range of theoretical articles. Prominent among native folklorists is A. M. Hadaghat'la, who has also written plays. Native archaeologists are making interesting finds on a steady basis, one of the latest ones being rich in gold and golden armor, along with fragments of what seem to have been an ancient Circassian script.

Medicine. Traditional medicine was the provenance of the women, who were highly esteemed for their skills and knowledge. Healing and medicinal springs were also prized; They were associated with a warrior princess, Amazan, "the Forest Mother" (the source of the Amazon myth), who was skilled in medicine and from whose blood the first healing spring arose.

Death and the Afterlife. After a life spent largely outdoors, Circassians viewed paradise as a comfortable, well-stocked room. The more virtuous the life led, the bigger and more sumptuous the room of eternity. It was said that the afterlife room of an evil man would be so small that he would not be able to turn over in it. From the Nart sagas, the realm of the dead appears to have been under the grave mound. The souls of the dead were guarded from supernatural depredations by a little old man and woman. Links with the dead were maintained by setting a place for them at the table for one full year after death. Feasts were held in their memory and toasts were offered to them by the t'hamata. A particularly illustrious warrior could serve as the head of a *t'lawuzhe* ("the successors to a man") and thereby be remembered by name even if his lineage did not achieve the status of a clan.

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JOHN COLARUSSO

Crimean Tatars

ETHNONYMS: Krymskie Tatary, K'rymtatarlar, Tavricheskie Tatary

Orientation

Identification. The Crimea had been settled by diverse Asian and European peoples for 2,500 years before becoming the ancestral homeland of the Crimean Tatars in the fourteenth century. Since then the ethnic mix has contin-

ued to be notable. From the early fifteenth century, the Crimea was dominated by a Tatar Khanate ruled by the Giray family. Following the region's conquest by Russian armies in 1783, it was incorporated into the Russian Empire, eventually becoming part of Tavricheskaia Province (*guberniia*). As the civil war between Bolshevik and anti-Bolshevik forces wound down, the Crimea was designated the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic on 18 October 1921. Following the forced exile of nearly the entire Tatar population in May 1944, however, that status was abrogated and the region transferred to the administrative control of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) in 1946. In 1954 the Crimea became an oblast within the Ukrainian SSR. Tatar petitions for restoration of autonomous status and transferral of their homeland to the RSFSR once again were submitted to Communist party and state authorities in the last years of the Soviet Union. With most of the Crimean Tatars dispersed in Central Asia (principally in the Krasnodar region [Kherson Oblast] of Uzbekistan, in and around Tashkent) and still severely limited in their right to return home, their numbers in the Crimea account for less than 1 percent of the population, the bulk of which is made up of Russians and Ukrainians. By 1993, however, about 250,000 Crimean Tatars had returned to the Crimea and about 700,000 were living elsewhere in the former Soviet Union.

Location. The Crimea is a peninsula bounded on the north by the rest of Ukraine, on the east by the Sea of Azov, and on the south and west by the Black Sea. Its location is approximately 44° to 46° N and 32° to 38° E. Topographically the region is divided into three parts: the steppe lowland in the north, constituting little more than 75 percent of the peninsula, a range of foothills and low mountains to the south (about 20 percent), and a narrow coastal lowland along the Black Sea shore. Semiarid and treeless, the steppe lowland has a continental climate, with mild winters (mean January temperature is about 0° C) and hot summers (mean July temperature is about 23° C). Average annual rainfall is between 27 and 40 centimeters. Lower temperatures and higher precipitation distinguish the mountains from the surrounding regions. The southern shore, Mediterranean in climate and flora, has long been famous among tourists and spa seekers.

Demography. Beginning in 1946 the Crimean Tatars ceased to be officially recognized as a distinct ethnic group, instead being subsumed under a broader Tatar rubric. As a consequence, the best current demographic information results largely from informal surveys conducted by the Crimean Tatars themselves and statistical extrapolations yielding gross approximations of between 1.1 and 1.3 million. Better figures were expected from the 1989 census, which restored "Crimean Tatar" to the list of nationalities, but a preliminary total from unpublished data of only 268,739 Crimean Tatars suggests that the demographic situation remains confused.

Linguistic Affiliation. Crimean Tatars speak a language of their own (Crimean Tatar) that survived Soviet political assault for forty-five years. It is part of the Kipchak Branch of the Turkic Family, with significant influences from Anatolian (Ottoman) Turkish, itself belonging to the Oghuz Branch. The Turkic languages are, in turn, part of the larger Uralo-Altaic community of languages. Until 1928 Crimean Tatar was written with the Arabic script; in that year the Arabic script was replaced by the Latin, which was in turn replaced by the Cyrillic in 1938–1939. Today Crimean Tatar intellectuals, in their literary journal *Yildiz*, are fostering a revival of the Arabic script both as a gesture of ethnic independence and as a vehicle for reading the rich corpus of literary treasures that their culture has produced. Some debate has also ensued over the "purity" of the language (i.e., the appropriateness of inclusion of foreign words) and its orthography in Cyrillic.

History and Cultural Relations

The Crimean Tatars are culturally linked to the western Turkic group that includes the Ottoman Turks and the Azerbaijanis. They entered the historical record as "Tatars" in the aftermath of the Mongol conquest of the Crimean Peninsula and surrounding territory in the mid-thirteenth century. By the 1440s they had succeeded in establishing their own state, the Crimean Khanate, albeit under Ottoman hegemony from 1475. The khanate survived until the Russian conquest and incorporation of its territory in 1783. The reigning Russian monarch, Catherine II, sought to develop the Crimea by providing incentives for thousands of foreign agriculturalists (most of them Germans) and other skilled people to settle the region. Much of the peninsula's farmland, abandoned by Tatars who opted to emigrate in periodic waves that may have eventually totaled 1 million by the end of the nineteenth century, was turned over to European immigrants or distributed to privileged Russians who brought serfs from the empire's inner provinces for labor. Under the czars, economic exploitation, social discrimination, and cultural imperialism weighed heavily on the Tatars who did not emigrate and gave rise by the end of the nineteenth century to nationalist aspirations.

Those sentiments were only partially fulfilled under the Soviet system during the 1920s and were subsequently repressed brutally, along with much of the Tatar intelligentsia, in the 1930s with Stalin's rise to preeminence. The crushing blow occurred in 1944 when, despite the service of large numbers of men in the Red Army and in anti-Nazi partisan units, the entire Crimean Tatar people was falsely accused of collaboration with the Nazis and deported to Central Asia and the southern Ural Mountains. This forced exile may have cost the lives of one-half of the Tatar population. Those who survived not only lost their homeland and much of their property but were subjected to special, and exceedingly restrictive, regulations governing their economic, educational, and cultural opportunities. In effect, they were denied any public identity. Since the mid-1950s the Crimean Tatars have waged a relentless campaign for the restoration of their former rights, including the right to return to the Crimea.

In recent decades the Crimean Tatars have been remarkably active as a dissident minority, although they have carefully avoided taking steps that might antagonize the Central Asian populations among whom they have involuntarily lived for over four decades. Efforts to return to the Crimea in large numbers hold the potential for difficulties with the large Russian and Ukrainian communities that now dominate the region.

Settlements

Since their forced resettlement in Central Asia and adjacent regions, the Crimean Tatars have been primarily an urban people engaged overwhelmingly in industrial work. In the Crimea, they traditionally had been mainly agriculturalists (and, to a lesser degree, pastoralists), residing in small villages (typically less than thirty households at the beginning of the nineteenth century, dropping to even lower averages as the century progressed). The Crimea today has fifteen cities and over fifty towns, with nearly 70 percent of the population classified as urban.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. Under the czars, the Crimean Tatars concentrated their economic activity in animal husbandry, vegetable farming, and orcharding, but some began to plant grain (especially wheat) in the north, whereas others took up viticulture and tobacco growing in the south. Food production remains the main economic activity in the Crimea today, and presumably the Tatars would be quite involved had their recent history been more normal.

Industrial Arts. Some engage in part-time craft work, to a significant degree as part of the larger effort to preserve traditional culture in the face of tremendous official hostility.

Trade. Within the Central Asian environment particularly, some open-air marketing takes place.

Division of Labor. Both Turkic and Islamic traditions have shaped the division of labor along gender lines typical of premodern societies, although restrictions on female activity had something to do with socioeconomic status as well. Thus veiling was largely limited to women of means who did not have to work in public. Emancipation of women was increasingly encouraged by Tatar reformers beginning in the second half of the nineteenth century and was further supported by certain features of Bolshevik ideology and practical policy since 1917, although social practice lags behind in the workplace and, in particular, in family relations.

Land Tenure. Under the czars, Crimean Tatars were one of the few groups not to experience serfdom directly, and, despite difficulties in retaining control of land for economic reasons during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many held land privately or collectively through their villages. With the collectivization of Soviet agriculture by the early 1930s, however, private ownership of land ceased to be possible, and Tatar farmers became employees of the state, as did all other Soviet peasants. The laws regarding land tenure and usage are currently in a state of flux, with the current tendency toward restoring private rights and opportunities.

Kinship, Marriage, and Family

The most important kinship group in Tatar history has been the family. Under the khanate the family was extended and patrilocal, with great clans dominating society. The power of the clans was severely diminished following the Russian conquest, but they continued to enjoy social prominence as a reward for service to the Russian government. Although no systematic study has been done of the social and familial consequences of the repeated waves of mass emigration, the evidence indicates that they weakened the extended character of Tatar families. Interestingly, the family has been rendered all the more socially significant since 1944 because of Soviet policies that have done little to support the cultural and social identity of the Crimean Tatars. The family has been the preserver of group memory, cultural legacy, and language. Since the Tatars have not been the subject of statistical or socioanthropological examination for nearly half a century, information relating to the whole range of kinship and familial practices and concerns is unavailable. They are, however, one of the most endogamous peoples in the former USSR, with up to 91 percent of those who marry doing so within the group.

Sociopolitical Organization

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was divided administratively into sixteen republics, each with a hierarchy of subdivisions, some of which were designated autonomous republics or districts, as the Crimea once was. Being an oblast within the Ukrainian SSR, the Crimea was the responsibility of the republic's party and state apparatus.

Social Organization. During the period of the Crimean Khanate, social organization hinged largely on the preeminence, at first, of five great clans—the Giray, Sirin, Argin, Barin, and Kipcak—and, later, two others—Mansur Oglans and Sicuvuts—that held virtual hereditary possession of the vast majority of productive lands in the peninsula and economic and political authority over most of the population and the military forces. Below these clans were others that formed the Tatar aristocracy (*mirzas*), members of which may have been genealogically linked to the larger clans. Most of the Crimean Tatars were free peasants (protected in their rights by Islamic law) or herdsmen. Members of the traditional aristocracy as well as some other enterprising persons who did not emigrate following the Russian conquest were able to retain or acquire noble status through service within the imperial bureaucracy or military. A classless society in theory, the USSR nevertheless developed a class structure, based largely on access to Communist party and government apparatuses. Typically the Crimean Tatars would have experienced this no differently than other Soviet ethnic groups; however, owing to the dissident stance they have collectively taken for the past several decades, they have not shared in the benefits that the system provided. Though not necessarily anti-Soviet, they were generally indifferent to the social organization around them. For them, status increasingly is associated with contribution to the ethnic cause.

Political Organization. The political organization of the former Soviet Union is in flux, with reforms affecting not only the traditional administrative and controlling institutions but generating new ones and new political procedures at all levels. As part of Tatar efforts to force redress of long-standing grievances and as a reflection of their dissidence, the Tatars have forged their own organizations (commonly called "initiative groups") that, because of their purposes, have functioned in quasi-political ways.

Social Control. Soviet ideology, particularly as institutionalized during the Stalinist era, had been the key in promoting intellectual and social uniformity and, it was assumed, ensuring not only the resolution but the elimination of social conflict. Authorities in the late Soviet era more readily admitted, however, that the apparent social harmony was to a large degree a fiction generated by the extraordinary insistence on conformity. For decades, widespread fear of frequently abused official power virtually stilled public opinion. Challenging this fundamental feature of Soviet society since the late 1950s, the Crimean Tatars struggled to generate and influence public opinion regarding their plight.

Conflict. Interethnic tensions between Tatars and other peoples of the former Soviet Union have been muted but may increase as Tatars if allowed in large numbers to resettle their homeland.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs and Practices. The principal religion of the Crimean Tatars is Islam, and as Muslims they are Sunnis of the Hanafi school. Founded in the eighth century by abu-Hanafa and being one of the four approaches to Islamic jurisprudence—differing by emphasizing secondary principles determining law, after the Quran—the Hanafi school is more liberal than the others in its insistence on the right of juridical speculation, particularly analogical deduction. Almost one-half of all Muslims adhere to this school. Its traditional center was the Ottoman Empire, with which the Crimean Tatars were closely tied. During the history of the khanate, religion and culture were intimately linked, not an atypical relationship within an Islamic society.

At the time of the Russian conquest, a survey revealed 1,542 mosques, 25 *madrassas* (higher schools of theology), and 35 *maktabs* (primary schools) scattered about the peninsula. Following the peninsula's incorporation into the Russian Empire, these numbers declined precipitously, along with the reduction of the population resulting from emigration. The Muslim clergy were brought within the Russian bureaucratic structure and granted salaries. Until the early twentieth century, the status of the Islamic religion among Crimean Tatars was low and subject to frequent criticism, although calls for reform were beginning to have their effect. Not long after the October Revolution, the militant atheism of Bolshevik ideology, coupled with Soviet power, virtually eliminated all public practice of the faith (there are no mosques for the Tatar population), but it was never able to root out the sociocultural influences of Islam affecting the private rites of birth, marriage, and death. When out of necessity during World War II Stalin's regime conceded some official organization to Soviet Muslims, Crimean Tatars were placed nominally under the Spiritual Directorate of Central Asia and Kazakhstan. More recently, demands for restoration of religious rights have been made to the authorities, including reestablishment of a separate directorate for Crimean Tatars alone; in addition, appeals for support from Muslims abroad have been issued, suggesting a turn to religion as an alternative to the uninspiring dicta of Marxism-Leninism. The influence of Islam finds current expression in the practice of circumcision as well as in the exercise of religious rites associated with marriage and burial. Fasting during the month of Ramadan is observed, although how widely is not clear; and at least some applications for travel visas to perform the *hajj* (pilgrimage to Mecca) have been made.

Arts. Tatar culture has a rich tradition of oral and written poetry, chronicle prose, music, and visual arts drawn from Turkic roots as well as the Arabo-Persian sources of Islam. In the sixteenth century, for example, a whole school of poetry, much influenced by contemporary Ottoman poetry, evolved around the *alim* Kefevi Alshayh Abu Bakr Efendi. Although examples of written literature from the pre-1783 centuries do not abound, a number of historical chronicles have survived, including *Tarih-i Sahib Giray, Tevarih Dest-i Kipcak, Ucuncu Islam Giray Khan Tarihi*, and the most useful for Tatar history and culture, *Asseb' o-sseiiar'*. Traditional Tatar folk music was typically Turkic in composition and instrumentation, with the most prominent instruments being the *zurna* (flute), *tulup-zurna* (a kind of bagpipe), varieties of *dumbelek* (drums), as well as string devices such as the *kemanche* (played with a bow), the *santyr* (struck with hammers), and the *saz* (plucked).

Tatar literate culture suffered immensely in consequence of the Russian conquest until its revival was inspired by Ismail Bey Gasprinskii, a Tatar social critic and reformer, beginning in the late 1870s. A pioneer of the Turkic-language press in the Russian Empire, Gasprinskii published *Tercũman*, perhaps the most famous and influential newspaper in the Turkic world from 1883 until Gasprinskii's death in 1914. On its pages he articulated a program that advocated secularization of culture, fundamental reform of education, language reform, economic development, emancipation of women, and a transformation of social attitudes, all along modern lines. In the process he fostered literary creativity not only among his own Crimean Tatars but within the larger Turkic world. Among those of his compatriots who rose to prominence writing belles lettres as well as didactic prose and poetry by the turn of the twentieth century were Abdũrreshid Mediev, Osman Akchokrakly, Bekir Emek, Ali Bodaninskii, Hasan Sabri Aivazov, Ismail Lemanov, and Husein Shamil Toktargazy. The peak of creativity came in the 1920s just as the Soviet regime began cracking down on independent cultural activity. The easing of such restraints in the late 1980s has produced an outpouring in Crimean Tatar expressive culture, one of the most important vehicles for which is the literary journal *Yildiz*.

Medicine. Despite limitations on the delivery of health care in the Soviet Union, the country is generally modern in its health facilities, and Tatars have full access to those facilities.

Death and Afterlife. There have been no studies of Tatar attitudes toward death and afterlife, although traditionally their Islamic faith would have instilled in them beliefs in the continued existence of the soul after the death of the body and in the soul enjoying the rewards of heaven for a righteous life or the pains of hell as punishment for sin.

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EDWARD J. LAZZERINI

Dargins

ETHNONYMS: Dargi; self-designation: Darganti (sing., Dargan); collective term for the entire group: Dargwa

Orientation

Identification. The Dargins are indigenous inhabitants of the Daghestan ASSR in the USSR. They have absorbed the Kaidaks (self-designations: Khaydaq', Khaydaq'lanti [sing., Khaydaq'lan]) and, to some degree, the Kubachins (self-designations: Urbug, Urbuganti [sing., Urbugan])

Location. The Dargins inhabit foothill, mountain, and alpine zones in central Daghestan from 42°40′ to 41°50′ N and 47°05′ to 47°50′ E. The districts (*raions*) with primarily Dargi inhabitants are Akusha, Levashi, Dakhadai, Kaitag, and Seregokal. In Soviet times some of the Dargins moved to the lowlands (the Nogay, Khasav-yurt, and Kayakent districts).

Demography. In 1989 Dargins numbered 365,797, a 27.3 percent increase over the 1979 figure of 287,282. Of the total Dargi population, 280,431 (76.7 percent) lived in Daghestan (in 1979 the figure was 246,854 or 85.9 percent of the total). The population density was 38 people per square kilometer in 1985. The Dargins belong to the Balkan-Caucasian subtype of the European race.

Linguistic Affiliation. Dargi, together with the Kaitag and Kubachi languages, forms the Dargwa Subgroup of the Lak-Dargwa Group of the Daghestanian Branch of the Northeast Caucasian (Nakh-Daghestanian) Language Family. The major dialects are Akushi, Tsudakhar, Urakhi (Khürkili), Sirkhi, Mekegi, Kaidak, Murzi, Gubden, Chirag, Kubachi, Kadar, and Megeb. A literary language based on the Akushi dialect has been established in Soviet times. Sixty-eight percent of the Dargins are fluent in Russian.

History and Cultural Relations

The Dargins are an indigenous people who have undergone the general economic, ethnic, and social processes that have affected Daghestan and the eastern Caucasus, as shown by archaeological finds in their territory dating from the Paleolithic through the Mesolithic, Neolithic, and Eneolithic periods up to medieval times. This evidence indicates social, economic, and cultural continuity with the northeastern Caucasian ethnic and cultural area (comprising speakers of the Nakh-Daghestanian languages) since the rise of early agriculture in the northeastern Caucasus. Cultural unity lasted until the third millennium B.C.; its breakup created the separate groups that formed the basis for the development, in the first millennium A.D., of the Daghestanian tribes, including the Dargins. The Dargi tribe arose in the coastal and foothill area north of Derbent as far as Makhachkala and including present Dargi territory. Toponymic evidence shows that the Dargins were the ancient inhabitants of the coastal and foothill area.

Like the other Daghestanian tribes, the Dargins were once part of Caucasian Albania and later came under Hunnic power and then that of the Khazar Khanate. Arab penetration of Daghestan began in the seventh century; the Dargins of Kaitag and Shandan were prominent in the resistance. Historical records of the sixth to seventh centuries (the writings of Balazuri, Ibn Rusta, Masudi, and others) contain the first written references to the Dargins, in mentions of "Kaitag" and "Zirekhgeran"; the latter name, which means "armor makers" in Persian, is identified with "Kubachi" ("armor makers" in Turkish) by all researchers. This was also the time when feudal relations began to develop among the Dargins; initially this involved unification of ethnic groups around a strong settlement or leader. In the twelfth to thirteenth centuries a major feudal center arose in Kaitag. In the eleventh to twelfth centuries Turkic tribes entered lowland Daghestan, continuing a process of displacement and Turkicization of the indigenous peoples. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries came the devastating invasions of the Mongols, in particular Tamerlane (Timur), who according to his chroniclers destroyed the indigenous infidels. During the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries Dargi territory, like all of Daghestan, became an arena for internal feudal wars as well as invasions by Turkey and Persia. These wars led to the downfall of Nadir Shah, in which the Dargins took part.

Russian-Daghestanian connections date from the sixteenth century, and Russian conquest of Daghestan began with the Persian campaign of Peter the Great. In 1813 the Gulistan Treaty made Daghestan, including Dargi territory, part of Russia. Although the Dargins were not in the imamate of Shamil, they participated in its struggle for independence. Suffering both social and colonial oppression, they frequently protested in speeches and joined rebellions. Particularly significant was the anticolonial rebellion of Daghestan in 1877, in which the Dargins were among the most active participants. They were among the first to

enter the revolutionary struggle during the October Revolution and the civil war, and the mass uprising against Anton Ivanovich Denikin's white forces was initiated by the Dargins.

Language and Literacy. To judge from medieval archaeological evidence, use of Caucasian Albanian writing was widespread among the Dargins. It was replaced by Arabic writing when they converted to Islam. Attempts to adapt Arabic writing to the Daghestanian languages had begun by the fifteenth century, and in the eighteenth century *ajam*, a system of Daghestanian writing based on the Arabic script, had developed and was in fairly wide use. During Soviet times Dargi writing was reformed with a new system based on the Russian alphabet. A Dargi literary language evolved during the nineteenth century. Before the Revolution, education was organized around Arabic writing. All children received elementary education (in the *mekteb*) involving basic literacy, the rules of religious services, and memorization of passages from the Quran. Boys received secondary education in the *medresseh*, learning catechism, Arabic grammar, logic, and Muslim law. Higher education was an individual matter, conducted under the guidance of clergymen who were respected teachers. The level of literacy in Arabic was high (over 10 percent), but this literacy had little practical social or cultural value since it had little to do with everyday life or the contemporary European culture. Few Dargins were literate in Russian because there were almost no Russian schools. At the beginning of the twentieth century the Dargi Okrug, with a population of over 80,000, had two schools with seventy-six students, most of them from the families of colonial administrators and the well-to-do ("Dargintsy" 1960, 483). In Soviet times, with the new writing system, illiteracy has been nearly eliminated and instruction in the schools is in Russian (with some study of the native language). The Dargi literary language is the vehicle of newspaper and magazine publishing, an original and translated artistic literature, and a Dargi theater. At last count, 97.5 percent of the Dargins and 98.9 percent of those living in Daghestan consider Dargi their native language. But the literary language is not in everyday use, which makes the development of a unified Dargi language problematic in the foreseeable future.

Settlements

There were four stages in the evolution of Dargi settlements. In the first stage there were small settlements of kin groups, probably equivalent to a *tukhum* (see "Kin Groups and Descent"), as attested by archaeological and, in part, ethnographic evidence. In the second stage, between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries, settlements grew to encompass several quarters, each occupied by a separate tukhum. In the third stage small, territorially based settlements formed for economic reasons and for defense of the neighboring lands. Such settlements are characterized by their inaccessibility, economy of land, closeness to sources of water, and orientation toward the sun. The buildings are vertical or terracelike, multistoried, and compactly arranged. These villages are of three types—*aul*, a sizable village; a hamlet; a few households—with three corresponding kinds of social organization. Finally, the fourth stage is the modern Soviet kolkhoz or sovkhoz with modern governance, economy, and buildings and laid out with blocks and streets.

The oldest type of Dargi dwelling consisted of a single room with a hearth in the center. Further evolution involved additional stories, division of the room, and additional structures. The Dargi dwelling combined living and work quarters, but with functional divisions. The most common type in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was a two-story or multistory stone building with a yard, buildings for livestock or farm implements beneath the living quarters, and a flat roof. In later stages, the yard and building were covered over with loggias, verandas, or balconies. The most common designs are those with a veranda (often shortened and made into living space; this type is common in the lowlands) and the two-row loggia type with a central corridor (the Kaitag-Sürgin type). In Soviet times the design and plan have been essentially the same, but houses are larger, with a number of rooms having different functions; there is a gabled slate or metal roof, a garden, and plantings.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. Economic production based on agriculture and stock breeding developed in Daghestan (and hence in Dargi territory) in the Neolithic period (late seventh to sixth millennia). In the Eneolithic period (fifth to fourth millennia) one or the other became predominant, depending on local conditions stock breeding came to dominate (i.e., stock breeding was more suited to the high mountain regions); in the Bronze Age came growth in the agricultural and stock breeding economies, the rise of terrace agriculture, the wide use of the basic grains, orchards and vineyards, and the final stages of animal domestication. Agricultural economic growth, with intensification of terrace agriculture, continued in the mid-altitude mountain areas until the end of nomadic domination of the plains (i.e., until the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries) A.D.. With the end of nomadic pressure and the growth of productive power and exchange, economic specialization arose according to natural economic zones (sixteenth to nineteenth centuries). The lower foothills became the site of an economic-cultural area of settled plow agriculturalists and sedentary stockbreeders. The middle foothills were the locus of settled plow agriculture and (winter) pasture stock herding, an economy in which agriculture was important but not the main element. The high mountains were the zone of (summer) pasture herding and plow agriculture. There are a number of important differences between the lowland and highland economic-cultural areas: developed agriculture and irrigation are important in the lowlands but not in the highlands; large fields are the norm in the lowlands but small terraces and slopes are suitable to the highlands; the traditional metal plow is the standard instrument in the lowlands, whereas a more primitive one is in use in the highlands; transhumant agriculture without fertilizer is the practice in the lowlands, but a two-year fallow and crop-rotation system using fertilizer prevails in the highlands; wheat is the principal grain in the lowlands, but barley, rye, maize, and legumes predominate in the highlands; the

scythe is preferred in the lowlands, the sickle in the highlands; most agricultural labor is done by men in the lowlands but by women in the highlands; trades and seasonal work are weakly developed in the lowlands, highly developed in the highlands; baked goods and ovens predominate in the lowlands, *khinkal* (see "Food") and griddles in the highlands; wheeled transport is used in the lowlands, pack and hand-carried transport in the highlands; unrestrained layout of settlements and dwellings predominates in the lowlands, whereas densely clustered multistory ensembles are the rule in the highlands; and so on.

Clothing. Traditional Dargi dress is of the Daghestanian type. Men's dress, which has general Caucasian features as well, consisted of a tuniclike shirt, straight pants, a short coat (with front lapped opening and no fastening), the *cherkeska* (Caucasian jacket), a sheepskin cloak, a felt overcoat, a sheepskin hat, a felt cap, a *bashlīk* (fabric headgear worn over the sheepskin hat), knitted socks and stockings, leather footwear (soft leather boots, some of them high with separate tops; hard-soled leather boots with heels), felt slippers, sheepskin boots, sabotlike low boots, and weapons (a dagger was always worn). Women's clothing included a tunic or a blouse with separately cut and set-in waist, pants (both straight-legged like men's and wide-legged), the *arkhaluk* (a robelike dress that opened in front), an overcoat or cloak, the *chukhta* (a scarf with a baglike place for the braids), a richly embroidered head covering, and a kerchief. There were many silver ornaments: forehead and temple pieces, earrings, necklaces, belt ornaments, ornaments for the hands, and sequins. Footgear was like men's but more varied and sometimes decorated: colored socks, ornamented soft leather boots, felt dress boots, etc. Contemporary Dargi dress is much like urban street clothing, but traditional dress can be seen worn by older people and during certain ceremonies.

Food. The traditional Dargi diet reflects ancient agricultural traditions and the central role of stock herding since the fifteenth century. The staples are grain, dairy products, meat, vegetables, fruits, greens, and berries. A basic dish is khinkal: dough casings (of various sizes and shapes) filled with meat, cheese or sour cream, lard, or drippings, seasoned with garlic and cooked, preferably in bouillon. Other favorite dishes are pies with various fillings (meat, cheese, cottage cheese, wild greens, eggs, nuts, squash, fowl, cooked grains or meal, dried apricots, onion, barberry, pepper, etc.). Bread is unleavened or yeasted, baked on a griddle or on the hearth; dough is pressed against the wall of an oven (*tarum* or *tondīr*) to bake the flat bread that is common throughout the Caucasus and the Near East. The higher standard of living during Soviet times has made itself felt in the diet: the consumption of vegetables, canned and commercially prepared food, and Russian and European dishes (salads, borscht, cutlets, etc.) has increased.

Industrial Arts. Household crafts are well developed among the Dargins, especially in the highlands. The most developed are wool working (fabric, rugs, unnapped rugs, knitted objects), metalworking, woodworking, stoneworking, etc. Best known are the weapons, silverware, metal housewares, and jewelry of Kubachi; the agricultural implements and tools of Kharbuk; the blades of Amuzgi; the plain and glazed pottery of Sulerkent; the fabrics of Khajalmakhi; the stonecutting of Sutbuk and Kholaai (Uluai); the wooden implements and vessels of Kaitag; the leather of Tsudakhar; and the morocco and women's shoes of Gubden.

Division of Labor. Children were traditionally introduced to work early and encouraged to benefit from the experience and knowledge of older people. Age-based division of labor was never allowed to interrupt the gender-based division of labor. Men's work included plowing; sowing; irrigating; mowing; harvesting; care of orchards; work with livestock and harness; transport; care of livestock away from the home; pasturing of all livestock; gathering firewood; preparation of tools, weapons, and wooden and metal goods; and travel for trade, purchases, earnings, etc. Women's work included weeding and hoeing, care of livestock and poultry at home, gathering fallen fruit, preparation and preservation of food, spinning, weaving, knitting, making clothing, fetching water, housecleaning, laundry, etc. Both men and women participated in activities such as grinding, woodcutting, harvesting grain, and cutting and transporting hay (men used pack-animal transport; women carried hay on their backs).

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. The predominant form of household among the Dargins is the nuclear family, but traces of extended-family organization survived until the early twentieth century in the form of undivided large families. A set of families made up a tukhum, a group of patrilineally related families tracing their descent to a common ancestor and having ideological, and social (but not economic) unity. The tukhum was sometimes divided into similar lower-level patronymies (*zhins, ahlu*), which could grow into new tukhums. The tukhum was not exogamous, nor was it obligatorily endogamous.

Kinship Terminology. The Dargi kin system is of the Arabic type. The kin terms are father (*tutesh*), son (*ursi*), brother (*utsi*), mother, daughter, sister, grandchild, grandfather, grandmother, maternal uncle, and paternal uncle, with several degrees of relatedness: sibling, first cousin (*utsiq'ar*), second cousin, etc. Kinship within the tukhum traditionally extended to the twelfth generation along the father's line.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Marriage was based on Sharia (Islamic law). Endogamous marriages within the tukhum, usually between patronymies, were common, but marriages between tukhums were not uncommon. The age of marriage was from 13 to 20 for women and 15 to 25 for men; the ideal ages were 17 and 25, respectively. Marriage was patrilocal. Divorce was based on Sharia and usually initiated by the husband's. The wife had the right to divorce in two cases: if the husband was physically incapacitated or if he was not in a position to support the family materially. The stages leading to marriage were matchmaking, agreement, betrothal, and arrival "in the other's house." The wedding ceremony (*mahar*) was performed by a mullah or *qadi*; the groom and the bride's father (or, more often, delegates from both sides) participated. The bride's consent, given to her father in the presence of a witness, was obligatory.

A marriage tax (*kebin*) was imposed to guarantee the bride's security in the event of widowhood or divorce initiated by the husband. After the wedding the bride became part of the new household in several stages: she was brought into the family room of the husband's house; she fetched water at the village spring for the first time; she returned home; restrictions on contact with her in-laws lapsed.

Inheritance. In customary law (*adat*) inheritance was only along the male line: women had no rights of inheritance. Under the influence of Sharia, women received the right to inherit half of a man's portion.

Socialization. The major concern in traditional child rearing was introducing the child, from a young age, to his or her future occupations, consistent with the gender-based division of labor: future warrior or future housewife and mother. Considerable attention was devoted to training the child in work habits, moral qualities, obedience, and respect for elders. There was no ritual initiation, although there were age trials (involving, for example, endurance of pain, and tests of self-control, courage, skill, etc.). Adulthood was marked for a young man by receiving a dagger to wear, for a young woman by putting on an element of clothing or an ornament from her grandmother that had been kept in a trunk for the occasion.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Fundamental to Dargi social organization was the village territorial collective (*jamaat*). Unworked land was held communally; pastures, fields, and most hay fields were privately owned. Among some Dargins there were also feudal and *waqf* (i.e., Muslim ecclesiastical) properties. The territorial collectives formed unions of village societies: some were independent (or "free"; in Russian historiography of the nineteenth century they were often called "republics") and some dependent on feudal lords. Unions of societies would sometimes join in a larger union of unions, or macrounion. Most of the Dargins came under the Akushi macrounion headed by a qadi and consisting of the following unions of societies: Akusha, Tsudakhar, Mekegi, Usisha, Mugi, Urakhi, and sometimes Sirkha. The other Dargins were dependent to varying degrees on the feudal Kaitag *utsmiate* (Utsmi-Dargwa; the *utsmi* was a sort of feudal prince) and Tarkov Shamkhalate (Gubden, Kadar).

Political Organization. The functions of government, except those concerning unions, were held by village societies. The union of unions had primarily military and legal functions (i.e., those pertaining to the macrounion). For deciding major questions, particularly questions of war and peace, it had as its supreme organ an assembly of representatives (*tsähnabäq*), which met near Akusha, on a plateau known as the "meeting plain." Between meetings of the assembly, macrounion government was carried out by a supreme council of the qadis of the unions and twelve to fifteen influential elders. The economic and political life of the settlement was regulated by adat, the stipulations of which were universally binding. The adat customs were codified; the best known codex is that of Rustem Khan, a Kaitag utsmi of the seventeenth century. Sharia also exerted some influence.

Social Control and Conflict. The heads of village government were the village qadis, who held full spiritual and supervisory secular powers. Village society was governed by an elder or elders (*khalati*). Other elders supervised their actions. Below the elders were executive bodies (*baruman*) headed by a crier (*mangush*). The most important questions were decided by the tsähnabäq. Disputes were resolved through adat (with elders serving as judges) or Sharia (with a qadi as judge). The qadi had responsibility in matters of religion, family relations, inheritance, wills, and civic suits. Capital and civic matters were decided by adat. Appeals went to the qadi of the union or to the Akusha qadi. Disputes and conflicts of an interunion nature were also decided by the Akusha qadi and his council or, in extreme cases, by the union assembly.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. The Dargins are Sunni Muslims of the Shafi school. Islam took root among the Dargins in the fourteenth century and reached its peak in the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries, facilitated by nationalist movements that assumed a religious form. The Islam of the Dargins has a strongly syncretic nature, with a substantial heritage of pre-Islamic pagan beliefs given Muslim form. The agricultural calendar and ceremonies and household and family rites have retained many elements of paganism: practices for warding off evil and initial, imitative, and other forms of magic. They are reflected in the rite of the first furrow, the most important and ceremonially richest Dargi rite; in the spring New Year holiday, with its personification of winter and summer and their dispute in dialogue; in the rites for making and stopping rain, calling out the sun, completing the harvest, beginning springtime work in the vineyards, and pasturing cattle; and in the holiday of flowers, the thanksgiving for plowing, the sacred trees and groves, and so on.

Arts. Architecture was extremely well developed among the Dargins. The folk masters of this art displayed a very high level of achievement in building and ornamenting towers, fortresses, ensembles of buildings, mosques, bridges, constructions at springs and wells. The artistry of the Dargins is clearly shown in their decorative and applied art: in the world-renowned creations of the Kubachi silversmiths; in the work of stonecutters, toolmakers, woodworkers, and ceramic and tile workers; in weaving, leatherwork, and furwork; and in spirited folk dance and vocal music.

Medicine. Prior to Russia's annexation of Dargi regions, Dargi medicine was a combination of folk and Eastern medicine. Folk healers (*khakim*) achieved considerable success in the treatment of wounds, bruises, broken bones, and dislocations and even in trephination; they were also skilled in phytotherapy and treatment of various internal diseases. The best-known healers were Murtuzali Haji of Butri, who studied medicine in Cairo for five years, worked with the Russian surgeon N. I. Pirogov, and was given a set of surgical instruments by him; Taimaz of Urakhi; Mohammed Haji of Khajalmakhi; Davud Haji of Akusha';

Alisultan Haji of Urkarakh; and others. Medical service was instituted only in 1894, with nine doctors and twelve nurses for all of Daghestan, a ratio of one medical practitioner to 60,000 persons. Now there is a paramedical station in every settled place, or a regional doctor, or a regional, district, or interdistrict hospital and a first-aid service with its own transport, including air transport.

Death and Afterlife. The Dargins see death as predetermined by faith. They believe in an afterlife, a judgment day, the bridge Sirat, heaven and hell, etc. Funerals follow the Muslim rite, with prayers for the deceased, generous funeral feasts, and memorials on the fortieth or fifty-second day.

See also Kubachins

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(Translated by Johanna Nichols)

Dolgan

ETHNONYMS: Sakha (Khaka), Tya or Tya Kikhi (forest person, forest man)

Identification and Location. The Dolgan inhabit the Taimyr Peninsula and the left bank of the lower Yenisei River, across from the town of Dudinka. This territory forms part of the Taimyr (Dolgan-Nenets) Autonomous District (*okrug*), the TAO, which is part of the Krasnoyarsk region of the Russian Federation (RF). The Dolgan do not enjoy national autonomy. In the majority of settlements they reside and conduct their economy in common with the Nganasan, Evenki, Nenets, and other nationalities, as well as with migrants. At the present time most of the Dolgan are concentrated in the settlements along the courses of the Dudypta, Kheta, and Khatanga rivers and along the shores of Khatanga Bay. Some also live in the settlements of Levinskie Peski and Khantaiskoe Ozero in the western part of the TAO. A number of families reside in the district capital of Dudinka and in the large townlike settlement of Khatanga.

The majority of the territorial groupings that contributed to the formation of the Dolgan migrated from regions more to the south than those of the Nganasan. Here the terrain is for the most part forest tundra (Russian: *lesotundra*) with sparse growth of larch. In the eastern part of the peninsula the taiga infringes from the south. The average January temperature for Khatanga is −33.8° C and the mean July temperature is 12.3° C.

Demography. According to the 1989 census, 6,600 Dolgan resided in the Russian Federation (RF), with 1,300 in cities of the RF. Some 5,000 Dolgan resided in the TAO and constituted 11.8 percent of the total population. About a quarter of the total Dolgan population resided outside their district. Of those residing within the district, 71 percent were concentrated in the Khatanga subdistrict.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Dolgan language is classified in the Turkic Language Group, part of the Altaic Language Family. As late as the 1950s it was classified as a dialect of the Yakut language. Today, however, it has won a place for itself as a distinct language. Yakut lexical and grammatical forms predominate, but Evenki, Russian, and some Samoyedic lexical forms have become incorporated into the Dolgan language. There are phonetic and morphological differences between the speeches of various territorial groups. At present, three Dolgan subgroups are distinguished: Western (Yenisei, Norilsk), Central (Avam), and Eastern (Khatanga). Occasionally a fourth subgroup is distinguished, the easternmost one of the Popigai Dolgan. In spite of local divergences in speech, there is excellent mutual intelligibility among the speeches of all groups and also with that of the northern Yakut. All Dolgan, except those of very advanced years, have a good command of the Russian language, and some individuals also speak Nganasan and Evenki. Until recently there was no written Dolgan language. In 1973 the first book in the Dolgan language was published, printed in the Yakut alphabet. Beginning in the fall of 1990 instruction in the Dolgan language was introduced in lower school grades. A Dolgan primer, developed for the purpose, is now in use.

History and Cultural Relations

The Dolgan are probably the most recent example within the Russian Federation of the formation of an independent ethnic group. Their consolidation began in the nineteenth century. At the time of the 1926–1927 census, the Dolgan were represented by nine ethnographic groupings. These consisted of the Dolgan proper; of alliances that histori-

cally incorporated large numbers of Yakut; of Yakut proper; of Evenki groups (also of varied origins); of a significant number of Russian peasants, hunters, and dog breeders; and of small numbers of Samoyeds, Nenets, and Enets. All of these spoke different Dolgan or Yakut dialects. The Nganasan did not play a significant part in the formation of the Dolgan. They simply ceded the southern and easternmost frontier regions of the territories they used in their transhumance to the Dolgan.

From the seventeenth century on, the "Great Russian Road," the Khatanga Tract, existed on the Taimyr. Along this road communications were maintained by means of reindeer and dog transport between the Dudino settlement and Lake Piasino and then eastward toward the Khatanga and even farther to the Anabar River and to Yakutia. Winter camps along this road were relatively permanent. It was in this stretch of territory that groups speaking different languages, diverse in origin, with different traditions and beliefs and different material and spiritual cultures, developed a unitary self-consciousness, language, and culture and eventually coalesced into the Dolgan people. Their collective name is derived from one of the Tungus clans.

Their economy was primarily based on hunting—wild reindeer in the north, elks and mountain sheep in the south. Subsidiary game were ptarmigan and hares. In the summer, molting geese and ducks were taken. Reindeer husbandry in various groups was oriented mostly toward transport. Reindeer were raised to serve as mounts and for forest transport, although some families residing in the tundra kept large herds for sled transport. Fishing played a very important role, and commercial polar-fox trapping was well developed.

By the beginning of the twentieth century all Dolgan were Christians. The presence of the Russian population in the area facilitated the spread of Orthodox Christianity. By the end of the 1930s this population was completely assimilated by the Dolgan. Thus, Dolgan culture incorporated components from different peoples, and these different influences are discernible even today to various degrees in different areas of the Dolgan settlement.

Following the establishment of Soviet control, the Dolgan, especially the Western groups, experienced numerous administratively mandated reorganizations of their economies and resettlement from one territory to another within the Taimyr Peninsula. The mixing of peoples of various origins increased, and the emergence of a single common identity as a separate people became stronger.

The basic transformations followed the same pattern as among the Nganasan and in tandem with the latter. The Dolgan tundra-reindeer breeders in the 1970s, under pressure from the proliferating wild-reindeer herds in western and central Taimyr, lost all of their domestic animals and had to switch to commercial fur trapping, fishing, and fall hunting of wild reindeer. Stable units for reindeer breeding are preserved only to the east of the Khatanga settlement.

Settlements

Various Dolgan groups, depending on the principal mode of their economy, lived in different types of dwellings. The majority of the Dolgan were nomads and lived in portable, conical, pole-supported dwellings (Russian: *chum*). In the main, only the Russians and the Yakut of the Zatundra had permanent winter or summer dwellings and settlements of one to two wooden houses, which they abandoned during the time of transhumance. A hunting band (cooperative group) was formed by one to two families. A reindeer-breeding band could be larger, depending on the size of the herd. Already in the 1920s, a portable structure was utilized in the tundra and forest tundra regions as a permanent winter dwelling.

At present, the Dolgan reside in relatively large-scale settlements, which in the eastern Taimyr are inhabited almost exclusively by them. Such settlements consist of 300–600 persons. The settlements have four-apartment wooden houses heated by imported coal. Water mains and waste disposal are absent. Small settlements have medical centers, and the larger ones have small hospitals. In each there is an elementary and/or middle school.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. The rural economy is organized into relatively large state units, sovkhozy. Besides facilities for trapping and hunting, fishing, reindeer breeding, and fur-animal farming, each Sovkhoz usually has a hospital, a school, and a farm to supply fresh milk to the kindergarten.

The working groups (Russian: *brigady*) of the reindeer breeders of eastern Taimyr, move northward in the summer and southward in the fall, following the traditional routes. These are changed each year, so that the group returns to the original route every fourth year, depending on the condition of the pasturage. Slaughtering of domestic reindeer is done in November, when the herds are located closest to the settlement. Since the middle 1980s, commercial trade in reindeer horn and certain parts of the reindeer carcasses (for development of biostimulant preparations) has been developed intensively. In exchange, the economic units receive imported manufactured goods and food items.

Land Tenure. All immovable property used by the residents of a settlement belongs to the state economic units or to the councils of various levels of administration. Apartments in the settlements are assigned to families for life. As a very rare exception, a hunter may possess immovable property—for example, a very small house that he built himself at his trapping location. The basic personal property among the Dolgan, as among the Nganasan, consists of portable dwellings, self-constructed or factory-manufactured boats, boat motors and motorized sleds, etc.

Trade. Besides goods available in the settlement stores, there is a system of ordering by mail, from catalogs. Private commercial enterprise is minimally developed among the Dolgan, as is the case among the other small-scale societies of the Taimyr. At present, commercial activity is controlled by the sovkhozy.

Industrial Arts. Formerly each man had to be able to make, out of wood, skin, and fiber, all the basic implements needed in the household, all weapons, and all implements used in the hunt. Even today, in the eastern regions, hunters (trappers) and reindeer breeders have these skills. Blacksmithing is practiced only by a few mas-

ters. The younger generation increasingly prefers apartments and factory-produced goods.

The ability to work skins and to make beautiful and warm fur and skin clothing, bedding, and dwelling covers used to be one of the most respect-evoking attributes of a woman. These skills are still preserved among the reindeer breeders. In the settlements there are sewing shops where women make footwear out of reindeer-leg skin. These are decorated with fur mosaic, worsted cloth, and beads. For this, the women receive previously agreed-upon wages.

Division of Labor. Men are engaged for the most part in trapping and hunting, fishing, and reindeer breeding. Women's labor related to these activities consists of providing men with clothing, preparing food, and participating in the processing of the catch. In the settlements men are engaged in heavy labor on fur farms, in construction, in the building of cold-storage units in the permafrost, and in bringing in fuel and water. The Dolgan men, in contrast to the Nganasan, participate more actively in dwelling construction and household tasks. Within the family, there is also division of labor based on age.

Food and Clothing. Venison, fowl, and fish constituted the traditional foods. For winter, the meat and fish were dried. Dishes prepared out of traditional foods are much more varied than among the Nganasan. Bread and flour entered the diet long ago. Some of the traditional foods are eaten either raw or frozen. Today, additional foods are available in stores.

Traditional and permanent winter clothing of reindeer fur is worn on the hunt and in reindeer-herding activities. In a settlement one might see such traditional clothing on small children; adults all wear manufactured clothing. Bright, festive garments, multicolored glass seed beads (*biser*) and metal buttons are worn during winter festivals and on visits to distant places.

Kinship

As a rule, a genealogical distance of four generations is thought to be desirable between marriage partners, although occasionally cross-cousin marriages do take place. In practice, almost all Dolgan are more or less distantly related, the kinship links being known to the elder people. The kinship net extends beyond the Dolgan group boundary, involving Yakut, Evenki, and some of the Russian Old Settlers.

Adult baptism in the period of Christian conversion resulted in predominance of a limited number of family names. The bearers of these names are at present so genealogically distant that people of the same surname are permitted to enter into marriage.

Different Dolgan families use different ancestral kinship terms, depending on their origin. The majority use Yakut terms of the descriptive and classificatory type. The elder members of the family are addressed, in most cases, by kinship terms or terms referring to age-group. The marriage systems of various territorial groupings do not dictate observance of intragroup endogamy. Interethnic marriages are common.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Formerly parents arranged marriages for their children. The groom's family sent a matchmaker to the family of the bride, where the bride-wealth was discussed, as well as what the bride would bring to her future husband's family. The wedding was held at the home of the bride's parents' family. Then the newlyweds moved to the residence of the family of the groom. Ideally, only after the birth of the first child did they, with the help of their kin, establish their own dwelling and household.

At present, young people enter into mutual agreement between themselves but consult their elders about the permissibility of their union. The marriage is registered according to (Russian) law, and a feast is given that is attended by very many and lasts for two to three days. Weddings are attended by kinsmen living in other settlements.

Domestic Unit. Certain nomadic Dolgan groups formerly had their own lineage (Russian: *rodovye*) names. As a rule, children were numerous. The head of the family, a man, was universally respected, but the women, too, had a considerable degree of independence. The practice of taking orphans or children from poor families with many offspring into a related family was widespread in the past and remains so. Today, the nuclear family predominates. In reindeer-breeding brigady each family has its own portable dwelling. Single young persons live with the families. Trapping is conducted occasionally by work crews whose members are linked by ties of kinship. In such cases the members live in a relatively large single-room house constructed in the hunting territory. Trap lines, however, were assigned to each individual. In the settlement, each family belonging to a work crew has its own quarters. Children of school age live in the settlements, either with relatives or in the school dormitory.

Inheritance. The traditional property—personally owned reindeer—is inherited by the children who, at the time of their parents' death, live together with them. This principle is generally adhered to even today.

Socialization. Formerly all customs with respect to maintenance of household economy, intergenerational relations, and knowledge of behavioral norms were acquired by the young within the family or the nomadic group, wherein there was a strict gender- and age-based division of labor. At present, education and socialization are effected primarily through state general-educational institutions, which frequently leads to the loss of traditional household and economic norms and customs. Members of families that work in traditional occupations, however, often return to their families and adopt the same way of life. In the western Taimyr such individuals are becoming increasingly rare. Other young people prefer not to adopt this traditional life-style but to reside in the settlements permanently. A number of them migrate outside of their ancestral area, motivated by, among other things, the desire to seek suitable employment.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social and Political Organization. Prior to the establishment of Soviet power, administrative units to which the Dolgan belonged were headed by princelings and leaders

appointed by the central power. They occasionally acted as the primary tax collectors. Rich reindeer herders also belonged to the upper strata of society. Hired laborers, persons who owned only a few reindeer, or kinsmen who had met with misfortune tended the herds of the wealthy. Although the tradition of kin-group mutual assistance was well developed, this did not preclude disputes over property and payment for labor.

The kin-group or nomadic-group councils, created in the 1920s, were by the 1930s headed by formerly propertyless but active persons. After the abolition of the kulak system and the socialization of the reindeer herds, the formerly propertyless headed the first small-scale economic enterprises. At present, almost all settlement soviets are headed by the Dolgan, but the state enterprises are headed by outside specialists. Within the settlement, the elite core is composed of the enterprise director, the trapping engineer, the hunting specialist, the manager of the settlement store, the chairman of the settlement council, the school principal, a physician or paramedic, and managers of economic departments. In the eastern settlements, some of these positions are occupied by the Dolgan. In most western settlements the Dolgan are represented only on the settlement councils.

The Dolgan, like all other small-scale groups within the TAO, receive certain privileges and subsidies from the state to enable them to survive and develop. These, in the main, are in the area of education, settlement building, and the improvement of settlement and economic enterprises.

The Dolgan now head the Association of the Indigenous Peoples of the TAO. They were most active in supporting the organization of this association in 1989. They are also represented in the Council of the Association of the Small-Scale Peoples of the North of the Russian Federation. The Taimyr Association declared the inalienable right of the small-scale peoples to the land and its subsurface resources, as well as the right to development of traditional culture.

Social Control. All peoples of the Russian Federation are subject to its constitution and juridical codices. The customary law of the Dolgan has been destroyed under the impact of state legislation. In spite of this fact, the traditions of mutual assistance among kin and supplying the elderly with a share of the catch are still strong.

Conflict. Various nomadic Dolgan groups in the Taimyr territory became involved in the same type of conflicts as did the Nganasan. Among the Dolgan, however, commercial relationships were already much more developed by the nineteenth century because a number of the Dolgan groups specialized in fur procurement for the market. Relationships with the merchants were not always smooth. The Nganasan remember even today how, in the past, the Dolgan nomads occupied their territories. Despite the numerous administratively mandated reorganizations and resettlements of 1950–1970, interethnic tensions still flare occasionally in the mixed settlements.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs and Practices. At the end of the nineteenth century, the Dolgan and the Yakut were considered the most faithful Orthodox Christians on the Taimyr Peninsula. The Church of the Epiphany in Khatanga was in existence from the early eighteenth century to 1920. The Dolgan have retained their ancient beliefs, however, which vary with different territorial groupings. At the basis of traditional Dolgan beliefs is the veneration of nature and of a multitude of spirits that control the hunt, the increase and safety of humans and cattle, and the preservation of life and the family hearth. Christmas and Easter were celebrated before the Soviet period and traces of Christianity are found in the intertwining of Dolgan traditional rituals with celebrations of saints' days. Shamans existed in almost every nomadic group, however, and the older generations among the Dolgan maintain their beliefs even today. In connection with the recent general democratization, it is possible that shamanism, which had been destroyed, may experience a kind of renaissance.

Medicine. Traditional means of healing sickness involved appealing to the spirits but also included minerals, medicines, animal parts, and metal plates. In cases of serious illness, shamans were consulted. Nowadays, a helicopter, summoned by radio, may transport the patient to a larger medical center than the one available in the settlement. Women about to give birth are also transported to such a center. Medicines and medical services are free of charge.

Art. Visual art, decorative and applied, was traditionally rather well developed. Reproduction of traditional wooden sculptures, however, has practically ceased because of the destruction of certain ritualistic beliefs. The fine and labor-intensive decoration of dressy clothing with fur mosaic, multicolored braid, embroidery thread, skin strips, and glass beads is highly developed. Traditional designs are used. Outstanding are the wooden details on the old reindeer saddles, inlaid with lead and pewter. Blacksmiths were also masters of copper inlay over steel, used on traditional hunting and household implements. The formerly rich folklore, songs, and narratives are preserved in a few places, but there are no more traditional storytellers. The modern poet and writer Ogdo Aksenova and the painter Boris Molchano are well known.

Death and Afterlife. A dead person's body remains in the dwelling for two days. Interment takes place at the cemetery on the third day, after noon. The preparation of the grave varies regionally. The Eastern Dolgan bury the body with the feet to the east in a coffin within a wooden chamber deep in the earth. On the surface, the grave site is marked by a cross or an obelisk at the foot. Occasionally, some of the following are appended to the cross: a star, an icon, the head of a reindeer consumed at the funeral feast, a model of a bow, an arrow, oars (if the deceased was a man), scrapers for skin processing (for women), or little birds (for children). Often the grave site is enclosed in a narrow wooden palisade. Formerly the grave was visited for three years. Nowadays it may be visited for longer periods. According to Dolgan belief, the deceased persons continue their existence in another world, dwelling with their dead kin.

See also Nganasan

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Don Cossacks

ETHNONYM: Cossacks

Orientation

Identification. Originally the Cossacks were free mercenaries who resided in a no-man's-land. They eventually became a part of the Russian irregular military with the main objective of defending Russia's borderlands. As such, they were identified by their area of residence. The Don Cossacks, the earliest known in Russia, appeared in the fifteenth century and the host was established during the early sixteenth century. About the same time the Zaporozhian Cossacks formed in the Dnieper River region. In the late sixteenth century, two offshoots of the Don Cossacks emerged: the Terek Cossack Host along the lower Terek River in the northern Caucasus and the Iaik (Yaik) Host along the lower Iaik River (now known as the Ural River). With the expansion of the Russian state and the government's encouragement, the Cossack hosts proliferated, forming a defensive belt along the borders of the empire. By the late nineteenth century, in addition to the earlier hosts, there were the Amur, the Baikal, the Kuban, the Orenburg, the Semirechensk, the Siberia, the Volga, the Ussuriisk, and, on the Dnieper River, the Zaporozhian Cossack hosts. The Don Cossacks remained, however, the most numerous and significant host. In pre-Revolutionary Russia, the Don Cossacks enjoyed an administrative and territorial autonomy.

With the creation of the USSR, their lands were incorporated into the present Rostov, Volgograd, Voronezh, and Voroshilovograd regions, as well as the Kalmyk Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.

Location. The Don Cossacks resided along the 800 kilometers of the Don River and its tributaries between 46°07′ and 51°18′ N and 37° and 45° E. "Father Don," as the Don Cossacks refer to the river, bisects a region of rolling hills. The river is generally frozen until spring, since winters are hard. Snow falls as early as November. Midwinter thaws do occur, however, and may be accompanied by weeks of rainfall. In the spring, fields sometimes flood. Summers are very hot, with a yellow haze of dust hanging over the wheat fields. The eastern part of the region, which constitutes the left bank of the Don and its tributary, the Medveditsa, is a steppe, the soil is barren and there are only a few shallow creeks. In the springtime, however, the steppe area is brilliantly green. In the west, on the right bank of the Don and in the adjoining area in the north, the steppes give way to hills. The most fertile land is found north of the Medveditsa River. Trees include oak, ash, fir, poplar, and, near the water, willows and pussy willows. Reeds grow along the edge of the river, which is sandy in some places. Birds to be found include geese, ducks (including teals), grebes, swans, bustards, eagles, crows, quails, sparrows, and magpies. Among indigenous smaller plants are thistles, thorns, wormwood, and spear grass. Fish include whitefish, sterlet, and carp.

Demography. In 1897 about 30,000 Kalmyks resided in Don Cossack territory. By 1917 the population of the Don area was 3.5 million, of which almost half were Cossacks, a quarter "native" peasants, and the rest "newcomers." Today the ethnic boundaries between Cossack and non-Cossack are relatively blurred.

Ethnic and Linguistic Affiliation. Whereas most of the Don Cossacks are of Russian or, to a far lesser extent, Ukrainian extraction, others are Turkic or descendants of Kalmyks who settled in the Don region in the seventeenth century. The language is a distinct variant of the southern Great Russian dialect and shows heavy influence from Ukrainian, Turkish, and Tatar. The name "Cossack," incidentally, is from the Turkic word *kazak*, meaning "freebooter, vagabond" (which should not be confused with the Kazakh ethnic name that appears in Kazakhstan).

History and Cultural Relations

The first Cossack settlements appeared in the late fifteenth century in the region of the lower Don. Most of these people were fugitives who chose to settle along the Don, out of reach of the Russian authorities. With the increasing population along the Don in the second half of the sixteenth century, the Don Cossacks emerged as an important military and political force in the area. Dependent on Moscow economically and militarily, they nevertheless remained politically and administratively independent, residing in the borderlands of the Russian and Ottoman states. In the late seventeenth century the Russian government attempted to limit their freedom and privileges. It was the demand that fugitives be returned that Cossacks saw as the greatest violation of their traditional liberties. By the end of the eighteenth century the frontier had moved farther south and the military significance of the Don Cossacks diminished. After 1738 the Don Cossacks' chief commander, who formerly was elected, became an appointee of the Russian government, and after 1754 the local commanders also were appointed by the Ministry of War in St. Petersburg. Through this and other moves, the Cossacks were completely absorbed into

the Russian military and performed military service throughout the Russian Empire; during the reign of Czar Paul, for example, they were ordered "to conquer India," and they had actually set off when, after his assassination, the insane directive was remanded. The Cossack gentry was created by the edict of 1799; Cossacks became equal in rank to the rest of the Russian military. In 1802 the lands were divided into seven districts administered by the Ministry of War; in 1887 the number of districts was increased to nine. By 1802 the Don Cossacks could furnish eighty cavalry regiments. Each enlisted Cossack had to serve thirty years. In 1875 military service was cut back to twenty years. They were particularly notorious for their role in suppressing revolutionary movements in Russia and the massacre of Jews during pogroms. During World War I the Don Cossacks formed fifty-seven cavalry regiments (i.e., nearly 100,000 horsemen). After the February Revolution of 1917 their chief commander, A. M. Kaledin, declared the formation of the "Don Cossack government." After Kaledin and his counterrevolutionary government were crushed, the "Don Soviet Republic" was promulgated in March 1918. However, the new Soviet policies of nationalization and the appropriation of surpluses led to an uprising in the Don region and elimination of the Soviet government. In January 1920 the Soviet troops returned to reestablish Soviet control of the area and to abolish any administrative autonomy in the region. The last reminders of past glory were several Don Cossack regiments formed in 1936 within the Soviet Army. During World War II these regiments proved to be hopelessly outdated cannon fodder and were eventually disbanded.

Historically the Don Cossacks bordered the Kalmyks in the east, the Nogays and the Crimean Tatars in the south, Russians in the north, and Ukrainians in the west. Today the region includes these and other ethnic groups of the USSR.

Settlements

Until the eighteenth century, with the beginning of the peasant colonization of the area, Don Cossack settlements were united in *stanitsas*, constellations of two or three villages. In the early nineteenth century there were 114 stanitsas with a new administrative center at Novocherkassk. The population of a stanitsa varied from 700 to 10,000 people. Types of housing ranged from the elaborate estates of the aristocracy—great houses surrounded by brick walls, outbuildings, servants' quarters, bathhouses, stables, and orchards—to substantial homesteads, to the more rudimentary huts of poorer peasants. Whereas the country house of a rich man would appear virtually interchangeable with its counterpart in Western Europe, peasant homesteads and huts were more characteristic of the Don region. These dwellings were built by carpenters but plastered by women, with clay kneaded with dung; the buildings were whitewashed "for Easter." The roofs were thatched, sometimes with reeds. Floors were earthen. Water was carried from the river by women, who suspended their pails from yokes. Many peasant huts were surrounded by wattle fences. Some village houses might have iron roofs, six or so paneled rooms, balustrades, and porches. Such houses might have a plank fence, and the yard might be paved with tiles. The houses, illuminated by oil lamps, typically had a silver icon in one corner, tables, mirrors, and a samovar, either on the stove or heated with charcoal. The stove was often tall and covered with green tiles. The house, which had eaves and window frames, was made more attractive by curtains, sometimes of blue cotton. Household items included iron-bound chests, photographs, and cradles for infants. Whereas some persons slept on bedsteads with feather beds, peasants often slept on plank beds. Behind the house was an earth cellar for keeping food. The smallest settlement was a *khutor*, a hamlet with no church. The village included a church and might have grain elevators and a steam flour mill or windmill. Today most of the population resides in large industrial cities: Rostov-na-Donu, Taganrog, Donetsk, Voroshilovgrad, and Novocherkassk.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. Until the eighteenth century the Don Cossacks did not practice farming—their military commanders specifically banned such activity. Instead they subsisted on the grain supplies from Moscow, shipped to them in exchange for military service. Annual supplies of gunpowder, bullets, liquor, and cash were also provided by the government. Sometimes the Don Cossacks purchased these and other indispensable commodities in the neighboring Russian towns, but the authorities in Moscow tried to prevent such trade. In addition the Don Cossacks were paid cash upon the completion of a military campaign. The state monopoly on salt and liquor did not apply to the Cossacks, and the right to produce both constituted a crucial privilege. Another major source of wealth was booty (*zipun*) captured in raids against the Ottoman provinces and the neighboring peoples. Among the most valuable items taken were animal herds, horses, household items, and particularly captives, who later were ransomed or exchanged. Fishing, hunting, and apiculture were major aspects of the economy; Cossacks resisted with particular vehemence any infringement on their exclusive rights to fish in the Don area. Animal husbandry—raising horses, cows, goats, pigs—remained an important part of the local economy. With the increased number of colonists in the eighteenth century and introduction of market crops in the nineteenth century, however, agriculture began to dominate the economy of the region. Wheat was the most important agricultural product, and considerable mechanical equipment was used in its cultivation. The ground was broken with harrows and plows; the crops were reaped by machine and then transported on underframes beneath wagons. Bullocks were the most common dray animals for field work. Wheat was kept in granaries, individual and communal, and ground in communal mills. Other field crops included barley, rye, and hemp. A rich farmer might have had more than a dozen bullocks, horses, cows, and flocks of sheep. Also raised were pigs, chickens, turkeys, and ducks. Cattle were kept in common pasture and were watched over by a village herder, who drove the animals back from the steppes in the evening. Gardens and farms made each household virtually independent with regard to its food needs. A village without orchards and gardens was called "unhappy."

Besides the customary apple trees and potato patch, the peasants also had patches of sunflowers, cultivated for their seeds. Hay was made from the steppe grass, and clover was also cut and used as hay. In the 1890s the region experienced economic depression, which continued unabated until the Soviet policies of industrialization changed the economic landscape of the area. Today, in addition to agriculture and animal husbandry, the area has a heavy concentration of various industries: steel, machinery, coal mining, and textiles.

Food. The most common breakfast was porridge. A major meal might consist of hot bread and butter, salted watermelon, pumpkin, pickled cucumbers and pickled cabbage, cabbage soup, homemade vermicelli, mutton, chicken, cold lamb's trotters, potatoes baked in their jackets, wheat gruel with butter, vermicelli with dried cherries, pancakes, and clotted cream. Workers in the fields enjoyed fatty meat and sour milk, whereas soldiers in the field often subsisted on cabbage soup, buckwheat gruel, and millet cooked in a pot.

Trade. In the past, most of the trade, particularly the slave trade, was conducted in Cherkassk, the administrative center. Transportation was by horse-drawn wagons or carts, in winter by bullock-drawn sledges. In the nineteenth century the Don Cossacks traded grain and cattle at the several annual fairs in the region. Today the major products are grain, coal, and steel, which are transported by rail or water to the other parts of the former USSR. Since 1952 the Volga-Don Canal has connected the two major arteries of European Russia.

Division of Labor. In pre-Soviet times labor was divided between men and women as in most traditional peasant societies. Women were judged by their ability to work and were almost constantly busy in the fields or their homes. Some of their duties included milking the cows and cooking, often under the critical supervision of a mother-in-law. For washing, the women beat clothing with flat stones in the river. They also prepared yarn on spinning wheels and knitted in idle moments. The Cossack men despised work and spent most of their time in military service, hunting, or fishing. Under Soviet rule the role of gender in the division of labor ceased to be important. Particularly during and after World War II, more women were employed at the jobs that traditionally had been reserved for men.

Land Tenure. Historically, the Don Cossacks had no immovable property and the land remained in common possession. With the influx of settlers and the incorporation of the Cossacks into the Russian military, landownership and serfdom were introduced in the region in the early nineteenth century. Water, forests, and grazing lands remained in usufruct, although each member of the stanitsa was eligible for a plot of land either as a shareholder or a rent payer. During the 1930s the Cossack lands were forcibly collectivized. Those who resisted were jailed or exiled to Siberia; others involuntarily joined the Soviet collective farms.

Kinship

In the early period, when Cossack society consisted of single males, the most important relationship was blood brotherhood. As the number of families began to increase, social ties based on exogamous lineages and godfatherhood became dominant. Descent is strictly agnatic.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Until the end of the seventeenth century the great majority of the Don Cossacks were single males. Falling in love, getting married, and settling down were considered out of keeping with the free life-style of the Cossack, and those few who followed such a course often found themselves mocked by their peers. With the influx of settlers to the Don region, however, the family emerged as a basic domestic unit. Previously most of the Cossack wives were captive women. Few married in the churches. In order to be considered wedded, a man and a woman would appear in front of a public gathering, say a prayer, and declare each other husband and wife. It was just as easy to divorce a wife by declaring that she was no longer loved. Upon this declaration, a divorced woman could be sold to any other Cossack for cash or goods. The dishonor of a divorce was removed after a new husband had partially covered a purchased woman with his coat and then declared her his wife.

Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the wedding rites became increasingly similar to the Russian ones, and most of the marriages took place in the churches. A husband had an unlimited authority over his wife and could beat, sell, or even murder her without a fear of punishment. Masculine domination often asserted itself in bitter, very profane cursing and sometimes in sadistic secret beatings. In view of these attitudes and practices, young women frequently detested the institution of marriage. Marriage traditionally was arranged by the father of the prospective bridegroom, who entered into negotiations with the girl's father through the agency of an elderly female relative of the young man, who served as matchmaker. Considerable haggling took place between the matchmaker, representing the bridegroom's family, and the father of the bride. A girl might have considerable choice, since her wishes were sometimes considered by her father in deciding whether to accept a proposed marriage. If the decision was yes, the two families began addressing each other immediately as relatives, broke out bread and a bottle of vodka, and began disputing over the amount of the dowry. A small procession, directed by the bridegroom dressed in a black frock coat, went to fetch the bride in several gaily colored wagonettes. While the newly arrived guests were drinking kvass and vodka, the bride's sisters put up a mock defense of the bride against the bridegroom. Sitting beside her, with poker and rolling pin as weapons, they refused to "sell" their sister for the offered price—a coin in the bottom of the bridegroom's glass. They finally did relinquish her, however; then the bridegroom explained that the total bride-price had been paid. Postmarital residence was traditionally patrilocal. Leaving the home of the bride's parents, the couple was showered with hops and wheat. After receiving the blessing of the groom's father, they went into the church for the formal wedding. During this ceremony the groom, at least, held a candle and the two exchanged rings. The ceremony culminated with a kiss. In the post-1917 period civil marriages

became prevalent. Today, because of the severe housing shortage, postmarital residence is conditioned mostly by the availability of space rather than the force of tradition. The age of marriage and childbearing is early or mid-twenties for both men and women. The rate of divorce is high. Legal abortion is a principal means of birth control.

Domestic Unit. The family household, the *kuren*, was the basic domestic unit of the Cossacks. It appears that an extended family household was less prevalent among the Don Cossacks than among the Russians and the Ukrainians. Boys were brought up in a strict military fashion and at the age of 3 were able to ride a horse.

Inheritance. Inheritance was through the male line.

Socialization. Male bonding and friendship were the most important traditional means of socialization for men. Any Cossack felt a definite superiority over any non-Cossack. A poor Don Cossack considered the rich non-Cossack merchant "a peasant." Until the eighteenth century Cossack women were secluded. Later they became more visible, socializing mostly with each other. Respect for parents and the aged remains important. In an elderly man, the Cossacks respect clarity of mind, incorruptible honesty, and hospitable ways. The universally admired Cossack today is one who has mastered military skills and who loves farming and hard work. The Don Cossacks were also known for their piety and loyalty to the monarch. An elderly Cossack considered his life fulfilled when he had "lived his days, served his czar, and drunk enough vodka." Drinking was similar to a ritual and avoiding it was regarded almost as an apostasy.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Traditional Don Cossack society was a military democracy. Local miliary commanders (*ataman*) as well as the chief commander (*voiskovoi ataman*) were elected in a public gathering (*krug*). Yet even at this early period Cossack society was clearly divided into the better-off, more established Don Cossacks (*domovitye*) who resided predominantly along the lower Don and the poor newcomers (*golutvennye*) who took residence farther up the Don. Social differentiation continued to grow with the Cossacks' further incorporation into Russian military, political, and legal systems. The atamans, now appointed by the Russian government, and the expanding bureaucracy formed a distinct social elite (*starshina*). The majority, however, were either rank-and-file cavalry or agriculturalists. In Soviet society the distinctions between social groups of the Don area became primarily occupational.

Social Control. The Cossacks traditionally have been bound by customary law. An offender was brought before the krug, and the punishment, agreed upon by all present, was announced by the ataman. Stealing from a fellow Cossack was one of the most grievous offenses. Testimony of two trustworthy witnesses was sufficient to sentence a serious offender to capital punishment by drowning (*v vodu posadit*). Corporal punishment was common. In a dispute between two parties, the ataman of the stanitsa served as mediator. If he failed to resolve the issue, he sent the contestants to Cherkassk, where the decision was made by the voiskovoi ataman and a group of elders. From the late eighteenth century until 1917 the legal system was comprised of the khutor court as a basic unit, the stanitsa court with four to twelve elected judges, an honor court for each two stanitsas, and the host government as the highest court. Elders had the authority to conduct courts-martial, and a man could be deprived of the title of Don Cossack. Youths were sworn into military service in a group ceremony involving as many as 1,500 young men. After taking their oath from a priest, the newly sworn kissed a crucifix. Discipline was severe, with sergeant-majors permitted tacitly to strike recruits in the face with whips with impunity, even under the eyes of officers. Punishment by a military tribunal sometimes led to execution by firing squad or a public birching, the latter carried out before a crowd on the public square with the pantless culprit bent over a bench. After 1917, Soviet courts and the Soviet legal system were introduced in the Don region. Today, the militia is used to enforce authority.

Conflict. Essentially a militaristic society, the history of the Don Cossack Host is the history of a military, political, social, and religious conflict. Until the late eighteenth century the Don Cossacks were in constant conflict with their neighbors: the Kalmyks, the Nogays, the Tatars, the Russians, and the Ukrainians. Government attempts to control the military actions of the Don Cossacks and to incorporate them into the Russian military led to some of the largest revolts in Russian history: one led by Stepan Razin in 1670–1671, another by Kondratii Bulavin in 1708, and yet another by Yemelyan Pugachov (1773–1774). Although these revolts were crushed, the Cossacks continued to play a major role in most of the social uprisings throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. After the Bolshevik Revolution the majority of the Don Cossacks remained strongly anti-Soviet and took an active part in the civil war of 1918–1920 on the side of the counterrevolutionary forces. In 1961 a mass demonstration of workers and students to protest food shortages ended in a bloodbath in the city of Novocherkassk.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs and Practices. After the schism within Russian Orthodoxy in the mid-seventeenth century, the Old Believers found a welcome refuge among the Don Cossacks, and a significant proportion of the population has remained Old Believer. Other Christian sects also came to settle in the Don region, although the Don Cossacks as a whole were committed to Russian Orthodoxy. By the 1820s there were 330 churches in the area. The church, located in the center of the village, had an onion-shaped cupola, sometimes green, with an adjoining garden surrounded by a brick wall. The houses of the priests, excellent by local living standards, stood nearby. The village church bell rang vespers and matins on Sundays, and time was reckoned by the church calendar. Confession was practiced and members of the church frequently crossed themselves before important acts and decisions. Prayers were often written down and carried as amulets. Unlike the practice elsewhere in the Russian Empire, the priests were elected until the middle of the last century. In 1891 there were 6,966 Russian Orthodox priests in the Don region, and the religious constituency of the area was diverse: Rus-

sian Orthodox, 1,864,000; Old Believers, 117,000; other Christians, 43,000; Tibetan Buddhists (Kalmyks), 29,551; Jews, 15,000; and Muslims, 2,478. The Soviet government made a sustained effort to eradicate religion. Today, although a significant number regard themselves as Christians, the majority are not practicing Christians.

Orthodoxy was commingled with other elements. Prayers were addressed not only to the Supreme Ruler and the Mother of God but also to folk heroes. Superstitions and folklore were mixed thoroughly with tradition. In song, the Don Cossacks referred to the Don as their "father" and to the surrounding countryside as "Mother Donland." Returning from military campaigns, they offered gifts to "Father Don": hats, capes, etc. Superstitions included fear of cats and of the number thirteen. An owl screeching from a belfry could portend trouble. Illness was seen as God's punishment and the illness of a child as punishment of the mother. Witchcraft could cause cows to go dry, as well as cause the death of livestock. The "evil eye" could make a girl morose or give her unwonted sexual yearning. Remedies for witchcraft were the province of crones, who might advise "washing away" the longing in the river by the light of dawn or sprinkling water over the shoulder. Some medicine had superstitious overtones. For bleeding, earth mixed with spiderweb was chewed, the bolus being applied to the wound. Superstition and tradition blended in such practices as that of placing a 1-year-old boy on a horse, in the belief that this would make him a good Cossack.

Arts. Oral epic poetry glorifying military feats and bravery was particularly well known. Cossack dancing and singing were also very popular. The Don Cossacks sang about their good horses and valiant battles but rarely about love.

Medicine. Today hospitals and physicians are available to the population. The poor state of Soviet and post-Soviet medicine, however, as well as traditional beliefs, still lead many to seek help from the folk practitioners.

Death and Afterlife. Death and pain were not matters of particular importance, unless a relative was involved, in which case there was a sense of bereavement. Burial could be in "Christian fashion," with the head toward the east and a small shrine placed over it or, as in the case of a peasant infant, simply in a small coffin under a tree with no accompanying service. Requiem masses were celebrated for the death of an adult, followed nine days later by a family feast for the priest and friends.

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MICHAEL KHODARKOVSKY AND JOHN STEWART

Dungans

ETHNONYMS: Xueįdzŭ

Orientation

Identification. The Dungans are a small ethnic minority, the descendants of the Chinese Muslims who crossed the Russian border from China over 100 years ago. When the Dungans speak or write in Russian, they refer to themselves (in the plural) as "Dungane" (i.e., Dungans), and when they speak their own language they refer to themselves as "Xueįdzu" (Hui-tsu in Chinese; i.e., Muslims).

Location. The Dungans live mainly in the Ch'u Valley of the Kyrgyz Republic and the Kurdaĭ region of the Kazakh Republic. Most of them live on Dungan collective farms, a few in cities such as Frunze (renamed Bishkek), Alma-Ata (renamed Almati), Tokmak, Przheval'sk, and Dzhambul. This whole area, which is near the Tianshan (Tian Mountains), has very hot summers and very cold winters. A small number of Dungans also live in Uzbekistan.

Demography. Over 10,000 Chinese Muslims have migrated to Russia. They have flourished and increased in number in their new home. The 1979 Soviet census recorded 26,661 Dungans living in Kirghizia, 22,491 in the Kazakh Republic, and around 3,000 in the Uzbek Republic (over 52,000 people in all); by 1985 it was estimated that there were about 70,000 Dungans living in the Soviet Union. The main reasons for the growth of the population are that the Dungans have six to eight children per family, and, being hardworking and industrious peasants, they have made a success of their collective farms and have adjusted to their new life.

The small group of Dungans living in Uzbekistan have lost their identity. They are usually referred to as "the Osh group" (see "History and Cultural Relations"). After the migration from China, the forebears of this group of Dungans scattered in Uzbekistan. They adopted Uzbek tools for agriculture and the Uzbek language. As most of them were men, they took Uzbek women as wives. Although there are some Dungan families living in this area now, they are isolated; some of them have partially forgotten the Dungan customs and language.

Linguistic Affiliation. Generally speaking, the Dungans who live in Kyrgyzstan speak the Kansu dialect, and those who live in Kazakhstan speak the Shensi dialect. Dungan scholars usually divide the Dungans into the Frunze-Ch'u Valley Group, who speak the Kansu Dungan dialect, and the Tokmak Group, among whom the Shensi Dungan dialect is spoken. For example, those who live in the city of Frunze and the large villages (*selo*) of Miĩanfan, Aleksandrovka, Kyzyl-Shark, and Yrkyk of the Kyrgyz Republic and Alma-Ata of the Kazakh Republic belong to the Frunze-Ch'u Valley Group. Those who live in Tokmak and selo Ken-Bulun of the Kyrgyz Republic and selo Masanchin and selo Shor-Tĩube of the Kazakh Republic belong to the Tokmak Group. The two groups differ in language, culture, customs, and life-style. For example, Kansu Dungans pro-

nounce "to lay an egg," "a tooth," "a rat," and "to speak" as *çia tan*, *ia*, *lotș'u*, *and fə xua*, whereas Shensi Dungans pronounce these as *xa tan*, *nia*, *lofu*, and *ṣə xua*.

The Kansu dialect is the official language of the Dungans. Radio broadcasts; the newspaper *Ṣi̮yeti tș'i* (October Banner); textbooks; dictionaries; and publications on Dungan language, literature, history, ethnography, poetry, and art are all in the Kansu dialect. The two Dungan dialects are similar, grammatically and phonetically, to the Kansu and Shensi dialects in China. The Dungan language has three tones. In most cases, the Mandarin first and second tones become the first tone in Dungan, and the Mandarin third and fourth tones correspond to the Dungan second and third tones, respectively.

As the Chinese Muslims who crossed the Russian border were mostly poor, illiterate peasants or small urban craftsmen and tradesmen, most of them could not read or write Chinese. After they settled in Russia they tried first, unsuccessfully, to create an alphabet based on the Arabic script, which was familiar to them from the Quran. From 1929 on they adopted the Latin alphabet and published many works, including poetry and textbooks, in that alphabet. The present Dungan alphabet, which is based on the Cyrillic alphabet plus five additional letters, was adopted at a series of conferences in Frunze in the early 1950s.

At present, not one Dungan can read or write Chinese characters. Some Dungans have read a small number of Chinese literary works in Russian translation.

Most of the Dungans are trilingual: they know Dungan, Russian, and, depending on where they live, either Kyrgyz or Kazakh. Many claim to know Tatar, Uzbek, or Uighur. (The Dungans seem to have a special affinity with the Uighurs and their language.) Their native speech, however, is sprinkled with Russian words and common expressions. The young generation prefers to read books in Russian, whereas some old Dungan men and some young and old Dungan women on the collective farms can speak only Dungan and very little Russian.

History and Cultural Relations

The Dungans crossed the Russian border first as defeated Muslim rebels from Kansu and Shensi provinces from 1877 to 1878 and then as settlers from the Ili region from 1881 to 1884. Their first migration was the direct outcome of the defeat of the Muslim rebellions in northwest China (1862–1878). After the fall of Kashgar and the final victory by the Manchu in Xinjiang, three groups of Muslim rebels crossed the Tianshan into Russia during the exceptionally severe winter of 1877. Many of these desperate refugees, especially old people and children, perished during this crossing. Both during the crossing and after their arrival, they were assisted by the Russians, Kyrgyz, and Kazakhs. General Kolpakovsky, the governor of Semirechenskaia Oblast, was instructed to accept these refugees and to give them land. One of the main reasons for this was that Russia had recently occupied the area where Kyrgyz and Kazakhs lived and did not want to alienate these Muslim minorities by refusing to help the Muslims from China. Of the three groups, about 1,000 settled near Osh, 1,130 settled near Przheval'sk, and 3,314 near Tokmak. Their descendants still reside in these settlements.

The second migration of Muslims from China occurred after the signing of the Treaty of St. Petersburg on 12 February 1881. The Ili region was occupied by Russian troops in 1871 and was under the jurisdiction of the Russian governor-general of Turkestan until 1881. According to the treaty between China and Russia, Russia was to return Kul'ja to China with the provision that a consulate should be established there, and Russia was to recognize Chinese rule over Kashgaria. The population of the Ili region could now make a choice: either they could stay under the much-hated, oppressive Manchu rule or leave behind the work of generations—houses, fields, and vegetable gardens—and move to Russia.

The Russian government was in favor of this migration. From the political point of view, the Muslims were bitter enemies of the Manchu, which would make them trustworthy and loyal Russian subjects. As experienced farmers, they were welcomed in the Semirechie area. On 20 June 1881 Kaufmann, the governor-general of Turkestan, sent a telegram giving the Muslims permission to send representatives to select locations for settlement along the Chilik River and the right bank of the Ili River. Eventually a small village called Sokuluk (located 30 kilometers west of Frunze, the present capital of the Kyrgyz Republic) was selected. The relocation took place between 1881 and 1884. The official number of Chinese Muslim settlers from Kul'ja is estimated at 4,682 people in all. Unlike the first migration, which was a headlong flight of desperate people chased by an enemy as they crossed the formidable Tianshan, the second migration occurred in times of peace and good weather. Those who intended to move had time to gather in the harvest, sell their houses and some of their possessions, and purchase provisions, horses, and carts for the long journey. Another difference was that, whereas the refugees in the first migration fled to and settled in the Semirechie area in three compact groups, the settlers from the Ili region came in small parties and settled all along the 1,000-kilometer route that stretched from the Chinese border to the appointed final destination of Sokuluk.

The main differences between the Dungans and the Chinese Muslims are that the Dungans have a higher standard of living than do the Chinese Muslims, and the Chinese Muslims are much more religious than the Dungans. Because the first Dungans arrived in Russia either because of the Muslim revolts against Manchu rule or the ill treatment of Muslims by Chinese and Manchu in general, the present-day Dungans are nationalistic and insist that they are not "Chinese Muslims" but "Dungans" and that they speak the Kansu Dungan dialect and the Shensi Dungan dialect, which are related to but differ somewhat from the Shensi and Kansu dialects in China. In addition, they refer to their food as "Dungan" food and to the stories they brought from China as "Dungan" stories. They also have the tendency to refer to all the Muslims in the world as "Dungans."

Settlements

Dungan refugees and settlers were given land and settled in compact settlements. After the October Revolution, these settlements were reorganized into kolkhozy and selo; one collective farm can cover an area of several villages, or

one large village can contain two or more collective farms. One place might be better known, and more often referred to, because of its collective farm, whereas another place might be referred to more often by the name of the village. For example, Sokuluk is now known as the selo of Aleksandrovka, and at present it contains two collective farms, Druzhba and Besh-Oruk. Most of the Dungan villages or collective farms are flourishing and well-run enterprises. Each has a population of 6,000 to 11,000, with 750 to 1,300 households and 1,200 to 2,600 workers. Each collective farm has a chairman who is a Dungan. A collective farm usually has two to three kindergartens and schools, one or two hospitals, and one cultural center (Russian: *dom kul'tury*), which in most cases houses a library, several shops, and a post office. Some collective farms also have such enterprises as forestry departments, veterinary clinics, dairies, and hothouses. Most of the people who work in the schools, hospitals, and libraries are Dungans. Some Kyrgyz and Kazakhs are present, but very few Russians.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. Most of the original refugees and settlers were farmers. They introduced the cultivation of rice to Central Asia, but they also cultivated wheat, barley, oats, corn, peas, lentils, flax, colza, millet, and sorghum. They grew such fruits and vegetables as watermelons, melons, cucumbers, pumpkins, potatoes, radishes, beetroot, cabbages, capsicums, eggplants, onions, and garlic. During those early days in Russia, some of the Dungans were in the carrier trade; some were carpenters, blacksmiths, silversmiths, or horse veterinarians; and some ran restaurants or small factories that processed linseed or colza oil, vermicelli made of pea flour, or sweets made from rice or millet. In short, they practiced the skills, such as repairing of chinaware, that they had practiced earlier in China. All this has changed since the creation of the collective farms after the Revolution. Now the main product of all the Dungan collective farms is sugar beets, along with some other vegetables, milk, and beef.

Division of Labor. Although some Dungans living in cities work as scholars at the Academy of Sciences in Frunze and a few are university lecturers, doctors, or artists, most live on the collective farms as farmers, mechanics, doctors, nurses, schoolteachers, librarians, pensioners, and children. (Out of 10,000 people on Druzhba, 2,200 work as collective farmers.)

Land Tenure. In the Soviet era, the collective farms belonged to the government, but each family had about one-quarter of a hectare of private land on which to keep sheep and cattle and grow vegetables for their own use. They also grew such products as garlic and tobacco for sale at the private markets. Druzhba had 5,130 hectares of land and owned 110 tractors, 48 modern combines, and 75 cars for public use. The main product of this collective farm was vegetables (10,000 tons per year). The collective farm also produced 2,000 tons of maize per year, 3,500 liters of milk, 530 tons of meat, 1 million eggs, and some wheat; it also sold onion and flax seeds. All products were sold to the state. The net profit (2,500 rubles in 1985) was used to build and maintain such facilities as clinics, schools, kindergartens, and the water-supply system. Many collective farmers, including teachers and people working in other professions, owned their houses: they could borrow the purchase price for ten to fifteen years. They could also borrow money to buy, for example, a cow. Today, privatization is rapidly altering the land-tenure system.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. The Dungans tend to marry other Dungans and as a result a considerable number of the Dungans in both the cities and the collective farms are related to one another. (For example, Abdurakhman Kalimov, the only Dungan scholar who has permanently lived and worked in Moscow, and Fatima Makeeva, one of the two female Dungan scholars living and working in Frunze, are related first because the wife of Kalimov's younger brother is Makeeva's maternal aunt—Makeeva's grandmother had nineteen children and her mother had ten—and second because Kalimov's elder brother's son is married to Makeeva's cousin on her mother's side.) Dungans think that one should have as many children and relatives as possible. When the children grow up, they are likely to live near their parents (a widowed daughter and her children would return to her father's home). Relatives visit and help each other.

The general law on mixed marriages is as follows: on the collective farms, all Dungan girls should marry Dungan young men; Kansu Dungan girls could marry Shensi Dungan young men, but Shensi Dungan families, which are regarded as more conservative, prefer their daughters to marry only Shensi Dungans. As for marrying people of other nationalities, Kazakh and Kyrgyz husbands, being Muslims, are acceptable; Russians are not. Similar but less strict rules apply to Dungan young men. Kansu and Shensi Dungan young men can marry either a Kansu or Shensi Dungan woman; occasionally they also marry Kazakh or Kyrghyz women, but not Russian women. All these rules are observed less often in the city, where a small number of Dungans have Russian wives. Non-Dungan wives, both on the collective farms and in the cities, are Dunganized: they speak the Dungan language at home, cook Dungan food, and eat with chopsticks.

Domestic Unit. The Dungans always had large families. During the early days after their migrations to Russia, whole sections of their settlements were occupied by large families with as many as seventy members. Such families usually consisted of a father, his two wives, the sons from both wives, and their wives and children. The head of a family determined the workload of each member and allotted equal amounts of money for the clothing allowance of each couple. Only some Dungans practiced polygamy, mainly because the settlers were too poor. Even rich Dungans had only two wives, the first wife always being a Dungan. The second wife could be non-Dungan, but she had to be a Muslim. The saying that "a Dungan girl prefers death to the disgrace of being a second wife" occurs repeatedly in Dungan folklore.

Polygamy and the custom of *kalym* (bride-money) were abolished in 1921. Divorce was very rare among Dungans; the main reason, if it did occur, was that the wife could not bear children. Only in the beginning of the twentieth century did the large families start to break up.

At the present time, the average Dungan family on the collective farms has about six or more children, but families in the cities are often quite small, with two to four children. Women on the collective farms come and go while they serve food but do not usually sit down with the guest, even when the guest is a female.

Socialization. In the Soviet era each collective farm had two to three kindergartens and schools. The kindergartens, which were also day nurseries, cared for young infants and children up to the age of 7. The schools were either from grade one to eight or from grade one to ten. Each school had over 1,000 pupils, around 90 percent of whom were Dungans. The schools were coeducational. Each had about sixty-five teachers, about forty of whom were women. Most of the directors of the schools and the teachers were Dungans. All subjects were taught in Russian. English and German were offered as electives. These two foreign languages were taught for two hours per week in the lower classes and for one hour per week in the higher classes. The Dungan language was taught for three hours per week from the second half of the first grade through the tenth grade. Because the pupils spoke Dungan at home and already knew it when they started school, Dungan classes concentrated mainly on reading and writing, grammar, and selected readings in Dungan literature.

Schools also offered the usual subjects of mathematics, geography, sewing, and cooking. The school year begans on the first of September, and the summer vacation lasted for about three months. The schools (like the cultural centers) are usually impressive buildings with a library, a cafeteria, and large classrooms. Dungan schools have a museum—which displays Dungan embroidery (now rarely seen in Dungan homes), Dungan clothes and silver jewelry (also out of fashion now), paper cuts of animals and flowers, and old tools of the bygone days—and a Club for International Friendship, its walls decorated with flags and maps of various countries.

Sociopolitical Organization

The Dungan collective farms are run by Dungans. The selo chairmen, kolkhoz chairmen, and school principals, for example, are usually Dungans. Most of the teachers and nurses and some of the doctors are Dungans. Seventy-five to 90 percent of the people living and working on the Dungan collective farms are Dungans. The rest of the population, composed of from fourteen to twenty-four nationalities, are Kyrgyz, Kazakhs, Russians, Uzbeks, Uighurs, Tartars, Belarussians, Germans, Chinese, Karachays, Koreans, and Ukrainians. On the surface, at least, the relationship between the Dungans and non-Dungans is fairly harmonious; one sees very few Russians on the Dungan collective farms. The Dungans regard themselves as superior to the Kyrgyz and Kazakhs, who are nomads and, therefore, according to the Dungans, less strict and less devout in religious matters.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. The Dungans are of the Sunni sect of Islam and Hanifi school of law. Because they lived under the Communist regime, it seems, at least at first glance, that they called themselves "Muslims" only because their ancestors were Muslims. Most of the Dungan scholars and writers and the people with official positions at the Academy of Sciences and the collective farms were party members, who rarely mentioned religion in their publications except to ridicule the teachings of Islam. Young Dungans are either actively against or indifferent to Islam, but there is a tendency among the Dungans to turn to religion after the age of 40.

On closer investigation, however, one finds that Islam does play an important role in the life of the Dungans. Nearly every Dungan settlement has a mosque, which is administered by the *ahung*, the mosque elders, and some respected members of the laity. The livelihood of the ahungs comes from the *zakat* (a tax levied on property) and from the financial support of the faithful. A portion of this money is also used for contributions to the main Islamic center in Uzbekistan and for the maintenance and repair of mosques. The Dungan clergy not only conduct prayer services in the mosque but also, if invited, pray and perform religious rites at the homes of the faithful. The religious rites are performed at home, for example, when an infant is given a Muslim name or at circumcisions, weddings, funerals, the memorial services after a burial, and religious holidays. Ahungs have great influence on the faithful, but this influence is restricted to religious rituals and the domestic side of everyday life. The Quran is kept not only in the mosque but also in the homes of many of the faithful. The Quran and other religious publications are obtained from the main Islamic center. The Shensi Dungans are more conservative and follow Sharia (law of Islam) more closely than the Kansu Dungans. Being more orthodox, older Dungans still observe at least four of the five Muslim observances—reading the Quran, prayer five times a day, fasting, payment of zakat, and pilgrimage. Obviously, in the Soviet period the Dungans could only observe the first four of these five "pillars of the faith" because of restrictions on travel. The prayers are in Arabic and the same as elsewhere in the Muslim world. There are special prayers for such occasions as weddings, funerals, housewarmings, and the periodic memorial services after burials.

Dungans still practice circumcision (*sunnet*); this is performed when boys are 5, 7, or 9 years of age. Although Dungans do not seem to be an actively religious group, they have, perhaps unconsciously, preserved many Muslim terms and customs in their infants' birthday celebrations and in weddings and funerals.

Ceremonies. The Dungans observe many ceremonies, and they are famous for their hospitality and their banquets. Their elaborate and colorful observances of birthdays, weddings, and funerals are related to several factors: as an isolated and close-knit group, they have preserved the long-forgotten customs that were practiced in China during the second half of the last century, and, because a large number of Dungans are related to one another, they enjoy large functions that are often attended by well over 100 friends and relatives. Shensi and Kansu Dungans, urban and rural Dungans—all observe these ceremonies, which tend to differ from each other, but only in some details. Generally speaking, after a Dungan baby is born

there are celebrations on the 10th, 40th, and 100th day after his or her birth and again when the child is 1 year old. As for the weddings, they are celebrated over the course of two to ten days, preceded and followed by numerous celebrations accompanied by special Chinese and Muslim customs and many banquets. Three examples will show that the Dungans conduct their weddings according to the traditions that were known to their ancestors in China: although the Dungans do not have arranged marriages any more (the young people decide whom they should marry), the matchmakers still visit the bride's home once a week for at least three weeks; the bride wears a red or pink Manchu-style gown and has the traditional elaborately decorated coiffure; and a "teasing the bride" game, which has long since ceased to exist in China, is played in the bridal chamber during the evening of the main wedding day.

Arts. The Chinese Muslims who crossed the Russian border, although almost entirely illiterate, brought with them, in oral form, their legends, stories, songs, and riddles. Not knowing Chinese characters, and living in Russia, they eventually settled on the Cyrillic alphabet. Although many works have been published, the written language of the Dungans is still close to the colloquial. Their poetry and songs have a rustic charm, reminiscent of village folk songs. Living in Russia, the Dungans have been introduced to pre- and post-Revolutionary Russian literature but not to the literature of other countries. In their tightly knit communities they have preserved Chinese cuisine, the use of chopsticks, and, to a certain degree, Chinese-style housing—most of the collective farmers have Chinese-style courtyards, and some still sleep on heated brickbeds (*k'ang*). Their clothes, with the exception of that of the brides and some Shensi Dungan women, are Central Asian.

Death and Afterlife. Dungan funerals are conducted according to Arabic funeral rites and differ only minutely from the present-day Muslim funerals in China. The corpse is washed, women cannot go to the cemetery on the day of the funeral, and on that day a mullah is hired to say a prayer over the grave each day for the next forty days. During this mourning period, the Shensi Dungans wear white mourning clothes; the Kansu Dungans do not wear mourning clothes. The deceased is remembered on the 4th, 7th, 40th, and 100th day after death, and then each year on the anniversary of the death.

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SVETLANA DYER

Estonians

ETHNONYM: Eesti

Orientation

Identification. The Estonians are a nominally Lutheran and Orthodox people inhabiting their own nation on the Baltic Sea and having their own language and culture despite having been dominated by foreign powers over most of their history.

Location. The nation of Estonia, with an area of 45,125 square kilometers, is located between 57°30′ and 59°49′ N and 21°46′ and 28°13′ E. It is bounded on the north and west by the Baltic Sea, on the east by Russia, and on the south by Latvia. The climate is maritime and cool, the topography is flat, and there are many rivers and lakes. The precipitation (61–71 centimeters annually), together with a very low evaporation rate and flat topography, often results in saturated soil. The soil is also very rocky, especially in the north. Forty percent of Estonia is forested, and 80 percent of the trees are coniferous.

Demography. The population of the nation of Estonia was estimated at 1,581,000 in 1991. Ethnic Estonians constitute 61.2 percent of this total, Russians 30.3 percent, Ukrainians 3.1 percent, Belarussians 1.8 percent, and Finns 1.1 percent; there are small numbers of Jews, Tatars, and Germans as well. The birthrate was 14 per 1,000 persons, and infant mortality was 25 per 1,000 live births in 1989. More than 72,000 Estonians left Estonia in August and September of 1944, fleeing the Soviet forces who were following the retreating Germans. Most of these people went to Germany and Sweden, although the majority of those in Germany have since emigrated to the United States and Canada.

Linguistic Affiliation. Estonian belongs to the Baltic-Finnic Division of the Finno-Ugric Branch of the Uralic Language Family; it is mutually intelligible with Finnish and is thus related to Livonian, Mordvin, Zyrien, Karelian, Votic, Ingrian, and Veps and distantly to Hungarian. Estonian is famous for its three degrees of consonant and vowel length. The vocabulary currently contains many German

loanwords. Structurally, inflection is primarily by use of suffixes. Estonian has two main dialects, the southern or Tartu, and the northern or Tallinn; the latter is spoken by the majority of Estonians and is the standard Estonian literary dialect. Some subdialects show the influence of other languages; for example, the western subdialect of the northern dialect exhibits Swedish influence. All of the Estonians plus .3 percent of the other people living in Estonia (i.e., 61.5 percent in all) speak Estonian as their native language. Since independence from the Soviet Union in 1991, it has been necessary to demonstrate proficiency in Estonian to acquire Estonian citizenship.

History and Cultural Relations

Archaeological evidence suggests that present-day Estonia was peopled by 6000 B.C. and probably earlier. The Neolithic transition had little effect on the region, save for small changes in stoneworking and the introduction of pottery; agriculture was not adopted here as elsewhere. Moreover, neither the Bronze Age nor the early Iron Age had much effect on the people of the region because it is poor in metal resources and because trade with southern peoples was insubstantial. Instead, the people made tools of stone, bone, and wood, and most continued a hunting, fishing, and gathering life-style. During the later Roman Iron Age the ancestors of modern Estonians began extensive overland trade with peoples to the south and sea trade with the Goths. It was during this period as well that hunting, fishing, and gathering were replaced by agriculture, animal husbandry, and trade, and people left the valleys to settle on more arable lands. During the Middle Iron Age Estonia and most other regions of Europe experienced economic distress as a repercussion of the fall of the Roman Empire.

During the Later Iron Age (A.D. 800–1200) Estonia prospered, owing in large part to its strategic location between western and northeastern Europe. In addition to animal husbandry and agriculture, the peoples of the area became skilled in handicrafts and ironworking. Society at this time was stratified. The small farmers were freemen but had less influence than the nobility, who were called "betters." There were also slaves, people who had been taken from other countries. Political affairs were run by the "elders," one or more of whom controlled each state. During foreign wars, several or all of the states would form a confederacy. These confederacies were responsible for a successful repulsion of the Russians and, during the period of A.D. 1000–1200, for successful raids on Sweden and Denmark.

The Estonians, who were politically and militarily uncentralized, lost their independence in 1227, when they were conquered by Christian forces. Along with the Latvians, the Estonians had opposed conversion to Christianity since that would have meant relinquishing political control to the church. In 1202 Bishop Albert of Riga formed the crusading Order of the Military Brothers of Christ, to conquer Estonia. In their long war with the Estonians, this order, also known as the Knights of the Sword, were allied with the Danes after 1219.

Northern Estonia came under the rule of the Danes. Southern Estonia was controlled by the Knights of the Sword and, later, by the Order of Teutonic Knights. The Danes sold northern Estonia to the Order of Teutonic Knights in 1346, largely because of Estonian rebelliousness. The Teutonic Knights put down the insurrections, taxed their Estonian subjects heavily, and created large landed estates, which they rented to tenants. The tenants gained increasing legal control over the lives of the peasants and gradually transformed them into serfs and, later, slaves.

Ivan IV began a war against the Teutonic Knights in 1558, and the Muscovites rapidly took Estonia. The Teutonic Knights, the city of Tallinn and the northern Estonian nobles took an oath of loyalty to the king of Sweden in 1561. Sweden fought the Muscovites and removed them from Estonia by 1582. The reign of Gustavus Adolphus, beginning in 1625, saw numerous reforms including the abolition of landowners' jurisdiction over criminal legal cases, the creation of courts in which peasants could take action against their landlords, and the founding of schools.

Peter the Great of Russia went to war and took Estonia in 1710. He obliterated the reforms of the Swedes and returned to the German nobles their control over the lives of the peasants. In 1740 the Russian judiciary ruled that serfdom was legal. Estonians later rioted. Czar Alexander I supported protections for the serfs, however, and in 1816 Estonian serfs were freed. The former serfs courted the czar's protection from the Lutheran landlords by becoming members of the Orthodox church. Land reform ensued in 1856: peasants were given the right to buy and own freehold estates. Czar Alexander II made a law in 1866 removing the authority of landowners over peasant communities and in 1868 decreed the payment of rent by service abolished. The liberal influences of the Russian czars also led to the availability of schooling for all, with the result that by 1870 the Estonian literacy rate was 95 percent.

An Estonian nationalist movement began in the 1860s, and by the 1870s it had split into two factions. The more moderate faction, composed mostly of university-educated people, favored a slow pace for reform, whereas the majority of people adhered to a more extreme program that sought immediate equality with the German upper class. Czar Alexander III responded by attempting to Russify Estonia, making Russian rather than German the official language of the courts, the schools, and the police. In the 1890s, Tartu University students initiated the next significant wave of nationalism, which led to slow but peaceful reforms. In 1905, however, the Russian Revolution took place, and some Estonians took this as an opportunity to attack German landowners. Russia responded by establishing martial law from 1905 to 1908. The February Revolution of 1917 brought into power a liberal Russian government, which in April 1917 granted Estonian unification and autonomy. In June the Estonians elected a national council, but this was quickly and forcefully dissolved by the Bolsheviks. On 24 February 1918 the Estonian Council of Elders declared Estonian sovereign independence, but the next day a German occupation force dissolved the new provisional government. The German Revolution put an end to German designs on Estonia, and on 9 November 1918 Germany recognized Estonian rule over Estonia.

What followed is known as the Estonian War of Inde-

pendence, which began 28 November 1918 with a Bolshevik attack. The Estonians were aided in their defense by British weapons and naval forces and by Finnish troops. After many difficult battles the Estonians prevailed, and the Soviets concluded a peace treaty on 2 February 1920. Following the war, Estonia gradually rebuilt its industry and economy.

Unfortunately for Estonia, the country and its people were annexed by the USSR in 1940 under the secret provisions of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. On 6 August 1940 Estonia became a Soviet republic. The Soviets nationalized businesses and industries without compensation and deported 60,000 people. Most of the men were sent to perform hard labor (e.g., cutting timber) in Siberia, where many died; a few were conscripted by the Red Army. Germany captured Estonia in 1941 and drafted into its military those young men who had not managed to escape to Finland. In 1944 the Soviets reconquered Estonia. The Soviets then proceeded to collectivize Estonian agriculture. When the process looked to be going too slowly to suit the Soviets, they punished Estonia by deporting Estonians to Siberian labor camps; from 1944 through 1949, an estimated 40,000 to 50,000 Estonians were forcibly removed from their homeland. In 1955 those who survived were allowed to return to Estonia. The Soviets carried out a policy of cultural and social Russification after World War II, despite encountering guerrilla resistance well into the 1950s.

As the Soviet Union began to crumble, Estonia pressed for its independence. Resentment of Soviet control took the form not only of anger over political domination but also of outrage over the pollution and despoliation caused by Soviet-style industrialization. After Lithuania declared independence in 1990, the Estonian congress renamed the country and adopted its pre-Soviet coat of arms. After the attempted coup against Gorbachev, Estonia formally declared independence on 20 August 1991, which the USSR recognized on 6 September of that year. Eleven days later, Estonia joined the United Nations. The postindependence period has thus far been characterized by political and economic instability.

Settlements

The settlement pattern is typically European, with people living in villages, towns, and four major cities (Tallinn, Tartu, Narva, and Köhlta Jarve). Since the late 1920s houses in rural areas have been constructed of bricks, rather than the traditional wood, so as to conserve timber resources.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. Primarily agrarian until Soviet domination in 1940, the Estonians were a nation of farmers who produced grains, flax, potatoes, and animal products. There are also the historically important timber, shipping, and fishing industries. Industrialization took many years to establish itself following independence in 1920 because Estonia had little money, had been kept undeveloped by the landed nobility, and had little fuel for factories. It was fortunate for Estonia that it has large oil-shale deposits, which have been used to supply industrial needs. Soviet control turned Estonia into a primarily industrial nation; 60 percent of the gross national product and more than 65 percent of employment is provided by manufacturing. Much of the industrial output of Soviet Estonia went to the USSR; most of the Estonian oil shale, for example, went to provide gas for Leningrad.

Industrial Arts. Prior to Soviet domination, Estonia had a modern and well-developed industrial base, even though the country was at the time primarily agricultural. Estonia produced the following in quantities sufficient to export: butter, bacon, eggs, potatoes, flax, timber and lumber, pulp, paper, shale oil, textiles, glass, and artificial (casein) horn. Much of the required electrical power came from the burning peat, of which Estonia has large stores. The Soviets, established many new industries in Estonia, which produce concrete, scientific instruments, industrial chemicals, electrical equipment, refined oil, agricultural tools, and mining machinery.

Trade. Under the Soviets, nearly all of Estonia's trade was with the Soviet Empire. Following independence, Estonia embarked upon an ambitious program to enter western European markets, particularly those of Finland and Germany. Several Swedish companies have purchased such goods as automobile parts and cigarettes from Estonian companies. In January 1993 Estonia made an advantageous trade agreement with the European Community. Estonia, like all recently freed former Soviet republics, has been hindered by its earlier interconnectedness with the internal economy of the Soviet Empire. In one respect, however, the long-established trade routes with Russia and the largely open borders between the two countries have helped Estonia; they have led to a great deal of smuggling of Russian goods, which in Russia are sold at far below world prices. The nationalism that Estonia has experienced since independence has been growing, and as a result foreign investment in Estonia has rarely been welcome, despite a high unemployment rate.

Division of Labor. Women in urban areas traditionally remained at home to care for children and perform domestic tasks, whereas men worked outside the home. In rural areas women did this same work but also tended gardens and cattle and sometimes worked in the fields when needed. The traditional roles of women and children were altered by the Soviets. Women were "liberated" from the capitalist system so that they could be put to work in the oil-shale mines and at other physically onerous tasks. The Soviets also imposed a labor duty on boys of 14 to 17 years of age; this duty required them to attend industrial schools for six months and then to work wherever they were needed within the Soviet Union.

Land Tenure. The husband traditionally owned all of the family's property. During the period of freedom between the world wars, the new government embarked on a program of land reform. Approximately 750 of the great estates that had survived so long under the Russian government were expropriated by the Estonian government and divided into 55,000 parcels. Also, the 23,000 Estonians who had rented land were given freehold title to those lands. Real property was nationalized under the Soviets. Farms were collectivized in 1949, and the 140,000 Esto-

nian farms were reorganized into 2,300 kolkhozy and 127 sovkhozy. By 1991 many of these had been combined so that there were a total of only 300 collective and state farms. The new Estonian government has already begun to dismantle these farms and to privatize farm ownership. By mid-1993 it aims to break all but 50 of the collective and soviet farms into 15,000–16,000 private farms. Moreover, all kinds of real property nationalized by the Soviets is being privatized by the Estonian Department of State Property. Those who lost their property to Soviet nationalization in 1940 may either take possession of the property they lost or accept compensation for it. Land not returned to previous owners is being put up for sale and may be purchased by Estonians. Estonians are being given vouchers for the years they have worked, at a rate of 300 kroon per year of employment; they may use these vouchers either to purchase their residences or to invest.

Kinship, Marriage, and Family

Traditionally, nuclear families have lived separately in cities. In rural areas, on the contrary, it was not uncommon for as many as three generations to live together. It was often the case, however, that older couples built themselves a new house near their old home, which was left to a married son or daughter who was to begin having children. Since World War I and perhaps earlier, there has been a trend throughout Estonia toward separation of nuclear families. During the period of independence between the world wars, the fertility rate fell, and the government tried to stimulate births by means of financial bonuses.

Prior to independence in 1918, Estonian schooling was not well developed because of the harsh economic conditions imposed on the people by the ruling class of landlords. After independence, and after a sufficient number of school buildings were erected, education became compulsory for those between 8 and 16 years of age. English, German, French, and Russian were taught as foreign languages. In addition, there were colleges and lyceums as well as an entire network of vocational schools. The Soviet occupation in 1940 abolished this system entirely and substituted the Soviet system. Although many students attended Estonian-language schools, they were required to study Russian as well; others attended Russian-language schools. No Estonian history was taught until 1957, and after that only small amounts. Political indoctrination was of prime importance in the curriculum.

The contemporary Estonian formal educational system is free of charge. Attendance is compulsory for eleven years. Primary education spans eight years, the secondary level four years, and the university level five years.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. During the period of independence between the world wars, Estonia had three social classes. There was a small upper class, composed primarily of businessmen and government and military officials. The middle class was much larger than the other two, counting among its members teachers, clerks, doctors, lawyers, and independent farmers. There was also a working class. Movement between classes was relatively easy to accomplish at that time.

Political Organization. The Republic of Estonia's legislature is a unicameral assembly, the Riigikogu, whose 102 members are directly elected by the people to four-year terms. For any political party to put its elected members into the Riigikogu, however, it must receive 5 percent of the vote. In 1992 there were seven major parties. The government is the Council of Ministers, headed by a prime minister. The head of state is the president, who is elected by a majority of the popular vote; should no one candidate receive a majority, the president is elected by the Riigikogu. All Estonians over the age of 18 may vote in national elections. Those who are not Estonian citizens may vote only in municipal elections.

Social Control. After independence in 1920, the Estonian legal system was still under the control of ethnic Russians; consequently, great emphasis was placed on the training of ethnically Estonian law teachers. Two of the advances made by the Estonian legal authorities were to make all administrative decisions subject to the law and to make legal decisions conform to precedent, neither of which had been the case theretofore.

Conflict. Many of Estonia's internal conflicts arise from Estonians' hatred of Russians. Many Russians remain in Estonia, and they are essentially unable to become Estonian citizens. Both Russians in Estonia and within the Russian nation have protested this situation as a violation of human rights, and the withdrawal of Russian troops has slowed. The Estonians, in response, have brought up the issue of past Russian human-rights violations. Much political conflict has come about over the associations that people in government once had with the Soviet government and over questions as to whether those in power are sufficiently anti-Russian in their actions.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. A Danish monk by the name of Fulco introduced Christianity to the Estonians in the twelfth century, although it was not until later that the Estonians converted. Moreover, it was not until the eighteenth century that beliefs concerning the supernatural became more or less fully Christian. In 1934, before Soviet domination, nearly 80 percent of Estonians were Lutherans, and almost 20 percent were listed as Orthodox. There were also very small numbers of Baptists, Methodists, Jews, and Catholics.

Religious Practitioners. During the period of independence between the world wars, the Estonian Lutheran Church was governed by the Church Assembly, composed of the members of the various synods, the members of which in turn were the pastors and lay officials of the parishes. Each parish was controlled by provosts, prominent pastors elected from among the synod membership. The Church Assembly elected its bishop, the head of the church, and legislated church rules. Some of the more prominent clerical and lay people together formed the Consistory, which made decisions on the basis of religious rules.

After independence in 1920, the Orthodox Church of Estonia broke from the Russian church and became the independent Estonian Apostolic Orthodox Church. The

head of the church was the metropolitan, who approved the executive decisions of the synod and who was consecrated by the patriarch of Constantinople. The Church Assembly, made up of church members, elected the metropolitan, the bishops, the membership of the synod, and the priests.

Recently another denomination, the Free Estonian Church, has become an important link between Estonians in exile.

Ceremonies. The most important rituals, in terms of the amount of effort expended in celebrating them, are baptisms, confirmations, and weddings. In rural areas wedding celebrations could last a week.

Arts. Traditional Estonian folklore has as its subjects animals, witchcraft, and humorous material. Estonian folksongs are of two kinds. The older, traditional, style is known as *runo* and is characterized by short and simple musical phrases that are repeated again and again as the epic lyrics are sung. The newer style, influenced by German choral music, is more lyrical and has longer musical phrases and a wider range of rhythms. The modern Estonian musical had its start in the choirs and brass bands that were first established in the early nineteenth century. Estonians have a penchant for large musical festivals, and in some of these celebrations there are as many as 21,000 performers and 100,000 spectators. The larger festivals may have a choir with as many as 15,000 voices or a band of 2,000 musicians. During the period of independence, Estonia established several symphony orchestras and theaters and two music schools. The arts in general were supported by grants from the federal government during this era.

Much of Estonian literature has been influenced by foreign trends, and foreign literature continues to be popular. Early literature (1200–1700) was often the work of resident foreigners who had little proficiency in the Estonian language. Only in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries did fiction by Estonians begin to appear, including that of the poet Kristian Jaak Peterson. During the national renaissance of the late nineteenth century, physical conditions had improved to the point that authors were free to write, although Russian political domination also included heavy literary censorship. During this time poetry, particularly epic poetry, became the most popular form of literature; the most popular poet of the era was Lydia Koidula. The realist period of 1890–1905 saw the introduction of modern foreign literature into Estonia, the publication by Estonians such as Eduard Vilde of historical-political novels, and the performance of political plays by August Kitzberg and others. Neoromantic and symbolic poetry became popular in the period 1905–1920, and names such as Gustav Suits, Marie Under, and Friedebert Tuglas became famous. After World War I, the neorealist novel became preeminent. Some of the more important authors of the period are Anton Tammsaare, Albert Kivikas, and August Jakobson. Soviet domination from 1940 on all but destroyed Estonian literature; only approved Soviet Communist themes were tolerated. Many Estonian authors escaped to the West, where they continued to write, but of those who remained many were imprisoned or had their works banned.

The Estonian pictorial arts followed a similar pattern of mixing foreign influences with indigenous invention. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, painters and sculptors were trained in St. Petersburg, and later in Paris and Germany. Some of the most important names are Eduard Jakobson (who established Estonian graphic arts) and the "Young Estonians" Mägi, Triik, Koort, Jansen, and others. The 1930s saw the rise of three important wood engravers: Wiiralt, Mugasto, and Laigo. Soviet political control later resulted in uncreative work, although some good works have been created in exile.

See also Karelians

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DANIEL STROUTHES

Even

ETHNONYMS: Lamuts, Tungas

Orientation

Identification. The Even, like the related Evenki, are singularly distinguished—not only among the peoples of the North and of Siberia, but also among the peoples of the world—by the fact that such a small population occupies such an enormous territory. Numbering only 17,199 persons (according to the 1989 census), they are settled over more than 3 million square kilometers—roughly equal to the area of all of western Europe. In recent decades the Even population has been increasing: in 1970 it was 11,819; in 1979 it was 12,452.

In the pre-Revolutionary period there was no sharp division between the Even and the Evenki; in most of eastern Siberia both were often called "Tungus." This joint designation has a simple explanation—the two peoples

were more alike than different, with similar material and spiritual cultures, economies, and social organization. Their two dialects, having one base, were also quite similar. Only in the northeast of Yakutia and on the Okhotsk shore were the Even previously called "Lamuts" (from *lama*, lake, sea, large reservoir), thus "littoral dwellers."

Settlement among other ethnic groups also led to a series of other names: the Yakut called them "Lamuts" and also "Omuks," whereas the Yukagir used "Erpe" and the Chukchee and the Koryak called the Anadyr and Penzhinsk Even "Koraramkyn" or "Koyayakyn." Today the term "Even" is emerging as the general one for all Even groups. The Even also have many names that reflect specific occupations: "Oroch" means reindeer among the Even of Kamchatka and the north shore of the Sea of Okhotsk; other terms indicate clan affiliation, such as "Tuges" (a clan of Tyugyasiets in the north of Yakutia), "Dutki," and the like. In the eighteenth century a group of sedentary Even on the Okhotsk littoral who fished and hunted sea mammals were called "unmounted" Tungus. Among Even of the Lower Kolyma the native name of "Ilkan," that is, "Genuine Man," became widespread; it arose among this group of Even settled next to the Chukchee as an obvious counterpart to the terms with the same meaning that were used for the Chukhots.

Location. Even territory covers distinct climatic zones: mountain taiga and vast expanses of wooded and unwooded tundra. Today Even live in the northern part of the Yakut Republic in the basins of the Lena, the Yana, the Indigirka, and the Kolyma rivers, where their neighbors from among the aboriginal peoples are the Yakut and Yukagir; in the southeast there are mixtures of Even and Yakut. The Even reside in Chukotka along the middle course of the Anadyr and its tributaries together with Chukchee peoples; in the Kamchatka Peninsula Even live with Koryak and Itelmen neighbors. Even are also found in the Magadan region, the Khabarovsk District, and on the shores of the Sea of Okhotsk in the basins of the Gizhiga, Okhota, and Kukhtui rivers.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Even language belongs to the Tungus-Manchu Branch of the Altaic Language Family. Its wide distribution over the territory of eastern Siberia occasioned the subdivision of the language into about twenty dialects (or other distinct modes of speech) of which four are eastern (Olyutorsk, Bystrinsk, Ol'sk, and Okhotsk), five are intermediate (Allaikhorsk, Oimyakonsk, Momsk, Tomponsk, and Upper Kolyma), and four western (Sakypyrsk, Tyugesirsk, Ust-Yansk, and Bulunsk).

History and Cultural Relations

The ethnic formation of the Even is relatively recent but complex. The key event was the separation of the northern part of Old Tungus society as a result of migrations and the consequent expansion of the Tungus Language Group over the territory of northeastern Siberia. The Tungus had cultural contacts with almost all the ethnic groups of the region: Yukagir, Yakut, Koryak, Chukchee, and Itelmen, all of which influenced local Even culture—as has the recently arrived Russian population.

Three basic stages can be distinguished in the ethnogenesis of the Even. An early stage (roughly until the eleventh century B.C.) was characterized by the emergence of the northern branch of the Tungus community as a result of the contact and mutual cultural influences of Tungus society with the ancestors of the Yukagir. Archaeological evidence indicates the existence in Yakutia in the early Iron Age of an Old Tungusic and an Old Yukagir tradition that evolved in a parallel manner; the Even and Evenki are also closely related in terms of physical anthropology. Turkic-speaking Yakut populations penetrated into the basin of the Lena River and other regions of eastern Siberia (after the fifth century), a movement that was connected with other demographic processes in Central Asia and the expansions of the Mongol peoples. The Tungusic ancestors of the Even and the Evenki were displaced from the territory that they had occupied.

Under pressure from the Turks, the Tungusic-speaking groups migrated to the west, north, and, in particular, the northeast. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries they emerged on the shore of the Sea of Okhotsk. The advance of the ancestors of the Even to the northeast affected the Yukagir and the Koryaks and led to the loss of a large part of their ethnic territory. The extremely low population density notwithstanding, this movement of population was accompanied by numerous interethnic conflicts. Particularly sustained and stubborn was the struggle for the Okhotsk littoral between the Even, who were seeking new hunting grounds for themselves and pastures for their reindeer, and the sedentary Koryaks, who already occupied the area. In many legends there are references to tense relations along the seacoast at that time. The Koryaks would attack the migrating Even at one of their camp sites—either when the men were out hunting and only women, old people, and children were left, or at night by creeping up to the tents unnoticed. The Even undertook retaliatory campaigns. Both sides used bows and arrows and spears. In addition, the Even used in hand-to-hand combat the *palma*, a broad, heavy knife attached to a long wooden handle.

The third stage in the ethnic formation of the Even and the final consolidation of Even territory began with the arrival of the Russians in eastern Siberia during the first half of the seventeenth century. The Russian government, in no small degree, facilitated the advance of the Even onto the lands of the Koryaks and the Chukchee, using Even hunters and herders to impose a system of tribute on the indigenous peoples of eastern Siberia. In the third stage, as in the earlier ones, the processes of mutual cultural influence between the Even and the Yukagir and between the Even and the Koryaks continued, but, unlike what occurred in the second stage, it was peaceful, particulary during the second half of the eighteenth century. This stage ended in the first half of the nineteenth century with the advance of the Even to the northeast as far as the Kamchatka Peninsula.

The existence of the Even as a distinct ethnic group is attested to by the fact that the Russians, as early as the seventeenth century, distinguished the Even from other Tungus-speaking groups on the bases of both their language and the features of their culture. Ultimately, Even culture became syncretic, with a general Tungusic base and cultural elements borrowed from other indigenous peoples of the North. For example, after contacts with other cultures the Even adopted the Koryak-Chukhotsk manner of

herding reindeer in large herds and borrowed several modes of transportation (Koryak sleighs) and a particular kind of conical cylindrical dwelling—a combination of the Tungus tipi (*chum*) and the Koryak and Chukchee *yaranga*—used by the majority of the Even groups.

After establishing its power in the North in the early 1920s, the Soviet government, together with local councils (soviets), instituted programs among the Even and other indigenes to encourage cultural and economic development. These included abolishing taxes and fulfillment of certain obligations; defining various privileges; and carrying out a long-term program for converting reindeer herding from a migratory to a sedentary form—mainly through weakening native ideas about the necessity of preserving the traditional complex economy (reindeer herding, hunting, and fishing), which was more rational and applicable to the northern conditions. An important and significant condition for the transition to a sedentary style was the construction of centers for the dissemination of contemporary culture—the northern settlements (*posëlki*).

Settlements

The hunting/reindeer-herding segment of the Even previously used a large tent (chum); a light, transportable frame-house sort of dwelling that was either conical or conical-cylindrical was called *dya*. On this frame of slender poles they threw covers of reindeer skins. The hearth was in the center. Such a dwelling, adapted to the conditions of nomadic life, was convenient, simple in construction and could be set up and taken down quickly—in not more than 10 or 15 minutes. The pedestrian Tungus, on the other hand, lived at a depth of about 1 meter below the earth's surface in semisubterranean, permanent, warm dwellings covered with turf.

With the transition to a sedentary way of life, the overwhelming majority of the Even received wooden-log or plank houses from the state-farm or collective-farm authorities. These dwellings are occupied by herdsmen when they are not pasturing the herds. For nomadism, however, the Even still use the light, transportable dwellings together with factory-made tents, but with tarpaulin covers instead of reindeer hides.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. The basis of the traditional economy was hunting and reindeer herding. The Even hunted for arctic deer, elks, bears, rabbits, foxes, mountain goats, musk deer, and other animals (for both meat and fur). In northern Yakutia a specially trained decoy reindeer was used. A noose-shaped lasso was attached by a special technique to a domestic reindeer; then the owner, hiding behind some bushes or the deer itself, would lead him up to the herd of foraging wild deer. The leader of the herd usually stepped forth to do battle with the stranger deer in order to drive him away. Becoming entangled in the noose of the lasso, this deer became the hunter's prey. In winter the Even hunted for bears in pairs and triads because it was necessary to lift a bear out of its lair. Before firearms came into use, they also hunted bears alone, with a palma spear and a knife, which demanded skill and courage. As the bear advanced, the hunter would throw a cap or rag or some other object into the air to cause the bear to rise up onto its rear feet and bare a vulnerable part of its body such as the throat or breast. The hunter would be on one knee holding the palma propped against the ground with its point upward, on which the bear, descending with all its weight, would pierce itself and sustain a mortal wound. The bear was finished off with a blow of the knife to the neck. A solitary hunter usually took a dog along that, in case of mishap, drew the bear away from the fallen man. The Even generally hunted mountain goats from ambush, hiding on the leeward side of the animal's path and awaiting its appearance. To hunt otters, rabbits, and foxes in the taiga the Even used a bow-and-arrow device that discharged when triggered. Powerful bows were used for elks.

Even hunters were distinguished by exceptional endurance. If a deer or other animal were wounded and ran off from the hunter, the hunter would begin a pursuit that might last several days, until the complete exhaustion of the animal.

With the coming of the Russians to Siberia and the subjugation of the aborigines to the czar, the native population was saddled with the payment of tribute, a special tax that had to be paid with the skins of furbearing animals: sables, squirrels, marten, and so forth. In this way the fur industry acquired primary significance among the Tungus.

In the forested regions of Yakutia and in districts on the shore of the Sea of Okhotsk, the Even had small herds of reindeer. Reindeer were used primarily as beasts of burden—either for riding or transporting household property in large bags (Russian: *tyuk*); consequently, the nomadic hunting population was very mobile. There are indications that individual families of Even had at their disposal thousands of head of reindeer. Among these groups of Even, hunting for meat was of secondary importance, as the reindeer supplied all one needed: skins for clothing, coverings for dwellings, meat for food, and a means of transportation.

The hunting and reindeer-herding Even were sharply distinguished from the sedentary Even on the shore of the Sea of Okhotsk, particularly by their economy. Their basic subsistence was through fishing in the rivers and the hunting and trapping of sea mammals, mainly seal, particulary the *nerpa* (a variety of freshwater seal). They exchanged the products of their hunting and trapping for the meat and skins of domestic and wild animals provided by the hunting and reindeer-herding Even.

At the present time the basic economic activity of the overwhelming majority of Even is the husbandry of reindeer in large herds, which is more profitable in the North. One herd contains between 1,500 and 2,000 reindeer. The herd is cared for by a group of four to eight reindeer herdsmen and their wives. During the summer the number of people in the group increases as students visit their parents in the tundra during their vacation. Despite innovations and the introduction into the area of technical devices and veterinarians, contemporary reindeer herding is characterized by the presence of many traditional practices. The migration of the reindeer herds, as in earlier times, is cyclical and the routes of travel in most cases correspond to the ethnic territories of local groups of Even.

Hunting for meat, now of lesser importance—as is fishing—nonetheless continues to figure in the contemporary economy. The Even hunt for deer, elks, mountain goats, etc. The methods include pursuing wounded animals on skis in the winter and hunting by ambush or by silent approach. It remains part of the traditional way of life, as do weapons like the palma spear.

The Even fish during the period of brief summer stopovers with the goal of diversifying their diet, using a very ancient fishing device, the *elge*, a pole with a detachable metal hook on the end, connected to the wooden part of the weapon by a line or a strap. Nets are square in form (*adal*) or conic (*mirosa*). The Even block off sections of rivers and channels with locks and dams during the major spawning migrations of salmon.

Clothing. The main item of clothing for men and women was the open kaftan decorated with beads and appliqué of leather and fur, an apron covering the chest, leggings for the lower leg (Russian: *nogovitsa*), and footwear with shoelaces made from the legs of reindeer. At the present time the traditional fur clothing and footwear are worn only in the winter. In summer Even wear European-style, store-bought clothing, the occasional exception being footwear. Skins for clothing are to this day processed using archaic methods; the Even of Kamchatka, for example, use stone scrapers.

Food. Sedentary Even groups traditionally ate salmonite fish and the meat and fat of sea mammals. Moreover, every part of the reindeer was consumed, including brains and marrow, tendons and gristle, hooves and horns (the soft parts of the latter were roasted on a fire and considered a delicacy). Much of the carcass was eaten raw since this was considered healthy; this was particularly true of the kidneys, liver, and lungs, which the Even ate slightly chopped. Reindeer eyes were eaten totally raw, and Even drank the warm blood. Today the basic food of migratory Even continues to be the meat of domestic reindeer; otherwise game, fish, and several kinds of plants, locusts, berries, and nuts are consumed. Also commonly used are imported foods such as various meat and fish preserves, vegetables, fruits, and baked goods.

Division of Labor. Hunting, reindeer husbandry, and the making of various tools and weapons were traditionally men's work; as a rule, only older men slaughter domestic reindeer. Gathering, preparation of food, curing of hides, sewing of shoes and clothing, and caring for children were women's work. In addition, it was the woman's job to set up the house tent and to harness the pack reindeer during migrations and direct them on the way. This division of labor guides the education of the younger generation. As part of play, for example, boys learn the techniques of hunting and how to use a lasso, ax, and knife; girls learn to sew, to manufacture stone implements for cleaning hides, and to make ornaments. The transition to adult status usually takes place at about the age of 14 or 15 for both boys and girls.

Kinship and Sociopolitical Organization

The traditional social organization of the Even was almost totally destroyed by socioeconomic changes dating to czarist times. The czarist administration introduced among the Even and other native populations the so-called administrative clans, to which were attached definite territories of convenience to the government for the gathering of tribute (Russian: *iasak*). An elder from among the Even—a protégé of the local bureaucratic official responsible for collecting iasak and fulfilling legal and other functions assigned to him in this role—was placed at the head of each such clan. In traditional Even society the decisions of the court were based on the opinions of the majority of the members of the clan, with elected individuals acting as accusers and as judges. Formerly, the most serious crimes were considered to be breaches of exogamy and of *nimat*—the customary reciprocal aid, repeated violation of which could be punished by death. Despite the breakup of the traditional social organization of the Even, some patterns continue to be preserved locally to this day, above all the rather strict observance of exogamy. According to the data of the Bystrinsk village council of Kamchatka, in the 1960s exogamy was observed in fifty-five of seventy Even families. Earlier the clan name was the basic symbol of clan membership, and although Even remain conscious of their ties to their traditional clans, family names are more important today. Even relatives are called *noge*, whereas outsiders are *kharak*.

Another equally important social institution was the collective use by clan members of the yield of the hunt and of fishing and obligatory mutual aid between clan members. Many Even observe the nimat to this day. Hunters and reindeer herdsmen, for example, divide up the catch with their relatives not only at temporary nomadic camps but also in the settlements.

Inheritance. Traditionally there were two basic kinds of property: collective or family property and personal property. The former consisted of the clan fire (the fire of the family hearth), the sheds for products, and the reindeer. Personal property consisted of weapons, hunting and fishing equipment, implements for working hides, and reindeer used as mounts. Inheritance is usually through the male line; the family reindeer herd, after the death of the head of the family, is divided equally between the grown sons. If a widow cannot maintain her family, then the relatives of the deceased husband may take over the guardianship of the children and part of the property, but the property is not divided up if the widow is capable of acting as family head.

Kinship Terminology. One of the determinants of social relations in the past was the system of kinship terms of consanguinity and affinity, which is still used by the older and middle generations, and not uncommonly, by the younger as well. The system of consanguinity of the Even is one of the typical variants of the classificatory systems. One term, aka, for example, denotes the father, the brother (older or younger) of either parent, the older son of the brother of either parent, and so forth. The clearest idea of how kinship terms represent familial and marriage relations can be obtained from the term *inema*, formed from the general Tungus root *in*, which denotes a person from another clan—more specifically, an affine (spouse's sibling) who has been brought into the house together with the husband (or wife).

Marriage. The traditional forms of marriage were the exchange of young women between two families or the acquisition of the wife for a bride-price (*kalym*) with reciprocation by the wife's family of gifts equal in value to the husband's or a dowry.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Religious ideas and beliefs occupied a central place in the traditional culture and influenced every sphere of existence of each individual and of the community as a whole.

The traditional religion was animistic—the recognition of a soul in every living organism or natural object. The Even peopled the world with a great number of good and evil spirits, "guardians" of given places on which depended the welfare of the families of hunters and reindeer herdsmen.

On the basis of animistic beliefs and ideas there arose among the Even a system of diverse cults: of the guardian spirits of nature—the taiga, mountains, water, animals, fire, and so forth; of the hearth fire-helper of humans, giver of warmth and food and personified as an old man; and, above all, of the bear, one of the most powerful representatives of the animal kingdom in the North.

A logical continuation or extension of these cults was the many simple and complex rituals (domestic-familial, hunting, and so forth), the goal of which was to propitiate the spirits and make them well-disposed toward humans. The rituals were accompanied by incantations, prayers, and sacrifices.

Orthodox Christianity began to spread among the Even after the arrival of the Russians, some groups relating to it formally, whereas for others—for example, those of today's Magadan region—it became more developed and played a primary role together with shamanism. Ultimately, the propagation of Christianity by Russian missionaries led to a peculiar syncretism of ancient religious beliefs and Christian dogma.

The traditional religious views, however, remained vital and continue to exist in varying degrees among the Even to this day, among people of all ages. They turn to fire for any reason—asking the spirit of fire for success in hunting, for happiness and prosperity for the family, and for defense against evil spirits. On obtaining food they customarily "feed" the fire with meat or other products and "water" it with vodka. A respectful relation is also observed with the guardian spirits of places, to whom Even bring food or "give" small objects as sacrifices during every migration. The bear continues to enjoy special respect and the hunt for it is accompanied by many rituals. The meat of the slain animal is eaten ceremonially during a festival that is specially arranged for this purpose, called the *urkachak*. The skull and bones of the bear are placed on special scaffolds called *qulik* so that the bear will not take offense at people and will be reborn anew after a specific time.

Religious Practitioners. Every territorial subdivision traditionally had a shaman, whose basic role was to mediate between the world of humans and that of the spirits, to cure humans and animals, to defend against evil spirits, to predict and divine, and to "conduct" the dead to the world of the dead. The shamans communed with spirits during special séances. An indispensable attribute of the Even shaman was a costume with metal pendants, a cap with reindeer antlers made of iron, a wooden tambourine with hide stretched over it, and a rattle. The pantheon of shamanic spirit helpers included spirits in the form of people, animals, birds, fish, reptiles, and amphibians.

Very few shamans remain as a result of the long-term antireligious propaganda and socioeconomic changes in Soviet society. The role of the shaman has now diminished to one of divination and interpretation of unusual or natural phenomena, dreams, and signs. Curing of animals or humans is rare and, when it happens, is carried out by shamans of a higher category, who to this day use tambourines and other shamanic paraphernalia.

Arts. The wealth of Even spiritual culture was clearly manifested in graphic arts, music, and dance. Powers of observation and a developed sense of color were reflected in sewing furs, decorating with beads, carving in bone and wood, stamping or printing on birch bark, and woodworking.

Medicine. Even knowledge of natural medicine was acquired through great persistence. By traditional means, with bear's bile or gall (Russian: *zholch'*) and raw reindeer kidney, the Even cure ailments of the stomach and liver. Burns are treated with reindeer blood or bear fat; in case of frostbite they wrap the patient in the hide of a freshly killed reindeer. Often, and for diverse illnesses, the Even use medicinal herbs and infusions from the bark of trees, which not infrequently are more effective than the preparations of the pharmaceutical industry.

Death and Afterlife. To this day the Even believe in an afterlife in a higher world to which a mortal's soul goes. A person should be provided for in that world with all the necessities, and toward that end the deceased person's relatives set up the three basic poles of the chum on the grave and leave the appurtenances of a bed, dishes, and the personal effects of the deceased. All these objects have to be broken or torn up so that from them, as from a human body, the soul can go forth. Only under these circumstances can they serve the deceased.

See also Evenki

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Evenki (Northern Tungus)

ETHNONYMS: Tungus (the Russian name); Birar, Ile, Manegir, Mata, and Orochen (names of dialects and/or ethnic subgroups)

Orientation

Identification. An indigenous people of central and eastern Siberia, the Evenki were formerly divided into many distinct groups. They fall into two noncontiguous groups, according to their economic activities: the northern group of reindeer Tungus engaged in reindeer husbandry and hunting, and the southern group, or horse Evenki, engaged in horse and cattle pastoralism. There is a strong tradition of ethnic identity, even a sense of superiority among these "aristocrats of Siberia."

Location. The most widely distributed of all native peoples in Siberia, the Evenki inhabit a huge area stretching from west of the Yenisei River to the Sea of Okhotsk and northern Sakhalin Island and from the base of the Taimyr Peninsula in the north to the Amur River in the south. Evenki also live in northern Manchuria and Mongolia. Most of this homeland is mountainous and covered by larch forests, whereas in the far north of central Siberia, north of the tree line, the tundra prevails. Firs, Siberian cedar, and spruce are also encountered, especially along river valleys. Moose, wild reindeer, elks, roe deer, bears, wolves, and boars populate the forests, as do important fur species such as sable, squirrel, stoat, fox, hare, and otter. Wolves, bears, and wolverines are the most serious predators. Many varieties of fish, including several members of the salmon family, make for good fishing, and wild fowl such as wood grouse, ptarmigan, and various geese and ducks are hunted. The Evenki subsist primarily by hunting.

The climate is sharply continental, and permafrost is found under most of the land. Within the Evenki Autonomous District (*okrug*) in central Siberia, January temperatures average −36° C and fall to −80° C, whereas summer temperatures average 16° C and reach 36° C. Annual precipitation is not great, varying from 25 to 40 centimeters; the snow cover reaches 50 to 80 centimeters. The Evenki Autonomous District covers 745,000 square kilometers, but this is only a fraction of the total homeland of the entire Evenki nation.

Demography. At the last published census (1979) Evenki in the USSR numbered 27,531. Earlier censuses in 1970 and 1959 listed 25,149 and 24,151 Evenki. Over 40 percent of the Evenki live in the Yakut Republic; 13 percent live in the Khabarovsk Territory, and less than 12 percent live in the Evenki Autonomous District. The other 38 percent live mainly in Irkutsk and Amur provinces (oblasts) and Buryatia. Most Evenki continue to live in rural areas.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Evenki language belongs to the Tungusic Division of the Tungas-Manchu Branch of the Altaic languages; they are thus related to the Manchu who conquered China in 1644. A literary language was created in 1928–1929 using the Latin alphabet, but the Cyrillic alphabet was adopted in 1937. In 1979, 43 percent of the Evenki considered Evenki their first language; most others spoke Yakut or Russian—bilingualism is common. The wide geographical distribution of the Evenki accounts in part for the existence of numerous dialects.

History and Cultural Relations

Most ethnographers locate the heart of Evenki culture in southeastern Siberia, to the northwest and north of Manchuria. Here, in the prehistoric past, the Evenki domesticated the reindeer and began to use them as mounts. They gradually spread out across Siberia. A good-sized Tungus reindeer can travel 80 kilometers a day with about 80 kilograms over terrain too rough for a horse. Riding reindeer increased the efficiency of the Evenki both in hunting and in military raids against other indigenous peoples. Not all contacts were warlike, however; the Evenki established commercial and cultural ties with neighboring Yakut, Buriat, and other peoples, as evidenced in adopted innovations and linguistic borrowings by both the Evenki and these other nations.

Contact with the Russians began with the so-called conquest in 1540 by the Cossak Ermak and intensified during the seventeenth century—first in the west, later in the east. As Russians penetrated into Siberia along the larger rivers and began to exact tribute and taxes from the native population, the Evenki retreated to the spaces between rivers. Those remaining close to Russian settlement often assimilated linguistically and economically. In the early Soviet period, Evenki pleaded with the government to control and limit Russian encroachment on their hunting grounds in order to protect their economy and culture. These same pleas are being repeated today.

Settlements

Formerly most of the Evenki population was nomadic, with camps of one to three families traveling over vast areas in search of new pastures for their reindeer. The population density was extremely sparse, averaging only about one person for every 250 square kilometers. For the brief summers, the herds were led through the forests and marshlands; mosses, lichens, shrubs, and dwarf willows provided the main foodstuffs for the animals. Many of the herders would also move northward into the treeless frozen plains, or tundra, where the reindeer would feed on willow shoots, reeds, and lichens. The goal of the summer feeding was to fatten the animals as much as possible in preparation for the coming months.

The herders would lead their animals back to the forests for the winters, which lasted from early October until May or June. During these months, the reindeer had to paw through the snow for lichen, or "reindeer moss," nearly their only food for the winter. Since the trampling of the herds tended to pack down the snow and thus make it impenetrable, the animals had to be kept constantly on the move, covering a great expanse of land.

Despite these extensive migrations, larger groups would still gather a number of times during the year (during reindeer calving season, rut, etc.) for collective labor and celebrations.

The housing of the reindeer herders consisted of coni-

cal tents covered with birch bark in the summer and reindeer or moose hides in the winter—small in either case (sleeping room for two or three adults and several children). Early in this century canvas began to replace these materials. Permanent storage facilities were built along routes of migration, so that seasonal clothing and equipment could be cached when not in use. The horse Evenki lived in felt or birch-bark yurts similar to those used by Mongolians.

The Soviet state pursued a policy of sedentarization of nomads. From the 1930s to the 1950s many native villages were established and women, children, and elders were variously encouraged or coerced to settle in these, whereas men of working age continued to herd and hunt. Since the 1950s there has been a trend to consolidate these hamlets into larger villages. Herders and hunters still spend a large proportion of their time in the bush, however, sometimes with their spouses and children not old enough to be in school.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. The traditional Evenki economy was based on the raising of reindeer (or horses) for transport, the hunting of wild animals for meat, and the hunting of fur species for trade and the payment of taxes. Fishing and the gathering of wild plant foods also contributed to the diet, which consisted most of the time of unseasoned boiled meat. (Reindeer milk, while sweet and creamy, is low in butterfat, and a female reindeer gives only a pint a day, at most.) The Soviet state in the 1930s organized farms to pursue the traditional Evenki activities and also introduced fur farming and agriculture.

Approximately 30 to 50 percent of the Evenki currently work in reindeer husbandry and hunting. Many others are employed in unskilled physical labor. An increasing number participate in the tertiary sector, especially in health care, education, and administration, and a few have entered the industrial work force. The rate of unemployment (i.e., lack of jobs in the public sector) is higher among the Evenki, especially for females, than among the Russian population, and social problems are widespread.

Trade. During the periods when clans congregated, they exchanged gifts. Formal exchange ties were recognized, especially where reindeer-herding Evenki lived in close proximity to settled or horse-herding Evenki, and goods needed by one group were readily produced or procured by the other. Reindeer were rarely sold but only given as gifts, at least between Evenki (they were sold occasionally to Russians). Trade, as such, was uncommon among the Evenki. Rather, gifts were freely given, and a person was welcome to borrow from a cache (a small log hut) whatever equipment or food was needed, with the expectation that he or she would return it when possible.

The Evenki traded furs, most notably sables and squirrels, with the Chinese, and later with the Russians. In exchange they obtained tea, guns, ammunition, fabric, flour, sugar, salt, tobacco, and alcohol. As Russian miners and settlers moved into Evenki territory, they sought to obtain Evenki-made fur clothing, footwear, and gloves, which were well adapted to the severe Siberian climate, and they purchased birch-bark baskets and foodstuffs such as mushrooms and berries.

Both men and women wore coats of deerskin, preferably of fawns, opening in the front and underlain by a leather chest-piece with an apron, and either leggings and short boots or thigh-high boots. The cut of the garments and decorative embellishments of fur, beads, and metal pieces differed for each gender. Today Western-style dress prevails in summer, but traditional attire is still worn in winter.

Division of Labor. Among many Evenki groups women herded and milked the reindeer, cooked, tended children, and tended the camp; men hunted fur-bearing animals, and, for meat, large game. Women processed birch bark and cleaned and sewed hides. Men processed wood, antlers, and bones; slaughtered and skinned animals; and worked as blacksmiths. Many innovations borrowed from other cultures first entered the men's domain, then the women's (e.g., weaving fishnets, baking bread Russian style, sewing with machines). Recently, women more often than men have tended to seek white-collar jobs, frequently in larger villages or urban areas. Evenki men remain predominantly employed in rural physical labor.

Land Tenure. Although the concept of ownership of land was totally foreign to the Evenki, clan usufruct of specific areas for hunting and pasturing reindeer was recognized. A clan territory usually centered around a stream and included the lands on both sides. Boundaries of these territories, however, were apparently fluid, and more than one clan might use the same area without conflict. At the individual level, there was respect for a man's customary squirrel- and sable-trapping grounds.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. The patrilineal clan was the predominant kinship group in Evenki society; in fact, no word for family exists in the Evenki language. The clan was the unit determining use of territory and punishment for crimes (e.g., strangling for incest). Formerly, the threat of expulsion from the clan was a major form of social control. Evenki could identify clan ancestors for several generations and recount where these ancestors had nomadized. Marriage was exogamous, with prohibitions of affine relations for seven to ten generations. Clans tended to be paired for the purpose of marriage to the extent of developing distinct dialects; cross-cousin marriage, particularly of a man with his mother's brother's daughter, was the ideal and most common form in such cases. Although the family served as the basic economic unit, it was identified by its clan name and participated regularly in clan-based activities, such as the collective use of products of the hunt, collective fulfillment of some tasks, and the provision of collective aid for the poor, the elderly, and orphans. A clan could include a dozen to 100 or more small families. In recent decades clan identity has weakened, and younger Evenki may not know to which clan they belong.

Kinship Terminology. A fairly simple kinship terminology existed for relatives other than those in a direct line of descent (i.e., grandparents, parents, and children). It differentiated relatives by whether they were older or younger

(in terms of generations rather than actual age) and by whether they were from the clan of a person's mother or father. Among some Evenki groups, even the term for mother would be applied to one's mother's sisters as well. Polygyny was rare, but when it occurred, the co-wives called each other by the terms for older and younger sister.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. The basic social unit was the small or nuclear family, often augmented by an older relation (e.g., a surviving father or mother of the husband). Marriages were arranged by parents, usually with the consent of the bride and groom. Less frequently, the groom abducted his bride. In the former case, the groom was responsible for providing bride-wealth, usually in reindeer, or working for his future father-in-law for a period of time. The dowry that the woman brought with her to the new household approached the bride-wealth in value. Exchange of sisters as brides between two or more families was a widely practiced alternative, obviating the need for provision of goods or labor by the grooms. After the wedding (attended by up to 150 people) the woman went to live with her husband's clan. Divorce could be initiated by either party, especially in the case of one spouse's failure to provide for the family's needs.

The Soviet state forbade the customs of bride-wealth and prearranged marriages without the consent of both spouses. Increasingly, Evenki marry non-Evenki: in Yakutia 72 percent of Evenki women were married to non-Evenki men, and 66 percent of Evenki men were married to non-Evenki women in 1979. The figure for interethnic marriages is higher in urban than rural areas but still above 50 percent in some rural areas. Historically, many of the Evenki who attached themselves to Russian settlements had been expelled from clans.

Domestic Unit. The family was usually headed by the father, sometimes by a brother or grandfather, and, in the case of death of these males, by the mother or her brother. Extended families of several generations were not uncommon, but the average family size at the turn of the century was 5.5 members, and more recently, 3.7 (1979, among Evenki families in Yakutia). Marriage rates among the Evenki have fallen over the last few decades, and single-parent families of unwed mothers and children have become increasingly common. Although the proportion of extended families has declined over time, such families are still much more common among the Evenki than among nonnative residents of Siberia.

Inheritance. Items owned collectively by the family or the clan were passed from generation to generation. These included the fire (i.e., coals from the family hearth), the flint stone and hook for hanging the cooking kettle, and most reindeer. Many of the reindeer herds can be viewed as clan rather than family property; although individual families cared for the deer, the clan elders could stipulate their redistribution when the need arose to help poorer clan members.

Riding reindeer were personally owned, as were hunting and much domestic equipment. Most personal possessions, including one's riding deer, accompanied the deceased to the grave. Other reindeer would be distributed among the sons and any (male) wards after the death of the head of household. If a son wanted to set up his own household before the death of his father, the father might give him a large number of reindeer and the needed equipment. Property of the (male) head of household would not be divided at the time of his death if he left a widow. If she remarried within her husband's clan, her children became the wards of the new husband; if she remarried outside the clan, children and reindeer were distributed among the late husband's relatives. A woman leaving her late husband's clan could take only her own personal possessions (including tent cover and any reindeer she had brought with her to the marriage, and the offspring of those reindeer). At her death some of her possessions were buried with her, and small items were returned to her mother or distributed to her friends as keepsakes. Children conceived prior to marriage were kept by their mother's parents when she married.

Socialization. The Evenki valued children and cared for them fondly, for the most part avoiding physical punishment. Children were suckled for three to six years and treated very permissively; however, they were also exposed naked to the cold for brief intervals to toughen them; skin diseases and accidental freezing resulted in a very high infant-mortality rate. Although a child participated in various household tasks from an early age, she or he only gradually adopted the full work load of an adult. For instance, boys hunted for small fur animals quite early, but were not expected to participate in large-game animal hunts until the age of 17 or so; girls waited until adolescence to assist in the preparation and sewing of hides, which took much manual strength. Evenki of all ages learned from their elders, and persons with much experience of life were especially esteemed. Personal interaction was masked by decorum, with careful observance of social gradations and rules of hospitality (including a complex etiquette within the small tents and lodges).

Since the establishment of boarding schools in the 1930s, many Evenki children have spent a large part of each year away from their families. Parents complain that the children no longer learn how to live in the taiga and develop an unhealthy dependency on (largely non-Evenki) school personnel for all their needs.

Infractions of clan mores by adults were punished by lashing. Very serious violations were punished by death or by expulsion from the clan.

Sociopolitical Organization

Historically, each clan was led by a clan assembly composed of the heads of households (men and women). This assembly of elders, which included the clan shaman, met periodically to resolve economic and social issues ranging from war and punishment of clan members guilty of unacceptable behavior to the adoption of children and the care of elderly clan members without family. During the czarist period the Russian government tried to control the assemblies by designating "elders" who would cooperate with its goals. This generally resulted in parallel institutions, one still appointed by the Evenki and answering the clan's needs and the other appointed by the Russians and acting as brokers between the two cultures.

Social and Political Organization. Although intraclan associations were politically important, Evenki would also unite in temporary groups for the purpose of hunting, pasturing, and fishing; these economic associations could include members from a number of clans living in close proximity. The institution of *nimat* should also be mentioned as a custom that crossed clan lines; upon return to camp after a successful hunt for meat, a hunter was obliged to share his bounty with all members of the camp, regardless of clan. The hide of the animal traditionally went to the hunter's mother-in-law (i.e., to a member of another clan), except for squirrel skins, which were retained by the hunter to be exchanged for tea and tobacco. As fur increased in commercial importance, nimat began to apply only to meat animals. This custom, which survived into the twentieth century, has been evaluated as an important mechanism, along with exogamous marriage, for strengthening interclan bonds.

In 1930 the Soviet state founded two Evenki national districts, as well as a number of lower-level national regions for the Evenki. Groups of hunters and herders were organized into native soviets (councils), the lowest level of the Soviet Union's political-administrative hierarchy. No longer designated "native," but in many areas still predominantly composed of Evenki, these councils exercise a limited control over local economic, political, judicial, and cultural affairs. National regions, long dormant, may make a comeback, as suggested by the recent establishment (1989) of one such region for the Even, a neighboring indigenous people. One of the two national districts created for the Evenki, the Vitim-Olekma National District, was abolished in 1938; the other, the Evenki National District (renamed the Evenki Autonomous District in 1977), remains. An elected head of this district (an Evenki) purportedly lobbies for the interests of his people in Moscow. Evenki constitute only 20 percent of the Evenki District's population, however; moreover, the representative's powers are very limited. The most outspoken proponents of Evenki rights have been Evenki writers, a situation common to other native Siberians.

Conflict. Evenki oral history is rich in accounts of clashes between clans and with neighboring nations. The abduction of women, blood feuds, and disputes over property or the usufruct of hunting territories could precipitate military campaigns, although peaceful negotiations might be attempted first. There were various conflicts with the Russian Cossack conquerors and with subsequent Russian settlers. More recently, conflict between some Evenki and the state has been reported, especially in the context of Evenki protests over governmental projects that threaten their economic activities and cultural survival. Most notable has been the fight against the planned construction of the Turukhansk hydroelectric project, which would have flooded a substantial portion of the hunting grounds and reindeer pasture in the Evenki Autonomous District. Recently there have been other severe conflicts involving the environment and ethnicity.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. The Evenki viewed the universe as consisting of three worlds: upper, middle (earth), and lower. Beneficent spirits inhabited the upper world, including Seveki, the guardian of the plant and animal world. The lower world was populated by both deceased ancestors, who there lived a life similar to that on earth, and, on another level, evil spirits. Although the average person could not travel to either the upper or lower world, such sojourns were in fact made by shamans during their rituals. Assisted by spirits, including those of shaman ancestors, the shamans protected clan members from the spirits of hostile shamans and acted as brokers between the Evenki and the spirits that helped or hindered their activities. (The word *shaman* is an Evenki word and was introduced to the Western world by the Russians.)

From the seventeenth century on, Russians tried to convert the Evenki and other native Siberian peoples to Eastern Orthodoxy. Some rituals of the church were observed, and a syncretic combination of Christianity and shamanism resulted among groups of Evenki that had greater contact with Russians. The atheist Soviet state fought against shamanism (as well as Christianity), eventually identifying the shamans as "exploiters" and "enemies of the people" and severely persecuting them in the 1930s. By the late twentieth century, only relics of the former religion appeared to remain (although the system may be more vital than we suspect).

Religious Practitioners. Each clan had one or more shamans, who not infrequently also acted as the head of the clan. The position of clan shaman was usually inherited, often skipping a generation or more. The spirit of a deceased shaman selected a new member of the clan, most often a direct descendant, and inhabited this person. Someone not directly related to the shaman might also realize in a dream her or his rightful calling in life. Both women and men served as shamans in Evenki society, and the spirit of a shaman could pass through the mother's side to her clan.

A shaman's costume was elaborately decorated with fringe, appliqué, and metal pendants, and the headpiece was often topped with metal antlers. A tambourinelike drum, rhythmically beaten, induced the trance state during which the shaman traveled to other worlds.

Besides protecting clan members, shamanic duties included forecasting and curing. For her or his services to the clan the shaman received no remuneration, and since shamanizing took time away from the hunt and other economic activities, shamans were often among the poorer members of the clan. Clan members did provide meat and furs as gifts on occasion and helped sew the shaman's costume and tan hides for the drum. Shamans were particulary involved in the ubiquitous psychological stress known as "arctic hysteria" (a kind of brief tantrum shared by most boreal peoples); persons prone to hysteria needed help from shamans, and shamans were largely recruited from persons prone to hysteria. Psychological disorders are the main focus of shamanic activities.

Ceremonies. Besides shamanic rituals, major religious ceremonies included the initiation rites of new shamans and the consecration of sacred reindeer to carry the clan's beneficent spirits to the other world. Another common ceremony was the initiation of the bride into her husband's clan. Ceremonies for a propitious outcome pre-

ceded setting out on a hunt. When a bear was killed, a complicated celebration lasting several days ensued, both to placate the bear's spirit and to enjoy the rich bounty of meat.

Arts. The oral arts of the Evenki consist of epic tales, riddles, histories, myths, and songs. Ring dances and songs are numerous, and a number of native folk ensembles continue to perform these today. Since the late 1920s, when the Evenki language was given an alphabet, many Evenki prose writers and poets have published their works.

Material arts include bone, antler, and wood carving. The Evenki elaborately decorated saddle pommels, knife handles, pipes, birch-bark containers, etc. Traditional clothing, now usually reserved for winter wear and holidays, is often embellished with bead embroidery, fur appliqué or patchwork, and metal ornamentation.

Medicine. One of the shaman's responsibilities was to tend to the health of her or his clansfolk. Illness was often attributed to the theft of a person's soul by another shaman's assistant spirits. Thus, a shaman sought to detect the cause of the illness, and, when necessary, to find and return the soul to the ailing person. The shaman also cured the clan's reindeer. For less serious maladies, the Evenki used a number of herbal cures; more serious illnesses involved a number of taboos and rituals.

The Soviet state provided a network of clinics to serve the Evenki and other native northerners and ensured free medical care and free travel to and from these facilities. Unfortunately, the level of health care in rural Siberia is still on a primitive level, and among the native northerners mortality remains high and life expectancy low. Consumption of cheap Russian vodka has been an increasing problem ever since the first contacts, and it has caused people to freeze to death, marital instability, and other social problems.

Death and Afterlife. A person died, according to Evenki beliefs, when her or his soul (*omi*) permanently left the body. The soul did not die, but continued to live in this world until a shaman took it to the world of the deceased. Usually this occurred one to three years after a person's physical death. Souls of suicides could not enter the world of the dead and continued to wander on earth.

See also Even

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GAIL FONDAHL

Gagauz

ETHNONYM: Turkish-speaking Bulgars

Orientation

Identification. There is no exact information about the number of Gagauz in the world today. In addition to the now-independent former republics of the Soviet Union, Gagauz also live in Bulgaria, Romania, Greece, Turkey, and, in small numbers, in Canada and Brazil. In pre-Revolutionary documents, they are most often called "Turkish-speaking Bulgars."

Location. Today in the former Soviet Union, 152,752 Gagauz (77.5 percent) live in the republic of Moldova; 32,017 (16.2 percent) in Ukraine; and 10,057 (5.1 percent) in Russia. The number of Gagauz in the remaining former republics is small.

Demography. Over the thirty years between Soviet censuses, the Gagauz population as a whole, including those in Moldova, has grown by 59.2 percent, which is about 1.6 percent more than the growth of the former Soviet Union as a whole. The Gagauz population increased by 26.5 percent in the 1960s, 5 percent in the 1970s, and 13.8 percent in the 1980s. The sharp drop in the rate of increase in the 1970s can be explained by the Soviet assimilationist policy, and, in particular, by the fact that, after the

Krushchev thaw of the early 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s, conditions in Moldavia blocked the development of Gagauz identity and channels for social and professional mobility. To adapt to the realities of the Moldavian Republic it was necessary to affiliate with the nationality of the majority ("the basic nationality"). The Gagauz did, registering themselves as Moldavians.

According to the census of the 1970s, one-third of the Gagauz were living in cities and two-thirds in villages. The number of males and females was the same.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Gagauz language belongs to the Southwestern (Oguz) Subgroup of the Turkic Group of the Altaic Language Family. There are two spoken dialects: central (spoken by people in the Chadyr-Lungsky and the Komratsky regions) and southern (spoken by people in the Vulka Neshtskey region).

Before the Revolution, folklore texts were published in the Russian script. In the years of Romanian occupation, some literature, in particular the religious and historical, was published in the Romanian alphabet. In 1957 a writing system was created on the basis of the Russian alphabet. The Gaugaz have preserved their native language with relative stability: 94.3 percent were speakers in 1959, 93.6 percent in 1970, 89.3 percent in 1979, and 87.4 in 1989. They also speak other languages, mainly Russian. The Russian language had been mastered by 63.3 percent in 1970, 68 percent in 1979, and 71.1 percent in 1989. Some Gagauz in Moldova are fluent in Romanian (as spoken in Moldova)—about 6 percent of the population in the 1970s and 1980s.

History and Cultural Relations

The ethnogenesis of the Gagauz is undetermined. As of now, neither native nor foreign specialists have been able to determine it, although twenty hypotheses have been suggested. Many of these begin with either/or questions: Who were the Gagauz—Turkicized Christians or Christianized Turks? That is, were they Bulgars who adopted the Turkish language or Turks who converted from Islam to Orthodoxy? Did they descend from pastoralists, or were they a sedentary population that was assimilated by pastoralists?

Answering these questions is made difficult by two factors: the absence of information in the literary chronicles of the Middle Ages, and the heterogeneous nature of the Gagauz population on the Balkan Peninsula on the eve of their relocation under the protection of Russia.

Much of the early ethnic history of the Gagauz took place on the boundaries between what was to become pastoralist steppe country and land inhabited by settled peoples. On the eve of their relocation to Bessarabia, the Gagauz in the Balkans consisted of two ethnic strands: the Khasyl Gagauz (the ancestors of true Gagauz) and the "Bulgarian Gagauzy." The majority of scholars are inclined to think that the original core of the Gagauz consisted of Turkic-speaking pastoral Oguz, Pechenegs, and Polovtsians. One of the last migrations of Polovtsians to the Balkans took place in 1241. But there is evidence that among them were Bulgars who had learned Turkish and a portion of a population then under the protection of the Turkish sultan, Izzedin Keikavus. In European scholarship the question has frequently been posed as to whether the most likely ancestors of the Gagauz were Turkic-speaking Proto-Bulgars who, in the 670s, came to the Balkans from the banks of the Volga under the banner of the Bulgar king, Asparukh.

In the course of the frequent Russo-Turkish wars at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, the Gagauz, siding with the Russian army, emigrated to the steppe of southern Bessarabia, primarily within the bounds of the Bendersky and Izmailsky districts. In 1861 to 1862, some Gagauz settled in the Tavrid District.

The wave of Stolypin agrarian politics carried some Gagauz to Kazakhstan between 1912 and 1914, and later yet another group settled in Uzbekistan during the very troubled years of initial collectivization. So as not to lose their civil rights, they called themselves "Bulgars" in the 1930s; The Gagauz of the village of Mayslerge in the Tarhkent District retain that designation to this day.

Settlements

The traditional dwelling contains three rooms with a secondary wall of sod (*zavalinka*) along the main wall and a veranda supported by pillars. The walls of the rooms are adorned with towels and the rugs (decorated with floral designs) popular among the Gagauz, and there are "rug paths" on the floor.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. The traditional economy centered on animal husbandry, particularly sheep raising, and agriculture that combined growing grain and truck farming with viticulture. Even in the recent past, despite the cultural similarity of the Gagauz to the Bulgars of Bessarabia, there were important differences between them: the Bulgars were peasant farmers; although the Gagauz also farmed, they were essentially pastoralists in outlook.

Food. Many traces of their nomadic past may be found in the cuisine of the sedentary Gagauz, such as a special way of processing milk and the preservation of meat, curds, and sheep's milk cheese in a skin. The staple food is grain, in many varieties. A series of family holidays and rituals was connected with the baking of bread, wheat loaves (*kalaches*) and unleavened flatcakes.

The favorite dish was a layered pie stuffed with sheep's milk cheese and doused with sour cream before baking. Other delicacies were pies with crumbled pumpkin and sweet pies made with the first milk of a cow that had just calved. The traditional ritual dish called *kurban* combined wheat porridge (bulgar wheat) with a slaughtered ("sacrificed") ram and is further evidence of the origins of the Gagauz in both the Balkan world and the steppe-pastoral complex. A special place in the cuisine is occupied by peppered sauces for meat; one combines onion and finely granulated porridge; another is tomato-based. A red house wine is served with dinner and supper. An indispensable component in holiday meals is meat in jelly prepared from the heads and feet of livestock (head cheese).

Clothing. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, a Gagauz woman's costume consisted of a canvas shirt, a

sleeveless dress, a smock, and a large black kerchief; in winter, they donned a dress with sleeves, a cloth jacket, and a sleeveless fur coat. Required features of female dress were earrings, bracelets, beads, and, among wealthy Gagauz, a necklace of gold coins. "So many of their decorations are hung about," wrote a pre-Revolutionary researcher, "that they cover the entire breast down to the waist."

Traditional male clothing included a shirt, cloth pants, a wide red sash or belt, and, in the summer, a hat; the winter cap was made of Kanakul sheep wool. The shepherd's costume was the usual shirt combined with sheepskin pants with the fleece turned in, a sleeveless fur coat, and a short sheepskin jacket, the latter sometimes decorated with red-on-green stitching.

Sociopolitical Organization

Recently, in conjunction with increased demands for minorities in the professions, there has developed a need for better mass communication. Unfortunately, efforts in this direction have been limited thus far. For example, in 1988 books were published in Gagauz at the rate of 5.5 for every 100 persons of Gagauz nationality, compared to 297 books in Moldavian (i.e., Romanian) for every 100 persons, 1,293 per 100 in Estonia, and an average of 807 in the former USSR as a whole.

The prospects for the survival of the Gagauz national culture and the existence of the Gagauz as an independent people are tenuous. They have the lowest ratio of persons with a higher education in Moldova, a virtual absence of an artistic intelligentsia, a very weak scientific intelligentsia, and an acute lack of intellectuals in general. In 1989 less than half as many Gagauz were admitted to the state university and the polytechnical institute as in 1918. Accordingly, the Gagauz are weakly represented in administration, the professions, and the service industries. There is an acute shortage of building materials, and the environment is in a state of crisis. Analysis of this situation led to the Gagauz movement for national regeneration. On 12 November 1989 an extraordinary session of representatives to the Moldavian Supreme Soviet adopted a resolution calling for the establishment of a Gagauz ASSR within the Moldavian SSR. Three days later, however, the presidium of the Moldavian Supreme Soviet failed to confirm this decision, thus trampling on the principle of national self-determination of the Communist party of the Soviet Union. Moreover, the Moldavian press opened a campaign of anti-Gagauz propaganda. Despite a series of declarations about a renaissance of the Gagauz, the absence of the necessary conditions, including national-territorial autonomy, will make their realization difficult, and the people appear doomed to assimilation.

Religion

Believing Gagauz are Orthodox Christians. Their ancestors—Turkic-speaking pastoral clanspeople who came from the southern Russian steppe and settled into the maritime region of northeastern Bulgaria—accepted Christianity in the thirteenth century. Notwithstanding this devotion to Christianity, which took root among them one and one-half centuries before the Osmanli Turkish conquest, the Gagauz only superficially grasped the basic dogma of this religion. Although there were a few books in translation in Gagauz villages at the start of the twentieth century, there is no reliable evidence that the translation of the New Testament into Turkish (distributed by the Bible Society in London and using the Greek alphabet) was widely available to them.

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MIKHAIL N. GOUBOGLU
(Translated by Paul Friedrich)

Georgian Jews

ETHNONYMS: none

Orientation

The presence of Jews in Georgia, according to oral traditions and ancient literary works, dates back about 2,500 years. Despite considerable assimilation into Georgian society, Georgian Jews preserve their identity and see themselves as descendants of the ten branches of Israelites who were settled in Midia by Assyrian kings.

Georgian Jewish culture, although it preserves its distinct character, is integrated into Georgian culture. Many Georgian Jews—scholars, writers, artists, financiers, doctors, sportsmen, people active in government and public life—are active participants in Georgian life.

Nevertheless, beginning in 1970 Georgian Jews began to emigrate to Israel. According to the 1970 national census, 55,400 Jews were residing in Georgia, of which 40,000 were Georgian Jews. The 1979 census showed 28,000.

History and Cultural Relations

Georgian annals provide some information about the arrival of Jews in Georgia and about some of the major events in their history. The first mention of Jews in Georgia is associated with the era of the Assyrian conquerors (eighth century B.C.). Other documents date the arrival of Jews in Kartli (eastern Georgia) to the time of the capture of Jerusalem by the Babylonian king Navukhodnosorom (586 B.C.). According to the annals, Mtskhetskii Mamasakhlisi (the head of a feudal household) settled Jews at Zanavi, near Mtskhet, and gave them land on the condition that they pay tribute (Georgian: *kharki*; Hebrew: *kherek, kherk*); as a result, that locality acquired the name "Kherki" (*Kartlis Tskhovreba* 1949, 1973). The same source

indicates that after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in A.D. 70 a large group of Jews came to Kartli and settled in Mtskhet near Jews who had already settled there. There were thus several important Jewish migrations to Kartli, separated by varying intervals. Several historical sources place the first settlements of Jews not at Kartli (Mtskhet) but on the Black Sea coast of Georgia, at the mouth of the Ch'orokh River, at Guria, and at Laziki (Kolkhida) from the ninth to the eighth centuries B.C.

Aside from the Georgian historical sources, there is information about Georgian Jews in works by Armenian historians (Favstos Buzand, Movses Khorenskii, Arakel Tavrizskii) and by Jewish travelers of the eleventh to twelfth centuries (Benjamin Tudelskii, Fetakhia Regenbumbrskii, Yehuda al-Khariz).

Jewish settlements were established across Georgia over the centuries: in eastern Georgia in Tskhinvali, Surami, Ali, Mzovreti, Akhaldaba, Ateni, Tsilkani, Urbnisi, Samachablo, Gremi, Eniseli, Khovle, and elsewhere; in western Georgia in Oni, Sachkhere, Chikhori, Chaltatke, Kutaisi, Senaki, and elsewhere. A significant number of Jews lived in southern Georgia as well, at Samtskhe-Saatabago.

The size of the Jewish population is not given in the sources, although according to *Kartlis Tskhovreba* their numbers were so large and their language so widely distributed that Georgians spoke "Jewish" (probably some form of Aramaic) as well as Georgian. The same source says that Aramaic was one of the six conversational languages formerly spoken in Kartli.

Historically, Jews in Georgia lived together in one village or "quarter," where their houses of worship and places of social and cultural significance were located. Schools of Jewish scribes, translators, and theologians were widely known; the Mtskhetsk religious community commanded particular respect. Mtskheta was, with its sanctuaries (*bagini*), the center of Georgian Judaism. It was here that, according to legend, the shroud of Saint Eli and the tunic of Jesus Christ were buried, having been brought from Jerusalem by Mtskhetsk Jews.

Georgian Jews always maintained strong ties to Jerusalem (they corresponded and actively took part in religious debates). The Jewish diaspora was distinguished by its own culture and communal organization. The Georgian historical tradition connects the rise of the first Christian community in Iberia (Kartli) in the first century with Jews residing in the vicinity of Mtskhet. The first members of the Christian community had been Jews, and the first Christian church was a formerly Jewish sanctuary upon which, with permission of the Jewish clergyman, Abiatar, Saint Nino erected a cross.

Although a majority of the Jewish population of Georgia lost its language, retaining it only for religious use, it succeeded in carrying through the centuries a stable way of life, retaining its ethnic self-awareness and its adherence to the religious traditions of its ancestors. The traditional onomastics were preserved as well, on the basis of which family names were structured, built on Georgian models of word formation for personal naming.

Jews in Georgia since ancient times have been called "Georgian Jews," evidence of the social and psychological intermingling of these two peoples and of their cultural closeness.

Georgian Jews were not subjected to ethnic or religious persecution. The kings of Georgia entrusted them with diplomatic missions and sought their advice on trade with neighboring countries. In difficult times, Jews took up arms in defense of their homeland.

Kinship, Marriage, and Family

Marriage. Marriages among Georgian Jews were, as a rule, endogamous. The Georgian Jewish marriage ceremony was tied to the agricultural calendar: in the fall and beginning of winter, it was associated with the harvesting of crops, particularly of grapes; in the spring, with the rebirth of nature. This ceremony preserves completely the wedding traditions of Jews of biblical times; it is a mystery play representing the union of heaven and earth, fertilization of the earth, and the growth of plants.

The traditional closeness of the Jewish family is grounded in traditions of loyalty and moral behavior of the spouses, particularly the wife. Raised in strict accordance with ancient traditions, she was to be modest and discreet in relations with men, particularly those with her father-in-law and the older brothers of her husband. A daughter-in-law might not address her father-in-law for years, and if she did, she would call him "Batonno" (lord, sir). She would also address her mother-in-law and her husband's older brothers respectfully.

Domestic Unit. As a rule, Georgian Jews lived in large extended families. At the beginning of the twentieth century, with the introduction of capitalism into the villages and for other socioeconomic reasons, large families began to break down more frequently into small, nuclear families.

Division of Labor. Primary occupations of men were agricultural work, craftsmanship, and trade. Work that fell into the category of men's obligations was directed by the elder male, usually the father. After the father's death, the oldest son was supposed to become the head of the family and to be endowed with the same rights and to command the same respect as the father. The head of the family would distribute current and seasonal work, watch over its timely accomplishment, regulate relations with the outer world, provide for the family's needs, give children in marriage, and divide property. At the same time, to be the head of a family did not mean to direct affairs only in accordance with one's own desires: in deciding questions that were important for the family, the head of the family usually consulted the household.

Primary responsibilities of women were child care and domestic work. Household chores were divided among the daughters or daughters-in-law and the mother-in-law. The eldest woman (usually the mother-in-law) directed the women's work. She was in charge of everything in the home, and daughters-in-law unquestioningly followed her instructions. Among the personal responsibilities of the mistress of the house were the baking of bread and the preparation of food. All remaining housework was performed by daughters-in-law. In the event of the death or incapacity of the mother-in-law, the responsibilities of mistress of the house were passed to the eldest daughter-in-law.

Women's contribution to agricultural activity was minimal. It was considered a disgrace for women to engage in agricultural work—plowing, sowing, weeding. They participated only in harvesting.

Socialization. In the family, great attention was paid to the teaching of children. Boys from a young age were inculcated with a love for crafts and trained in agricultural work; girls, in housework and needlework. Ten- to 12-year-old girls were expected to have mastered these tasks.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. In feudal Georgia, the socioeconomic and legal status of Jews was almost identical to that of the general Georgian population. Socially, Jewish serfs were on the same footing as Georgian serfs and bore equally the heavy yoke of oppression by feudal lords. Like Georgians, Jewish serfs were divided into royal, church-monastic, and court serfs. There were among Georgian Jews both important traders who possessed estates and serfs, and tenants and craftsmen.

Later, when the Russian autocracy abolished the Georgian Kingdom (1801), the condition of Jews worsened significantly. The laws of czarist Russia automatically extended to Jews, in effect stripping them of their civil rights and sharply limiting their choice of occupation, place of residence, and education. After the abolition of serfdom many Georgian Jews, having lost their land, that is, their economic base and their sociopolitical rights, were compelled to take up petty trading; others sought, with great difficulty, to make a living by agricultural work and in the trades. Jewish craftsmen founded trade unions, primarily for purposes of solidarity. Most Jews were engaged in small craftsmanship, as much for the satisfaction of personal needs as for sale.

Political Organization. The overthrow of czarism was followed by a period of restoration of Jews' civil rights in the 1920s. In 1924, a society for the organization of land use by Jewish workers was formed. The establishment of Jewish collective farms began in 1927, and in 1932 a committee to aid impoverished Jews was organized; it concerned itself with issues of culture and education as well.

Arts. In 1925 the Jewish dramatic troupe Kadima was founded in Tbilisi under the directorship of G. Baazov, who subsequently became well known as a writer and playwright. G. Baazor was the first Jewish writer to introduce the subject matter of the life-style, character, and routine life of Georgian Jews into Georgian literature. The same topics were the basis of the creative work of the Jewish writer Rosa Tavdidishvili. In 1933 a Jewish historical-ethnographic museum was established in Tbilisi, which became essentially a scientific-research establishment that trained researchers, uncovered historical documents and archival materials, and produced indices of artifacts of material and spiritual culture that illustrated Jewish history and life. Three volumes of historical-ethnographic materials were published by the museum.

During World War II (1941–1945), Georgian Jews contributed to the rout of the Axis forces. Many of them were killed in battle, including several associates of the historical-ethnographic museum.

The museum was closed in 1947, resulting in the interruption of important scientific work. Only in 1983 was work resumed, under the auspices of the Georgian Republic Academy of Sciences, at the I. A. Djavakhishvili Institute of History, Archaeology, and Ethnography. At present, research is being conducted on the material and spiritual culture, ceremonies, and customs of Georgian Jews. The dietary system of Jews living in eastern Georgia in the second half of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries has been thoroughly researched, and the results of this research show that Georgian Jews' dietary system, which retained its ethnic characteristics, was enriched by traditions developed in reaction to local geological and environmental conditions and the specific requirements of agriculture. A Georgian-Jewish association, which has been functioning in Tbilisi since 1989 under the auspices of the Georgian Academy of Sciences, is studying relations between Georgians and Georgian Jews.

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ZOIA DZHINDZHIKHASHVILI
(Translated by Dale Pesmen)

Georgians

ETHNONYMS: Kartveli (Georgian person), Sakartvelo (Georgia). Names for the country in other languages include Gruziya (Russian), Gurjistan (Persian), Iberia (Latin), Vrastan (Armenian).

Orientation

Identification. Georgians are one of the most numerous peoples of the Caucasus region, which divides Russia from Turkey and Iran. Georgians speak a group of languages that are not known to be related to any others. They have lived in Caucasia for at least three millennia and are counted among the area's native peoples. Most Georgians are Orthodox Christians, but some are Sunni Muslims. Georgians are the majority people of the Georgian Republic, which declared its independence in 1991.

Location. Georgians live at the east end of the Black Sea in a wedge of land between the Caucasus Mountains and the Armenian plateau. To the south and east are Turkey, Armenia, and Azerbaijan. Northeast across the mountain crests live Circassian, Karachay, Balkar, Ossetic, Chechen-Ingush, and Daghestanian peoples in autonomous regions and republics of the Russian Republic. Georgia itself is divided into about twenty traditional provinces marked by distinctive landscapes, dialects, histories, cooking, folklore, and architecture. Kakheti and Kartli are the principal eastern provinces; Imereti, Mingrelia, and Guria the largest western provinces. The Georgian Republic also includes the Ajarian Autonomous Republic in the southwest next to Turkey, the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic in the northwest, and the South Ossetian Autonomous Region in the middle Caucasus. Ajarians are Muslim Georgians. Ossetes and Abkhazians are non-Georgians, many of whom wish to secede from Georgia.

Georgia covers 70,000 square kilometers, mostly hills and mountains. Across the north, the main chain of the Caucasus makes a wall of snowcapped peaks, the highest reaching above 5,000 meters. The Surami range then divides the southern lowlands in two: a wet, western crescent where rivers flow down toward the Black Sea, and long, drier eastern valleys that lead into Azerbaijan. The countryside is thus extremely varied and includes mountain slopes with rocky river gorges, alpine meadows, and old pine forests; a southern highland area of upland steppe, extinct volcanoes, and scrub-covered hills; a central, temperate band with fields, orchards, vineyards, and deciduous forest—the heartland of the country; and, in the far west, a subtropical coastal strip of tea and citrus plantations and forests thick with undergrowth. Georgia's capital, Tbilisi, stands in the east on the Mt'k'vari River (also known as the Kura or Cyrus).

Demography. As of 1989 the Republic of Georgia had a population of 5,456,000, of whom 538,000 live in Abkhazia, 382,000 in Ajaria, and 99,000 in South Ossetia. Georgians make up about 69 percent of the total, Armenians 9 percent, Russians 7 percent, Azerbaijanis 5 percent, Ossetians 3 percent, Greeks and Abkhazians each 2 percent, and Ukrainians and Kurds each 1 percent. Russians and Armenians are concentrated in cities; Abkhazians and Greeks live mostly in Abkhazia. Ossetes are the majority of South Ossetia (Shida Kartli), but a greater number live in other parts of Georgia. Only 4 percent of the Georgians in the Soviet Union, some 200,000 people, live outside Georgia, mostly in major cities. An estimated 150,000 Georgians, or people who recognize Georgian ancestry, are in Iran, and another 150,000, including 50,000 Laz, in Turkey. In the thirteenth century Georgians numbered some 5 million people, but waves of invasion and war reduced that figure to around 500,000 in 1800; Russian rule then allowed a recovery.

The birth rate in the Georgian republic is 16.7 per 1,000 people, the death rate 8.6. Infant mortality is 19.6 per 1,000 live births; life expectancy is 76 years for women, 68 for men. In 1917 about 25 percent of Georgia's population lived in cities; by 1989 this had risen to 56 percent. Tbilisi alone has a population of 1.2 million. In fact, some rural Georgians commute to city jobs, and urban dwellers spend much time with relatives in the country. Nearly all Georgians are literate in Georgian, and 15 percent have completed higher education, one of the highest percentages in the former Soviet Union. According to the 1989 census, 98 percent of Georgians considered Georgian their native language, and 33 percent claimed mastery of Russian. Most Georgians know some Russian, but for children, grandparents, and those in rural areas this may amount to very little. Nine percent of Georgian men and 6 percent of Georgian women marry people of other nationalities.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Georgian language, together with the less widely spoken Mingrelian, Laz, and Svan languages, makes up the Kartvelian (or South Caucasian) Family. Mingrelian and Laz are closely related, and neither is intelligible to those who speak only Georgian; Svan is quite different and apparently diverged from the others at an earlier date. Mingrelians live in Georgia's western lowlands, and Svans in two valleys up in the highest parts of the Caucasus; both peoples now also speak Georgian. Despite their linguistic differences Mingrelians and Svans regard themselves as Georgians, and Mingrelia and Svanetia are counted among Georgia's provinces. Almost all of the Laz live just over the Turkish border in Artvin and Rize provinces; they sometimes consider themselves distinct from Georgians. Scholars have tried to relate the Kartvelian languages to the neighboring Northwest and Northeast Caucasian families, to Indo-European, and even to Basque, but this question remains open.

Georgian is written in an alphabet of its own; there are three related scripts, only one of which is in current use. The order of the letters and their numerical values are based on those of the Greek alphabet, but the shapes of the Georgian letters themselves indicate no regular correspondences to other alphabets. The first surviving literature in Georgian dates from the fifth century, soon after the country was Christianized; before this time, Georgians wrote in Greek, Persian, and other languages. There may have been a pre-Christian Georgian literature that was lost or destroyed. The Georgian language is conventionally divided at the eleventh century into Old and Modern periods; Georgians today can read even the oldest texts with fair comprehension. The speech of Kartli Province is the

basis of a standard literary language, developed in the nineteenth century; the north Georgian mountain dialects (Pshavian, Khevsurian, Rachan) have more archaic grammatical features, and western ones (Gurian, Ajarian) share some grammatical features with Mingrelian. Mingrelians, Svans, and the few Laz in Georgia use Georgian as their written language. Modern Georgian has twenty-eight consonants and five vowels, each represented by a single letter. Up to eight consonants may cluster together at the beginning of a word; however, Georgian favors open syllables and polysyllabic words. Stress is weak; Georgian verse utilizes lines with a fixed number of syllables and makes much use of alliteration and rhyme. Georgian has seven noun cases, ten basic tense-aspects, and four classes of verbs. The verbal system is complex: verbs are agglutinative and mark both subjects and objects. The grammar is sensitive to animacy and plurality, but there is no grammatical gender. Georgian has borrowed words freely from Arabic, Persian, Greek, and the modern European languages.

The Russian language was formerly a mandatory school subject in Georgia, and the urban intelligentsia speaks it fluently. Many, even in villages, also know some German, English, or Turkish; linguistic facility is a cardinal virtue, along with bravery and intelligence. Nonetheless, Georgian remains the dominant language in all aspects of people's lives and a national rallying point. Government, business, and university classes are conducted in Georgian; most newspapers, books, and television programming are also in Georgian. In 1978 the Communist party proposed giving Russian and minority languages equal status with Georgian under the Georgian constitution but backed down in the face of demonstrations.

History and Cultural Relations

Humans have been living in Georgia for an extremely long time, as attested by the recent discovery near Tbilisi of a Homo erectus jawbone that may be over a million years old. Stable agricultural and stock-raising cultures left archaeological remains beginning around 5000 B.C. In the third millennium B.C. these cultures were in contact with Akkadian Mesopotamia and then with the Hittites in Asia Minor; trade networks developed and the people learned to work in bronze. Around 2000 B.C. Indo-European groups began passing through Caucasia, mingling to some extent with the native population. Between the twelfth and seventh centuries B.C., according to Assyrian and Urartian records, there were a number of proto-Georgian tribal unions: Colcha and Diaokhi, also Mushki and Tabal, and possibly the biblical Meshech and Tubal. By 500 B.C. the first Georgian kingdoms took shape—Colchis (or Egrisi) in the west and Iberia in the east. These were at first tributaries of the Achaemenid Persian Empire, then independent states; the first ruler described in Georgian chronicles, King Parnavaz, lived in these times. In the first century B.C. Romans invaded and established weak control over both kingdoms. Over the next four centuries Romans and the Iranian Parthians fought over Caucasia while Georgian princes sided with one or the other and tried to preserve as much independence as possible. Beginning in the seventh century B.C. Greeks established trading colonies along the Black Sea, where they played a leading role in commerce into this century. In the first century B.C. Strabo described four social classes in Georgia: rulers, priest-judges, soldiers and farmers, and common people.

In A.D. 337, according to tradition, Saint Nino of Cappadocia converted King Mirian, and Christianity became the state religion of Iberia. Over the next 300 years, however, Christian Byzantium fought the Mazdaist Sassanids for control of Georgia's various principalities. In the fifth century, King Vakhtang Gorgasali repelled Ossetian and Khazar raids and brought an era of strength and security; according to legend, he also founded Tbilisi. Arabs conquered Georgia in the seventh century, decimating the people and splintering the land into tiny kingdoms. By 1008 the Bagration dynasty managed to unite all of Georgia except Tbilisi, only to have the country destroyed again by Seljuk Turks. King David the Rebuilder drove the Seljuks from Georgia and portions of Armenia, Azerbaijan, and the Black Sea littoral, recapturing Tbilisi after 400 years of Muslim domination. He invited Kipchaks and Armenians to settle depopulated areas in Georgia and proclaimed religious toleration. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Georgia enjoyed a golden age under Queen Tamar and her son Giorgi Lasha. Tamar Mepe (King Tamar), as she is known, conquered all Transcaucasia from the Black Sea to the Caspian, including present-day northeastern Turkey. She made the northern mountaineers her tributaries, built many churches, and brought the Georgian feudal system to its zenith of complexity and centralization. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, however, Georgia was invaded and conquered by waves of Mongols. With the fall of Constantinople in 1453, Georgia's Christian kings lost their main ally; soon after, the country split into three kingdoms and numerous principalities. In the following years the Ottoman Turks, Safavid Persians, and occasionally the Russian czars fought over Georgian lands. Especially in western Georgia, slave trading and constant warfare drastically reduced and impoverished all classes of society.

In the early eighteenth century, King Vakhtang VI codified the laws of Georgia and brought a cultural revival. Despite repeated betrayals, Georgia's kings were convinced that their only hope for survival against the Turks and Persians lay with Russia. In 1783 King Irakli II signed the Treaty of Georgievsk, placing the Kakheti-Kartli kingdom under Russian protection; in 1801 Czar Paul I annexed it to his crown. By mid-century all of Georgia was under Russian rule. The nobility became Russianized, but there were also repeated anti-Russian plots and popular revolts. In the 1860s, Georgian serfs were emancipated but remained burdened with debts to their former lords. Many nobles were themselves heavily in debt to a rising urban class of merchants and capitalists. In the late 1800s, the writer Ilia Ch'avch'avadze headed movements to improve the lot of serfs, bring universal education, and unite all classes into a Georgian nationality. In the 1890s, the "third group" (*mesame dasi*) of Georgian poets and intellectuals took up Marxist ideas; the young Stalin was linked with this third group, but later parted ways with it. In 1917 local revolutionary groups arose and took power as the czarist government collapsed. Georgia was briefly part of a Transcaucasian federation and then became an independent democratic state for three years under Social Demo-

cratic (Menshevik) leadership. The new government established close relations with Germany; the British, victorious in World War I, then replaced German troops and advisers. France and England eventually recognized Georgia, but offered no concrete support. In 1920 Lenin and Georgia's president, Noe Zhordania, signed a nonaggression pact; early in 1921, apparently at Stalin's instigation, the Red Army invaded and conquered Georgia.

An insurrection in 1924 was crushed, leaving an estimated 10,000 dead and 20,000 deported to Siberia. Under Stalin—an ambiguous, highly charged figure, a Georgian who became Russianized—many more people were imprisoned, exiled, or killed. A period of enforced political conformity ensued. It was not until Eduard Shevardnadze became secretary of the Georgian Communist party in 1972 that moderate reforms were instituted. In 1988 Georgian nationalist groups began demonstrations in the center of Tbilisi. Soviet troops killed nineteen protestors on 9 April 1989, and the groundswell of revolutionary feeling accelerated. In autumn 1990, as Mikhail Gorbachev's policies swept the Soviet Union, Zviad Gamsakhurdia's Mrgvali magida ("Round Table") coalition defeated the Communists in Georgian parliamentary elections. In spring 1991 a referendum on Georgian independence gained 99 percent approval, and on 9 April 1991, invoking the act of independence of 26 May 1918, the parliament redeclared Georgia a sovereign state. President Gamsakhurdia began dismantling Soviet institutions, replacing local councils with prefects. At the same time he acknowledged that Georgia remained de facto part of the Soviet Union. In parliament, the former Supreme Soviet, Gamsakhurdia's Round Table coalition held 155 seats, the former Communist party 60, and liberals and independents 26. Radicals and intellectuals formed an alternative National Congress that advocated an immediate, complete break with the Soviet Union. Gamsakhurdia's opponents pointed to press controls and political arrests as evidence that he was becoming a dictator; he, in turn, accused them of being agents of the KGB and emphasized his popular support (he was elected with 86 percent of the votes cast). In early 1992 a coalition of opposition groups, joined by many former members of Gamsakhurdia's administration, mounted an uprising in Tbilisi, which after several weeks succeeded in overthrowing the government and forcing Gamsakhurdia into exile. Shortly after consolidating their power, the new government asked Eduard Shevardnadze, the former Communist party leader, to be the new head of government. His appointment was confirmed in the election of October 1992.

Georgia's northern mountaineers traditionally raided the Muslim tribes across the crests, and also each other. Nominally Muslim and Christian villagers in the mountains had many shared traditions and habitually attended each other's festivals. Across the south and around Tbilisi, Azerbaijani, Armenian, and Turkish communities blend into Georgian ones, making Georgians sometimes feel overrun. Ajarians, Laz, and other Muslim Georgians, however, feel ties to Turkey. In 1944 Muslims in the province of Meskheti, including some Georgians, were deported to Central Asia; they still seek permission to return. Jews have lived in Georgia for twenty-six centuries without persecution, but they are now emigrating to Israel. The merchants and craftsmen in Georgia have always been largely of other nationalities, especially Armenian. Greek and Turkish influences are strong in western Georgia, whereas eastern regions have borrowed more of Persian culture; Russian and German ties are also important today. In earlier centuries, rulers often changed religions and orientations depending on which foreign power was in ascendance. In the nineteenth century Georgia was a common place of exile for Russian officers; Pushkin, Lermontov, and Tolstoy all spent time in Georgia and wrote works about the Caucasus that became popular in Russia. Educated Georgians, in turn, immersed themselves in Russian and Western literature and ideas.

In the late 1980s, as Georgia began seeking independence from the Soviet Union, Abkhazians and Ossetes renewed campaigns to secede from Georgia. The Abkhazians are a minority in their republic and complain that Georgians have not supported their culture and economy. Ossetes wish to form a single entity with their compatriots in the North Ossetian Autonomous Region of Russia. In 1990 the South Ossetian Autonomous Region declared its independence, and in 1991 fighting broke out between small groups of Ossetes and Georgians. Gamsakhurdia abolished South Ossetia's sovereignty (restoring the province's ancient Georgian name of Shida Kartli) and sent in Georgian troops; Soviet authorities responded with troops of their own. Sporadic fighting continues in both Abkhazia and South Ossetia.

Settlements

Georgia's central valleys and coastal regions are thickly settled with towns and villages of from 50 to 50,000 inhabitants. Town suburbs often sprawl out and divide into clusters of houses, like villages themselves. In the mountains and hills, villages rarely exceed 1,000 people and are often at a considerable distance from one another. Even the smallest villages typically consist of several named areas, each originally settled by a different family. In eastern Georgia, houses cluster compactly, with both private plots and collective-farm fields surrounding them; in the west, each sits in its own large garden. A small village usually includes a stone water fountain, a shop, a kindergarten, and a threshing ground, also used for summer meetings and dances. Larger villages may have a recreation hall, a bathhouse or café, clinics, grammar schools, and one or two factories or workshops.

A standard house in eastern Georgia is square, two stories high, and built of cement or brick with a tile roof. In the west the older style, still preserved, favors wide, one-story, all-wood houses with elaborate carvings. Houses often have eight or ten rooms; the kitchen is on the ground floor with its own entrance, the best room is on the second floor. All houses have verandas, outside staircases, and balconies, where people work and eat in the summer months. Each house, or sometimes several dwellings belonging to a father and his sons, stands in a courtyard with a fence and a gate. The gates are now usually metal, painted blue or green (once regarded as protection against the evil eye); a visitor pauses at the gates and calls to the people inside. The garden invariably includes a grape arbor and rose bushes as well as fruit trees and vege-

tables. Men build their houses carefully over a period of years, as they have the time and can buy the materials.

In Tbilisi most people live in apartments, either five-story prewar buildings or modern high-rises. The center of the city is Rustaveli Prospect, a wide avenue of public buildings, theaters, and stores, where crowds stroll in summer. Nearby is the old town with its jumbled balconies and courtyards, the old sulfur baths, and the most important churches. A traditionally Armenian quarter lies across the river, along with the central market and most of the city's industry. Abandoned cliff and cave dwellings, refuges during the wars of earlier centuries, remain across southern Georgia. In mountain villages many houses still have old stone defense towers, some dating from the twelfth century or perhaps earlier. Into the twentieth century, poorer western Georgians lived in ancient-style round houses with central hearths.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. Most Georgian families have gardens or private plots in which they grow beans, maize, fruits, vegetables, and spices for their own consumption. Men make wine and sometimes keep bees; women make condiments, pickles, and preserves and may raise chickens and pigs. In mountainous regions, people are mostly engaged in raising sheep and cattle. Only potatoes, barley, rye, and oats can be grown in the highest villages, so vodka and beer take the place of wine. The staple food of eastern Georgia is fresh, flattish white bread, now usually bought from stores; in the west the staple is cornmeal, either in cakes or as porridge. A meal also commonly includes various bean dishes (*lobio*), cheese or yogurt, and fruits and vegetables in season. Among the most popular Georgian dishes are shish kebab (*mts'vadi*) with sour plum sauce (*t'q'emali*), chicken with spicy walnut sauce (*satsivi, bazhe*), lamb-stuffed dumplings, and cheese bread (*khach'ap'uri*).

In previous centuries Georgian cities had highly disciplined guilds of merchants and craftsmen, including armorers, tailors, blacksmiths, butchers, bakers, and wine merchants. Tbilisi was known for its sharp-tongued street hawkers, roaming musicians, and cellar restaurants. Today professional craftsmen are few, but private cooperative stores and restaurants are once again allowed. State stores offer staples, including bread; open markets and specialty stores have a wide variety of produce, nuts, and preserved meats, but at much higher prices. Clothing, toys, and household items appear in stores randomly or not at all, and may cost weeks, months, or years of the average person's wages. Georgians, while participating in the cash economy, thus rely heavily on the assistance of relatives, friends, and co-workers to obtain inside access to goods and services.

In this century the Soviet policies of collectivization and industrialization have commercialized Georgia's economy and increased the standard of living. Large state farms in the lowlands now grow warm-weather, labor-intensive crops for export: tobacco, tea, and citrus in the west; wine, fruit, and vegetables in the east. In other areas collective farms produce more varied crops, mostly for local consumption. Georgia has one of the world's largest manganese mines (at Ch'iatura) and significant reserves of coal, timber, and various minerals. Other industries across the country include food processing, clothing production, steel works, and oil refineries. Tourism is also a major industry; Georgia has many natural mineral water spas in addition to its coast and mountains. Russian workers in Georgia are concentrated in tourist services and in industry.

Trade. Georgia produced over 90 percent of the tea and citrus consumed in the Soviet Union and much highly prized wine. Owing to its increasingly specialized agriculture, the country is now dependent on imports of grain. Batumi in Ajaria is a major port, especially for oil that comes by pipeline from Baku. Overland routes to Russia are limited: the only railway runs along the Abkhazian coast, and the main road—the Georgian Military Highway—is through the difficult Darial Pass into North Ossetia. (Plans to blast a tunnel through the Caucasus to allow a more direct rail link between Russia and Tbilisi were abandoned after a popular outcry over the environmental and cultural consequences.) In Russia, Georgians have earned a reputation as entrepreneurs and speculators.

Division of Labor. Georgian family members cooperate economically, even though some may have official jobs and residences in the city and others in the country. Traditionally, all wage workers put their earnings into a common fund kept by the senior woman of the household. When major purchases were to be made, the whole family conferred, with the oldest man having final say. In Tbilisi nowadays, family members simply give each other money as needed. In rural areas men do most of the fieldwork, cut hay, and take animals to high pasture in summer. Women do the cooking, washing, and cleaning and have the primary responsibility for taking care of children. Only men slaughter animals and serve as priests (in the Georgian Orthodox church or in pre-Christian ceremonies still observed in many remote parts of the country). Women are expected to teach their children to read and to ensure that they do well in school. Both men and women usually have nonagricultural jobs, sometimes in a neighboring larger village or town. One typical pattern is for grandparents to remain in the village, registered in the collective farm, while some of their grown children work or get training in town.

Land Tenure. Collectivization in the 1930s eliminated differences in family landholdings and competition for scarce arable land. Most fields and pastures now belong to collective farms, with individuals drawing wages and portions of the harvest in proportion to hours worked. About 30 percent of the agricultural land belongs to the state, which pays workers a fixed wage. Under Soviet law, people have the right only to use their houses and individual plots, with inheritance based on coresidence. In practice, however, Georgians ensure that sons or other appropriate heirs are official residents, thus keeping property within the family. In pre-Soviet times, fields belonged to families, pastures to villages, and forests to nobles, churches, or to all for free use.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Georgian families are typically of three generations: an older couple and married

sons with children, plus unmarried sons and daughters. Increasingly, however, married sons may work in separate places and so form semi-independent households. Families are grouped together into patrilineages (*sadzmo*), or "branches" (*sht'o*) of four to seven generations. In villages, families of a single branch occupy a section of adjacent houses. A branch also refers to all relatives up through the seventh degree, with whom marriage is prohibited by the church. In addition, people with the same surname (*mogvare*) assume they are related and do not marry. Families from western Georgia tend to have surnames ending in *-dze*, those from eastern Georgia in *-shvili*; Mingrelian, Svan, and some aristocratic family names have other endings. Many surnames are further identified with specific regions and villages.

Membership in all kin groups is patrilineal, marriage is exogamous, and residence patrilocal. Thus a villager grows up among his father's kin and sees his mother's relatives as guests. Nonetheless, Georgians consider their mothers' and grandmothers' relatives close "blood" kin, the same as their fathers', and visit them frequently if they live in the same town. Adults call on both their fathers' and mothers' relatives for help and in both groups enjoy the reassurance of being among kin. A man's honor is closely bound up with his mother, and his conduct reflects back on her most of all. A woman usually does not take her husband's name when she marries. She remains under her father's and brothers' protection throughout her life, but she is buried with her husband.

Georgians also recognize several categories of "spiritual" kin. In pre-Soviet times a nobleman sometimes gave his child to be suckled and raised by a peasant's wife. The child and the mother's own children would then be "milk brothers/sisters" (*dzudzumt'e*), binding the families for generations. As a variation, a grown man could publicly touch his lips to the breast of a woman, and so become adopted into a family. Even today two people who feel strong affection for each other cut their fingers, let their blood intermingle, and swear siblinghood. In a form of ritual kinship contracted between a man and woman, the couple could have affectionate, even intimate relations; on the other hand, since they were considered kin, they could not marry (this custom, known as *ts'ats'loba* in the mountain province of Pshavi, and as *sts'orproba* in the neighboring district of Khevsureti, was practiced up to the early years of the twentieth century). All Georgian children today have godparents; those of the first child are the mother's and father's lifelong best friends, who stood with them at their wedding. Parents' and godparents' descendants should not marry for fourteen generations.

Kinship Terminology. A Georgian names relatives by their relation to his or her ancestral line; maternal and paternal lines are not distinguished. Blood uncles are called by a special term (*bidza* or *dzia*) and their wives by another (*bitsola*). All other relatives are referred to by compound terms of the form "mother's sister," "grandfather's brother's wife," "brother's child's child," and so on. Terms distinguish gender when counting up generations, but not down. "Uncle" and "mother's sister" (*deida*) are general terms of respect for older people; an older woman of the same village is "uncle's wife." A wife has a set of terms to call her husband's mother, father, brother, and sister; and the husband likewise has a separate set for his wife's immediate kin (e.g., husband's mother, *dedamtili*; wife's mother, *sidedri*). All the members of each family then reciprocate with a single term. Husbands of sisters, wives of brothers, a married couple, and the parents of a married couple each have a reciprocal term. There is also a complete set of terms for families joined through godparenthood.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Marriages are initiated by the groom's side, but require the eventual consent of both young people and both families. A boy in love may simply ask a girl to marry him, then tell his parents. More often, a young man's female relatives arrange for him to meet potential brides on various pretexts, then open formal negotiations. If the bride and her family consent, the groom or one of his relatives brings a gold watch or ring as a sign of betrothal. The two families feel bound to help each other because they will share the same grandchildren. A bride should be a virgin, a good worker, and have done well in school; the groom's family should offer a reasonable standard of living and not be difficult to get along with. Ideally, the two families should be of the same class and region. Divorce was unusual in Georgia, but is now increasing. A divorced woman's family is supportive, but it is hard for her to remarry.

On the wedding day, the groom and his best man drink a glass of wine in the bride's house, then drive off with the bride and her bridesmaid for the civil ceremony. This is often accompanied, even today, by a service in church with an exchange of rings. At the threshold of the groom's house, the groom's mother gives him a plate to break under his foot (in another variant of this practice, the bride and groom compete to be the first to crush the plate; this is believed to be indicative of who will have the upper hand during their married life). Then both bride and groom are offered wine and something sweet. The couple preside as "king" (*mepe*) and "queen" (*dedopali*) at a lavish banquet of toasts, with singing and dancing for up to three days. In some areas the bride and groom are expected to sit with lowered eyes and eat little. In villages, the morning after the wedding the bride is asked to sweep the courtyard and fetch water from the spring, where other women come to greet her. A new wife is treated kindly and given only light work to do; in return she does not show too much how much she misses her family. The husband's relatives call her "little daughter-in-law" (*p'at'ardzali*) until she has had her first child; only then is the marriage considered consummated. A Georgian man still sometimes abducts his bride, nearly always with her tacit consent. Urban Georgians will run off together to another town, then return in a week to tell their parents. In rural areas, the groom and a few friends bring the bride first to one of the groom's paternal relatives' houses and then to his own. The groom's family quickly swallow their surprise and rally behind him; the bride's family are very angry, particularly her brothers. Intermediaries then try to calm the bride's family and win their consent to the usual marriage banquet. Once a man and woman are known to have spent the night together, it is assumed that they have had sex and so

must marry. Thus the bride's family always eventually relents, and the birth of a child heals remaining hard feelings.

Domestic Unit. Two to four generations usually eat together and share the same house or courtyard. Large families are considered fortunate. Traditionally, the oldest man heads the household, supervises other men's work, and has the final say in all matters; he therefore tends to reserve his opinions. The oldest woman manages the house's money and food, apportions work among other women, and has the largest hand in arranging her children's jobs and marriages. When a young couple marries and has children, however, their own small family is understood to become their primary focus. Georgians usually marry in their twenties and have two or three children; they hope for at least one son. New mothers take a year's maternity leave; after that the grandmother often stays with the children while the parents work. Husbands and wives avoid displaying affection openly; brothers and sisters are typically very close. The men and women of a family have a sense of gender solidarity, but do not keep separate from each other.

Georgians have a strong, sacred tradition of family hospitality. A household marks weddings, funerals, birthdays, holidays, or the arrival of any guest with a ritual banquet (supra). The supra may be a banquet for hundreds or just two friends sitting and talking, but it shows a family's honor and prosperity. The table is spread with rich and beautifully arranged food. The host, or an older man with authority and eloquence, raises a glass of wine and begins to lead the table in certain standard toasts, as well as some of his own invention. Guests elaborate each toast in turn, growing gradually drunker and more sentimental. Standard toasts are to the house, to parents, to children, to siblings, to the reason for gathering, to each of the people present, to women, to the departed, and finally, to "the holiest of all" (*q'ovelta ts'minda*, an epithet originally referring to the Virgin Mary). Strangers learn about each other's lives; enemies must find something kind to say about each other. Older women may participate fully, but younger women keep quiet and concentrate on serving food.

Inheritance. A family's house and land are common property; even after a man dies his married sons and their wives prefer to live together. In villages, a family that grows too large builds houses nearby for the older sons and leaves the old house to the youngest son and the grandparents; other property is divided equally. Women may inherit land, especially if they live in the village and head households; otherwise the property reverts up the patriline. Old people often distribute their property before they die to forestall arguments. In the highlands, a woman used to have a personal fund of land, stock, jewelry, or linens, which passed to her daughters.

Socialization. Georgians believe people learn slowly, with age, experience, and good teachers. Babies and small children receive much love and attention from all their relatives. They are encouraged to do things for themselves, not to wander away or cry too much, to know how the other gender behaves, and to be polite to elders. When a child misbehaves he or she is not punished severely, but is considered to be still learning. Until recently, schoolchildren were taught a Soviet version of history and morals with which their parents usually did not agree, but were afraid to question too openly. Without being told explicitly, a child learned to read between the lines of official publications and not to speak of family business to strangers.

Older children usually act as their parents would wish, without needing to be told. By around age 15, children take a considerable share of the household work, and by age 20 they and their parents start thinking about future careers and spouses. Young men had been required to spend two years in the Soviet army, but many managed to bribe their way out or simply never reported. For children of the intelligentsia, the years at university, especially the general exams, are the great rite of passage. All young people are considered prone to strong emotions of love, jealousy, and anger, which temper when they marry. For both men and women, becoming a parent, and then a grandparent, are felt to be life's happiest, most important achievements.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Georgian society is patriarchal: the head of a Georgian table is by custom always a man, and the men of a family are protective of the women. On the other hand, mothers are especially revered, and the language contains far more idiomatic expressions that refer to mothers than to fathers: the world is "mother Earth" (*deda mits'a*), Georgian is the "mother tongue" (*deda ena*), and so on. The Georgians revere the twelfth-century Queen Tamar as the symbol of their nation at its apex, and all mothers for the power to give life. Georgians expect men and women to have distinct natural inclinations, but regard each other as equals. Most doctors, teachers, and philologists are women, whereas men dominate in government, science, and heavy industry; many other professions are mixed. Georgians respect all older people's wisdom and control; in return they expect parents and grandparents to watch over children and be patient with their mistakes. People pay attention to each other's ages and sit and toast at suppers in roughly decreasing order of age. In general, Georgians do not enjoy eating meals or going places without the company of relatives or close friends.

Georgia has a large, loosely defined class of leading families whose members are academics, doctors, writers, artists, and political leaders. Old Tbilisi families have the highest status, but every village has an intelligentsia, usually including the former nobility. Communist party members, some from leading families and some not, formed a special class, at once elite and outcast, now disintegrating. Working and farming families receive respect insofar as they are large, prosperous, established, and honorable. Georgians feel working in business or any kind of service job is degrading, even if sometimes necessary. The Russians, Armenians, Azerbaijanis, and Jews who fill these jobs are therefore considered tainted by them or marked as separate people with separate roles. People recognize and reward individual merit, but access to education and employment also usually involves family guidance and patronage, thus replicating existing social divisions. The Communists, while they were in power, followed this traditional system, their ideology to the contrary notwithstanding.

The control exercised by Soviet offices, factories, schools, and clubs was to some extent circumvented by private ties that were the bases of society. People were accustomed to using their connections and paying bribes to gain government permission to build houses, change residence, or travel outside their republic. In general, Georgians consider it natural and moral to favor relatives and friends, provided that the beneficiaries are worthy. Under feudalism, the king, the church patriarch, and a few dozen princely families commanded lesser nobles as warriors and attendants; nobles, in turn, ruled farming families, who owed them labor, crops, and respect. City dwellers were organized into guilds, and foreign prisoners of war became slaves. In some areas peasant families were essentially free, watched over by village elders; elsewhere princes exploited their serfs, even selling them into slavery. Nobles were usually raised in local peasant families, and all classes carried arms, fought in battle, and had a sense of honor.

Political Organization. Under Soviet rule, Communist party leaders, government officials, and heads of institutions and industries effectively formed a single ruling body. Party members, supervisors, collective-farm chairmen, and schoolteachers represented this authority in everyday life, earning respect according to their individual qualities. Major decisions were made in Moscow, and formal opposition was not tolerated. Factions of the local *nomenklatura* schemed aggressively against each other for government wealth and favor, however. In earlier centuries, nobles, members of the royal family, and rulers of neighboring states formed shifting alliances. The central monarchy and the Christian church became closely tied to the idea of a unified, independent Georgia. Strong kings developed a feudal system similar to that of Europe, with hereditary land rights conditional on services rendered to a lord. However, princes and local leaders also made wars and alliances as extensions of their private affairs, building power by tradition, kinship ties, and personal ability.

Social Control and Conflict. Disputes are mediated by older men in the families involved or by third parties who have the respect of both sides; occasionally they simply simmer unresolved. Soviet police and courts were politically controlled and sometimes instruments of terror. People avoided litigation and resorted to bribery and influence when arrested. This system is now breaking down but has not been replaced. Georgia's traditional law codes, administered by nobles, bound offending families to pay fixed restitutions for death, injury, and loss of property; there was no distinction between purposeful and accidental wrongs. Parties took oaths on icons or brought witnesses to swear support. Families also took justice into their own hands, retaliating back and forth over generations. Georgians who feared revenge or official punishment sometimes fled to the forest and became bandits.

Georgia was thus historically a land of blood feuds and frequent raiding and warfare. A dagger belted around the waist and cartridge belts across the chest were standard elements of dress. This was balanced by a chivalric code of honor and strong traditions of kinship and hospitality. With the weakening of Soviet control, people are again dividing along political, national, and family lines, and leaders are building private armies. Georgian banquet tables may erupt into drunken fights, but can also heal rifts through adroit toasting; the supra is ideally "the academy," a place to learn and discuss. A fight most often starts between young men; older men, friends, or women then step in and try to calm them. A man's relatives and close friends may, however, also feel obligated to take his side. Formerly a woman could stop a fight by throwing her kerchief between the combatants.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs and Practices. Most Georgians belong to the Georgian Orthodox church; Ajarians and the Georgians of Turkey are Sunni Muslims of the Hanafi rite. A small group of Georgians in Azerbaijan, the Ingilos, are Shiites, as are the Fereidanian Georgians of Iran. About 25,000 Georgian Jews live in Georgia. Georgians, especially those of the mountains, also maintain cults of local deities and traditions of honoring the spirits of ancestors. These older traditions, Christian beliefs, and even Mazdaist and Muslim ideas, have fused in different proportions in different regions. In addition, Georgian academies of the golden age embraced Neoplatonism and established a strong tradition of humanism that continues today. The autocephalous Georgian Orthodox church was incorporated into that of Russia in czarist times, then mostly suppressed under Soviet rule; celebrations in the countryside have thus been left to families. Georgians are now renovating churches and reestablishing services. The church patriarch (presently Ilia II) has reemerged as an important national figure.

Georgian churches are dominated by an iconostasis, traditionally made of elaborately carved stone, pierced by three ceremonial doors and set with icons of Mary, Christ, John the Baptist, and other saints and angels. Georgians associate knowledge, faith, light, and the Holy Spirit; baptism and subsequent mysteries (sacraments) are understood as growing enlightenment. Major Georgian Orthodox holidays are Easter, Christmas, New Year's, the Day of Souls, and days to honor Mary, Saint Nino, Saint George, and Georgia's old capital and religious center, Mtskheta. Holidays are celebrated with processions, special services, sacrifices, offerings of wine and bread, and periods of fasting and feasting.

Georgia's traditional pantheon consisted of an all-encompassing god (*ghmerti*) and a host of lesser deities called angels, saints, or icons (*khat'i*). Most likely these represent the cults of earlier pagan deities modified and renamed under the influence of Christianity. These included the many incarnations of Saint George, dragon slayer and chief protector of humankind; the Svan hunting goddess Dali; Tamar, queen and conqueror, associated with the sun; Saint Barbara, patron of fertility and healing; K'op'ala, victor over the race of demons; Saint Mary; the Archangel Michael; and even Christ as ruler of the underworld. Each saint (or version of a saint) has its own sanctuary, holiday, and (in pre-Soviet times) lands and families of attendants. The sanctuary belongs to the local community, but pilgrims from other regions (including representatives of some non-Georgian peoples) also bring sheep to sacrifice and join in feasting. Many churches have been built on mountains or near sacred trees and groves. According to

myth, the shrines are linked to heaven by invisible chains, along which the saint travels in the form of a bird, winged cross, or light. In the mountains, standards topped with crosses were kept in the sanctuaries and were carried on raids and used to draw out drowned souls. In some mountain localities one can still see stone shrines adorned with antlers, drinking horns, and other offerings (metal objects, bullets) left by petitioners.

Arts. Through the eighteenth century, the Georgian high arts developed in connection with those of Persia, Byzantium, and Armenia. Old churches, still revered and reproduced today, are cruciform or octagonal with alternating square and rounded masses piling up to a central tower with a conical roof. Doors, friezes, and altar screens are carved with geometrical designs, human figures, and birds and beasts; inside walls have frescoes in red and blue. Medieval Georgia is also famous for cloisonné enamel icons and repoussé metal frames, crosses, cups, and arms in silver and gold; the country retains many fine metalsmiths and jewelers. Men's traditional dress was a tightly belted woolen tunic and trousers tucked into soft leather boots; women wore silk or cotton gowns with flared hems and sleeves. Only the mountaineer Khevsur now wear their embroidered costumes in ordinary life, but tailoring and leather-working traditions remain strong. Pottery, wood carving, and knitting are also all old and popular arts in Georgia.

The eleventh to thirteenth centuries were Georgia's artistic golden age. The masterpiece of this period, Shota Rustaveli's romantic verse-epic *Vepkhist'q'aosani* (The Knight in the Leopard Skin) remains the Georgians' most beloved work of literature, both for its language and for the ideal picture of society it presents. Other classical works, many still read today, are lives of saints, historical chronicles, works of philosophy, love lyrics, and narrative poems of romance, history, and reflection. There are also many translations and retellings of literature from other countries. The silver age of the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries brought a renaissance of poetry, the introduction of printing, the first monumental dictionary of the Georgian language, and works of history and criticism that established modern scholarship. Georgian folklore includes myths, historical tales, stories featuring literary characters, fairy tales, fables, battle epics, love poems, songs of mourning, work songs, humorous poems, lullabies, and hymns. Festive suppers are favorite times for songs, and winter evenings for stories.

Georgians have a distinct tradition of polyphonic a cappella folk singing, sung by men divided into two or three main voices and up to four additional voices. Orher song styles need just one voice and are sung to instrumental accompaniment. Tbilisi has given rise to a genre of urban folk songs, many written by nineteenth-century poets. Traditional Georgian instruments include three-stringed mandolins and lutes, pipes, clarinets, drums, and, in various areas, bagpipes, panpipes, and harps. Medieval Georgians enjoyed chamber music and had a system of musical notation. In Georgian dances men imitate the art of war—leaping, spinning, and battling with swords; women move proudly and gracefully, with elaborate movements of their hands. Men and women never touch each other while dancing. Often the company makes a ring, clapping or revolving while individuals show off in the center. In sports Georgians excel at wrestling, fencing, equestrian events, and chess (especially women's chess, which has been dominated by Georgians for the past two decades); soccer is also extremely popular.

Beginning in the early nineteenth century, Georgian arts came under Western influence. Many Georgians have excelled in painting, sculpture, lyric and narrative poetry, fiction, symphonic music, opera, ballet, theater, and cinema. Professional artists draw heavily on folk themes, and their work is known to people from all walks of life. Georgian painters and sculptors favor portraits and scenes of gatherings; many use strong, sharp lines and give their subjects an impression of weight. Among painters of the postwar period, Lado Gudiashvili has pride of place; the naive painter Niko Pirosmanishvili has become famous for his murals in cellar restaurants depicting scenes from urban and village life. Over the course of the nineteenth century, Georgian poets and novelists turned from romantic to realistic styles; common subjects remain the fate of the country, historical episodes, everyday life, and intense portraits of character and emotion. Important poets of earlier generations include Nikoloz Baratashvili, Ak'ak'i Ts'ereteli, Galak't'ion T'abidze, and those of the symbolist "blue horn" circle. Perhaps the greatest poet of the modern period is the early-twentieth-century writer Vazha-Pshavela, whose poems were inspired by the epic oral literature of his native mountains.

Medicine. Georgians go both to state clinics and to doctors who use traditional remedies. Certain families are famous for their knowledge of curing; recipes and rituals are also found in old books. Georgians traditionally had shamans who fell into trances and prescribed cures in the voice of a local deity. Similarly, some women could speak in the voices of the dead. Some Georgians fear old women's curses and unhappy local and ancestral spirits, blaming them for illness or bad fortune. Many believe in the healing powers of mineral-water drinks and baths. Old women see their families' futures written in dreams in standard sets of signs; some are also known as fortune-tellers. Many women like to get together in winter, drink coffee, and tell fortunes from the grounds. Mountain priests used to divine the future from shoulder bones of sacrificed animals. Many Georgians consider certain days of the week lucky or unlucky for doing certain household tasks or for individuals in their lives.

Death and Afterlife. Georgians want very much to die in the company of their families and be buried in their native land. As a person is dying, relatives place a bowl of water beside the bed and open a window, so the soul can be clean and fly away. On the third, fourth, and fifth days after death, hundreds, or even thousands, come to pay their respects; a priest is also called, if one is available. A candle burns behind the head of the corpse and grains of wheat are strewn alongside; the women of the family sob and lament, the men stand quietly. For the burial, the pallbearers carry the coffin three times around the room, then knock on the door and let themselves out. The family follows with wine and special dishes. That evening neighbors organize a large funeral banquet; the toasts must total an

odd number. Forty days after death, the family celebrates the soul's departure for the other world; on the first anniversary, they mark the end of mourning. Thereafter, on anniversaries, on holidays, and especially on the Day of Souls, people return to the cemetery and have a small supper, including toasts and offerings to those who have passed away. A person in mourning consumes no milk or meat and wears black. Some women mourn husbands or brothers their entire lives, but young widows and widowers often remarry. In folklore Georgians associated death with journeys to the west, into caves, and through water. They envisioned the afterlife as a dim, shadowy replica of the present one: the dead sit at a vast banquet at which they do not eat, drink, or speak. Souls maintain family loyalties and still crave food, drink, and, according to some, clothing and entertainment. Their well-being depends on their character in this world, and their relatives' continuing care. Georgians also have Christian ideas of a heaven and hell.

See also Ajarians; Georgian Jews; Ingilos; Khevsur; Laz; Meskhetians; Mingrelians; Svans

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ELISA WATSON

Germans

ETHNONYMS: none

Orientation

Identification. The estimated 2,038,341 Germans who lived in Russia as of January 1989 constituted the single largest ethnic minority group without a settlement area of its own. Compared to the more than 100 other non-Russian nationalities living in the Soviet Union, the Germans are the fifteenth-largest ethnolinguistic group.

Location. Just before and during the Nazi offensive on Russia that began on 22 June 1941 and lasted until 1944, the entire Soviet German population was deported from their settlements in the European part of Russia to Siberia, Kazakhstan, and Soviet Central Asia, which, depending on the case, they were strictly forbidden to leave until 1955 or even 1956. Subsequent internal migrations led to the formation of new and concentrated settlements. According to 1989 figures, 41 percent of all Soviet settlements where Germans were in the majority were in Russia itself; 47 percent in Kazakhstan; 5 percent in Kirgizia; and 2 percent in Uzbekistan, Tadzhikistan, and the Ukraine respectively; the rest lived in the Baltic states and in Transcaucasia, Moldavia, and Byelorussia. Very few Germans lived in settlements with an existing German majority. Settlements of this kind came into being in the Altai, Omsk, and Orenburg regions and in northern Kazakhstan at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. Elsewhere in the former Soviet Union, Germans have remained in the minority.

Demography. The January 1989 census showed the male-female ratio within the German population of the Soviet Union to be 51 percent to 49 percent. The estimate of 2,038,341 Germans of Soviet citizenship was based on statements made by the respondents. Statistics show that some of these Germans had previously indicated a different nationality because of discrimination against Germans. No details are available on the way the census was carried out.

Linguistic Affiliation. Germans living in the former Soviet Union speak several dialects and foreign languages depending on their generation. At the time of emigration, settlers tended to group together according to place of origin and religious denomination. Thus, the respective dialects were the main form of communication in the German settlements in the European part of Russia until they were destroyed between 1941 and 1944. Countless German settlements were founded in the Orenburg District, northern Kazakhstan, western Siberia, and Kirgizia at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, however, and were left largely undisturbed during World War II. In these areas German dialects are still the most usual medium of communication for the older to middle generations. In the Mennonite villages of the Orenburg, Omsk, and Altai regions, there is a particularly high instance of children who only speak in German dialect. The most common dialects still to be found are Lower and

Middle West German (West Prussian/Rhine-Frankonian, Palantine, Upper Hessian), East German (Silesian), and Upper German (Alemannian, Swabian, Alsatian, and North Frankonian). During the twentieth century internal migrations led to a growth in mixed dialects.

Until as late as 1941, High German was still spoken in German settlement schools (i.e., in the Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic of the Volga Germans). As a result, some in the older generations still demonstrate a fairly comprehensive knowledge of literary German. After 1941, however, German schools ceased to exist and have not been reopened. In the average Russian school, German is inadequately taught owing to the dispersion of settlements, political discrimination, and insufficient opportunity to preserve the spoken language. The process of assimilation or, to be more precise, Russification, has been rapid. In 1926, 95 percent of Germans living in the Soviet Union declared German to be their mother tongue; this had dropped to 75 percent by 1959, to 66.8 percent by 1970, and to 57.7 percent by 1979, and to an all-time low of 48.7 percent in 1989. In many families this process of linguistic decay means that the older generation speaks dialect and High German; the middle generation a Russian dialect and, in some cases, High German; and the children can speak only Russian. There is a marked difference between the languages spoken by the urban and rural populations. The assimilation of German urban populations is far more advanced in Russian-speaking areas than it is among rural populations in the republics of Central Asia. In major towns and cities, 44.88 percent of the men interviewed said their mother tongue was German, compared to 51.82 percent of the women. In rural areas, the comparable figures are 62.03 percent and 68.55 percent for men and women respectively.

History and Cultural Relations

The first Germans to forge links with Russia were the German missionaries and merchants who traveled there over 1,000 years ago; their stay in Russia, however, was relatively brief. Grand Duke Ivan III (1462–1505) brought in doctors, apothecaries, architects, and military officers from many European countries including German principalities. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw the largest increase in German settlers.

Large-scale immigration began as a consequence of the manifestos laid down by Catherine II (the Great) on 4 December 1762 and 22 July 1763, encouraging foreign immigration to Russia. The manifesto drawn up in 1763 granted particularly favorable conditions to new immigrants, including complete exemption from military service, religious freedom, the opportunity for self-government, several years' tax exemption, and immigration support. During the years 1764 to 1767, between 23,000 and 29,000 German colonists settled in Russia. Most came from Hesse, Rhineland-Palatinate, northern Baden, and the Rheinprovinz, but some from France, Sweden, and Holland. Although some of the immigrants colonized areas near St. Petersburg, most gravitated toward the Volga Lands, setting up 104 colonies near the city of Saratov. The second major phase of immigration started in 1789 and lasted, despite periodic lulls, until 1863. During this period, immigrants consisted mainly of Mennonites and Protestants entering the southern Ukraine; a further 55,000 people immigrated to Russia from Württemberg, Baden, Palatinate, Lorraine, Alsace, and Switzerland. The immigrants were to help secure Russia's borders and develop districts long since fallen into disuse as new areas of commercial productivity. By 1914 there were 3,500 German colonies, and the total German population was estimated at 2,338,500.

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the urban and rural German populations were divided into national and religious communities, with numerous well-developed clubs and societies. At this time many German officials, merchants, and citizens actually formed part of the Russian upper class and, because they owned land, the rural Germans were wealthy and living apart from the surrounding peasant population. Every year they employed tens of thousands of Russians, Ukrainians, Georgians, and others for seasonal work in southern Russia and the Caucasus, which encouraged the spread of German farming methods and machinery among Russian and Ukrainian farmers. Moreover, elements of Ukrainian and Russian Baptism can be traced back to the Bible-class teachings (*Stunde*) of the Swabian Germans.

As a result of immigration, trade in crafts flourished, and milling and material production (*sarpinka*) became well established in the Volga Lands. The production of agricultural tools and equipment was particularly successful in the southern Ukraine, and the Johann Hoehn factory (in Odessa), which produced plows, grew to be the largest of its kind in southern Russia. As a result of the termination of self-government in 1871 and the reinstatement of general liability for military service in 1874, however, the internal political climate took a dramatic turn for the worse. In addition, the pan-Russian movement demanded the expulsion of Germans from the western district of Russia (in Volhynia) and new alien laws. The withdrawal of privileges, combined with the increasing Russification, eventually led to the emigration of 18,000 Mennonites to the United States (1872–1873); 10,000 colonists left for Brazil (1890), and several thousand more emigrated to Canada, Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay.

During World War I, anti-German feeling in Russia reached a high pitch, and in the winter of 1915–1916 approximately 200,000 Germans were deported from Volhynia to other parts of the country. All Germans were to have been deported from the European part of Russia to Siberia and Central Soviet Asia by the end of 1917, a plan that could never fully be put into effect because of the Revolution in 1917. After the fall of Czar Nicholas II and the subsequent proclamation of civil rights and rights to self-determination, various ethnic groups in Russia began to seek autonomy. The German autonomy movement was centered in Odessa, Moscow, and Saratov. The Commission for German Affairs in the Volga Lands was finally set up in Saratov in May 1918, and on 19 October 1918 the German colonies of the Volga Lands were granted autonomous status, the first instance of national autonomy in Soviet Russia. In 1924 the district was transformed into the Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic of Volga Germans (ASSRVG). In the twenties and thirties, German provinces existed in the Ukraine, the Crimea, Transcaucasia, around Orenburg, in northern Kazakhstan, and in the

Altai region. In the ASSRVG and the German provinces, German became the official language and was spoken in the schools. Numerous newspapers, journals, and books were printed, and the education system ran from kindergarten to university.

Following the seizure of power in Germany by the National Socialist German Workers' (Nazi) party, conditions for Germans in the former Soviet Union deteriorated. In 1938 the autonomous German provinces were disbanded, and after Hitler had declared war on the Soviet Union, Germans were deported on a large scale to Siberia and Central Soviet Asia. The Germans in the Volga Lands were subsequently accused of collaborating with the enemy and the ASSRVG was eliminated. By 1941, 226,000 people had already been moved to the eastern parts of the country, with most men and women being drafted into the Worker's Army (Trudovaja Armija). Approximately 895,000 Germans were deported during the course of World War II. In 1956 the rest of the German population was placed in special settlements under the supervision of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD).

As a result of political and social changes, conditions have greatly altered for the Germans in Russia. Today they find themselves in a diaspora, and many are scattered among Muslim communities. Since 1941 political and legal discrimination have turned the Germans into the outsiders of Soviet society; at the same time, cultural pressure and assimilative processes have resulted in widespread adaptation to Slavic values.

Settlements

The geographic distribution of the German population in the former Soviet Union was determined by state regulations and by the need for workers in new centers of industrial growth, as well as by deportations to Novaya Zemlya and Siberia. To this day the German population displays the high degree of mobility it acquired out of economic and political necessity. An analysis of German settlement patterns in the Soviet Union from 1926 to 1989 shows a consistently large German population in Russia and Ukraine and a rapidly expanding population in Kazakhstan and Kirghizia during the same period.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. Prior to 1917 most Germans in Russia were employed in agriculture, particularly in cereal growing and animal breeding. The chief source of income in the Crimea and Transcaucasia was viniculture. The social and employment structures were significantly affected, however, by the dispossession of property and the deportations that took place between 1941 and 1945. In 1989, 53 percent of the Germans living in Russia were urbanized (on a national average), whereas the other 47 percent lived in the country. The statistics vary according to republic and region. In Uzbekistan, for example, 88 percent of the German population is urban; the comparable figures are 71 percent in the Ukraine and 54 percent in the former Soviet Union. In the primarily agrarian provinces of Kazakhstan and Kirgizia, the corresponding data are 49 percent and 42 percent respectively.

Industrial Arts. The handicrafts and decorative arts that had flourished before 1917 lost much of their importance following the abolition of private ownership of the means of production and continue to play a significant role only in rural areas.

Trade. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries streets lined exclusively with German stores were to be found in Moscow, St. Petersburg, Saratov, Odessa, and other cities. Regular street markets were held in the settlements and a number of German-owned trading firms distributed industrial and farming products throughout Russia. Today farming is the only industry in which Germans pursue private production. Surplus dairy products, meat, eggs, fruit, and vegetables are sold at the kolkhoz markets or purchased by state distribution agencies.

Division of Labor. Within the sphere of agriculture, German men in Russia tend to work the machinery (as elsewhere in the former Soviet Union), whereas women tend to be employed in the fields and in animal care. Within the sphere of industry, the occupations chosen depend on jobs available.

Land Tenure. The ownership and utilization of land have always differed from region to region. In the Volga Lands approximately 30 to 35 hectares would be allocated to individual German colonists at the time the settlements were founded, whereas in southern Russia and Bessarabia 60 to 65 hectares were more usual. Land allocations (for viniculture) were significantly smaller in the Crimea and Transcaucasia. In Volhynia, land was not allocated but leased. In other regions of Russia, economic success and the increase in the population led to the foundation of secondary settlements (daughter colonies) and increased ownership of land. In the pre-Revolutionary period, 5 to 9 percent of the population in southern Russia consisted of German settlers who owned up to 38 percent of the land. In 1917, however, all Russian land was nationalized and between 1928 and 1932 was transformed into collectives (kolkhoz) or state property (sovkhoz).

Kinship, Marriage, and Family

Kinship. The rural German population tended to have larger families (six to twelve children) than those living in the cities, with the biggest families usually consisting of three or four generations. The number of children born in each family dropped to an average of two to three in rural homes and one to two in urban-based families after private land ownership was abolished and no longer provided a source of income. The accelerating trend toward urbanization has also influenced the decline in the birthrate.

Marriage. In the rural areas before 1917, Germans tended to marry within their religious communities. Following the demise of the church in the twenties and thirties, however, religious differences came to play less of a role, and by the end of World War II, they were no longer a consideration. The number of interethnic marriages has greatly increased in the meantime. By the end of the seventies, at least 47.5 percent of all married Germans in the Soviet Union had chosen a partner of another nationality. This percentage was lower in the Central Soviet Asian re-

publics and in Kazakhstan. Mixed marriages occur most frequently with Russians and Ukrainians.

Inheritance. Prior to the Russian Revolution, land in the Volga Lands was the property of the mir and usufruct was periodically redistributed. In German colonies in southern Russia, German laws regulating the inheritance of the farm by the youngest son were in effect, but were superseded by Russian inheritance laws after self-government was abolished in 1871. Since the nationalization of lands and of the means of production in 1917, individuals have the right only to use, not to own, domestic buildings and farmland. The property and leasing laws passed in 1990 have brought little change.

Socialization. The older generation used to be held in respect, as were clergymen and teachers in rural communities. Urbanization has reduced families to two generations, thus changing the role played by older relatives.

Sociopolitical Organization

Since 1941 the Germans have been an ethnic minority without territory of their own. As such, they do not have any form of representation or administration. There were German delegates in the soviets at various levels leading up to the Deputy Congress of the USSR, but they represented their constituencies and not an ethnic group. In March 1989 a society called "Rebirth" was founded in Moscow. Its main aims were to reestablish the political and legal rights of Germans and to reinstate the ASSRVG and the German provinces. The society had approximately 50,000 members in April 1990.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs and Practices. Before the Revolution, about 65 percent of the Germans in Russia were Lutheran and 25 percent Catholic, the others being Mennonite, Baptist, Pentecostal, or Adventist. Religious communities were set up by the consistorial districts of St. Petersburg and Moscow of the Evangelical Lutheran Russian church (1832). The Catholic communities belonged to the diocese of Tiraspol (1848), and the bishopric was in Saratov. Religious communities like these fell apart in the thirties, however, because of the militant atheism of the time, widespread church closures, and the persecution of priests and the faithful alike. Religious life underwent a revival (the beginnings of ecumenicism) during the years of the mass deportation and work camps (1941-1956). The first religious communities to be granted state approval after World War II were a Lutheran community in Akmolinsk (in 1957) and a Catholic community in Frunze (in 1969). There are now about 300 Lutheran communities in the former Soviet Union with 150,000 to 200,000 active members. Since October 1989 these communities have established the German Evangelical Lutheran church. The number of practicing Catholics in Russia remains unknown, but there are roughly 25 to 30 Catholic communities in existence. In the mid-1980s the total number of German Baptists was estimated at 50,000 to 80,000, and a total of 50,000 is assumed for the Mennonites.

Arts. Germans in the former Soviet Union managed to preserve the cultural heritage of their home country until the middle of the twentieth century. The dissolution of concentrated settlements and the processes of acculturation and assimilation have since led to an accelerating loss of the traditions and customs that were previously handed down by word of mouth.

Death and Afterlife. Practicing Christians in Russia uphold the views on death and the afterlife that prevail in their particular religious denomination. Germans with a more atheistic bias believe that death is merely a biological process that puts an end to life.

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ALFRED EISFELD

Greeks

ETHNONYMS: Pontian Greeks, Pontic Greeks

Orientation

Identification. The Greek population of the former USSR is the result of various waves of immigration: the Greeks of the Crimea, who settled in the Mariupol region in the 1770s; those who originate from Greece, including the few remaining political refugees who fled Greece after the civil war in 1948–1949; and those who came from the

historical Pontus (in the Black Sea region of present-day Turkey) and settled along the Black Sea coast in Russia. These Pontian Greeks arrived in Russia during the nineteenth century, but the last and largest influx settled in the Soviet Union between 1916 and 1924. As Pontian Greeks form the overwhelming majority in the Soviet Greek population, it is primarily to them that this article will refer.

Location. Greeks are scattered throughout many of the nations that were republics of the Soviet Union, including Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Russia, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan. Most live in areas near the Black Sea, in eastern Ukraine, and the Transcaucasian regions of southern Russia and Georgia.

Demography. Although the number of Greeks in the USSR was listed in 1989 as 358,000, many believe that the total may be well over 500,000, perhaps 1 million if children of mixed marriages are counted. It appears that there are thousands of Greeks in the Soviet Union who were not officially listed, and, in general, population figures remain approximate, based on local knowledge rather than state statistics. There are still up to 100,000 Greeks living in Central Asia, a legacy of Stalin's persecution in the 1930s and 1940s, when much of the Greek population was sent into exile all over the Soviet Union. The majority of Greeks, however, are scattered throughout three republics bordering the Black Sea. Nongovernmental and diplomatic sources suggest that approximately 120,000 live in eastern Ukraine, about 120,000 in Georgia, and 150,000 in southern Russia.

Like some other ethnic minorities (in particular Jews and Germans) who are eager to leave the former Soviet Union, many Greeks now seek to emigrate to Greece. In 1990, 22,500 Pontian Greeks left the Soviet Union, a dramatic increase from previous years. Figures for 1991 indicate that about 1,800 are leaving every month, primarily from Central Asia and Georgia.

Linguistic Affiliation. Today most Greeks in the former USSR speak Russian, with a significant number speaking their traditional Pontian language. Pontian is a Greek dialect that derives from the ancient Ionic dialect and resembles ancient Greek more than the modern "demotic" Greek language. It has been influenced by many other languages, reflecting the historical contacts that Pontian Greeks had with other cultures including the Romans, Venetians, Persians, Georgians, and above all, the Turks.

Until recently, the ban on teaching Greek in Soviet schools meant that Pontian was spoken only in a domestic context. Consequently, many Greeks, especially those of the younger generation, speak Russian as their first language. In republics such as Georgia, it is normal for Greeks to speak Georgian and Russian as well as Pontian. Linguistically, Greeks are far from being unified. In the Ukraine alone, there are at least five documented Greek linguistic groups, which are broadly categorized as the Mariupol dialect. Other Greeks in the Crimea speak Tatar, and in regions such as Tsalka in Georgia there are numerous Turkophone Greeks. In recent years, the Gorbachev regime permitted Greeks to teach their own language again, and a number of schools are now teaching Greek. Because of their strongly philhellenic sentiments and ambitions to live in Greece, this is normally modern, "demotic" Greek rather than Pontian.

History and Cultural Relations

Relations between Greeks and Russians can be traced back to ancient times, with Greek colonization of the Black Sea beginning in the eighth century B.C. Archaeological evidence suggests that there were also Greek settlements on the northern shores of the Black Sea and in the Caucasus. Contact between Greeks and Russians increased in the era of the Byzantine Empire, and from the ninth century A.D. Greeks had strong religious and cultural influences in Russia and Georgia.

The Greeks were favored by both Peter the Great and Catherine the Great, and the latter specifically encouraged the settlement of Greeks in her empire. As fellow Orthodox Christians who were opposed to the Turks, Greeks were strategically placed in areas of southern Russia. The city of Mariupol, by the Sea of Azov, was founded in 1779 by about 30,000 Greeks. They have lived for centuries in the Crimea, under Tatar domination, but in Mariupol the empress gave them protection and the right to maintain their Greek culture. Odessa's population immediately after its foundation in 1796 was 3,150, about 2,500 of whom were Greeks. Both Mariupolis and Odessa became important centers for Greek culture and trade, and the Philiki Etairia (the movement that played a major role in the Greek fight for liberation from the Turks) was founded in Odessa.

Greek migration from Asia Minor continued throughout the nineteenth century, and, following the three Russo-Turkish wars, large numbers of Greeks arrived in southern Russia. As noted above, most Greeks in the Soviet Union are migrants from what was the Pontus, a region of northeastern Asia Minor bordering the southeastern shores of the Black Sea. Greeks of the Pontus region had lived under Turkish domination since the fifteenth century, and their population had become linguistically and religiously divided. The Ottoman regime had periodically forced the Greek population to choose between their language and their religion: as a result, some were Turkish-speaking Christians, some Greek-speaking Moslems, and others secretly practicing crypto-Christians. The Greeks from Pontus who settled in the Georgian plateau of Tsalka in the mid-nineteenth century were and remain Turkophone.

When the Turks began their persecution of the Asia Minor Greeks in 1914, their census for the Pontus listed nearly 700,000 Orthodox Greeks and about 190,000 Moslem Greeks. In the genocide of various minority nationalities that followed, the Turks massacred over 350,000 Greeks. From 1916 until 1924 about 80,000 to 100,000 Greeks left the Pontus and took refuge in Russia, the Crimea, and Georgia, where about 650,000 Greeks were already living.

During the period following the Russian Revolution in 1917, the Greek population of the newly formed Soviet Union began to flourish, especially in the Transcaucasus. Despite communism's negative impact on the previously successful merchant community, Greek schools, newspapers, theaters, and literature continued to flourish. The number of Greek schools in Georgia rose from 33 in 1924

to 140 in 1938. The political movement to establish an autonomous Greek territory within the USSR succeeded to some extent, with several autonomous Greek regions being established in 1928.

In the 1930s Stalin began the persecution and deportation of various nationalities. Among the innumerable victims (including the Volga Germans, Tatars, and Koreans) were large numbers of Greeks. Thousands were imprisoned and executed as "enemies of the people" or on charges of spying, and whole communities were suddenly evacuated from their homes and sent into exile to Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and Siberia. Greek schools were shut down, Greek theaters closed, and Greek newspapers and publications banned. The deportations continued in the 1940s, and in 1949 over one-half of the Greek population of Georgia was exiled to the steppes of Central Asia. Official figures are not available, but, in addition to the hundreds of thousands of Greeks who were exiled, about 50,000 died as a result of the appalling conditions in which they were transported or in which they were subsequently forced to live.

Following Stalin's death in 1953, exiled and imprisoned Greeks (and other persecuted minorities) were given some degree of freedom. A number returned from exile to the regions of their former homes, although rights to their confiscated property were never reinstated. Many were unable to leave Central Asian republics such as Kazakhstan, as they were not given the necessary documents. Unlike most ethnic minorities, the Greek community refused en masse to accept Soviet nationality and suffered for its attempts to keep their Greek passports. Many accepted Soviet passports only after their period in exile.

Under both the Khrushchev and Brezhnev regimes, Greeks (with few exceptions) continued to occupy a disadvantaged position in Soviet society and were unable to obtain high positions in political, military, scientific, and academic hierarchies. This was one of many factors that further encouraged Greeks not to declare their nationality on their Soviet passports. It was only in the 1980s that significant changes began under President Gorbachev, and minority nationalities were allowed to express their identity openly. The suppression of Greek culture, religion, and language for so long has meant that, in many cases, younger Greeks in the Soviet Union have lost any obvious markers of their ethnicity.

Settlements

The style of architecture and type of settlement vary according to the region in which Greeks live. Greeks who lived in Georgia and other mountainous Caucasian areas traditionally built houses similar to those of Georgians and were known for preferring large buildings. A wooden upper floor with a balcony is supported by a stone lower floor, which houses the kitchen and storerooms. In poorer, rural areas of the Caucasus and Georgia, such as Tsalka, dwellings were often built into the hillside, sometimes using mud bricks in addition to stone and wood. In recent years, the style of buildings has been changing; larger houses are more prevalent and the use of traditional materials has decreased. Certain neoclassical details such as columns and pediments are frequently found in the architecture of Greek communities.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. In pre-Revolutionary Russia, Greeks were successful in both commercial and agricultural spheres. Greek trading activities were spread throughout the Russian Empire, and it was Greeks who introduced the cultivation of tobacco to Russia. The All-Union census of 1926 records a population of Greeks engaged mainly in agriculture, cattle breeding, and trade. Following Lenin's death, a punitive taxation of private commercial and agricultural enterprises was introduced to bring an end to capitalistic activities. In 1929 the Stalinist regime began to force the peasant population to work in kolkhozy (agricultural collectives) and sovkhozy (state farms). Like many farmers who tried to resist collectivization and the compulsory purchase of their land and livestock, large numbers of Greeks were imprisoned and sent to camps.

Today it is still common for Greeks to work in kolkhozy, but because of vast geographical differences in habitat, generalizations about agriculture are difficult. Members of a kolkhoz are normally allowed a private plot of land, where they can keep animals and cultivate fruit and vegetables. Although a fixed amount of produce must be handed over to the kolkhoz, successful farmers are also able to sell their produce privately in markets.

In many Transcaucasian rural communities, Greeks commonly grow a wide variety of vegetables and fruits and keep chickens, pigs, sheep, and cows. The profitable cultivation of citrus fruits, tea, and tobacco is also widely practiced in these regions.

The historical Pontian diet consists of many sheep's milk products such as yogurt, kefir (a soured milk drink), cream, and cheese. The basis of the cuisine was not oil but butter. Pontian Greek communities are renowned for the variety and quality of their cheeses. Meat is not a significant part of the everyday diet, although fish is popular among Black Sea communities. Plenty of green vegetables and herbs are consumed, and staples often include macaroni-type products and cereals such as maize and buckwheat as well as bread and potatoes.

Pontian cuisine resembles Greek and Turkish cooking but has also been influenced by surrounding cultures. For example, Greeks in Georgia eat food that has much in common with the Georgian cuisine.

Division of Labor. Traditionally, and in rural communities, women tend to carry out all the basic domestic tasks including crafts such as weaving. They also work on the family's plot of land, although men do heavy work such as digging. The division of labor varies according to the region and according to whether the household has a large or small piece of land. In the Tsalka region of Georgia, the land is very poor, and Greeks there tend to work on the kolkhoz and maintain only a small private garden. In other regions of Georgia, however, plots of land are larger (up to about 2,500 square meters), and agricultural labor and production are carried out at a household, rather than a collective, level.

Kinship, Marriage, and Family

Kinship. The basis of Pontian kinship is formed by exogamous clans, which have a patrilineal system of descent. All members of a clan share the same surname, which typically ends in *-idis*, for example, Chionidis. The head of the clan is always the oldest member, and he is traditionally called upon to make important decisions, to approve marriages, and to solve conflicts. The oldest man or woman in the village has historically commanded great respect and authority. Some clans establish traditions of intermarriage and hence close social ties. First names are passed down through the generations, with a first son receiving the name of his paternal grandfather. Knowledge of kinship ties is extensive, and many people can remember their ancestors back to about eight generations.

Ritual kinship also plays an important role in Pontian society. When a man gets married, he always has a *koumbaros*, who acts as best man, pays for the wedding, and maintains close relations thereafter. The koumbaros is the son of the groom's godfather and will become godfather to all of the male children resulting from the marriage. The koumbaros's wife is godmother to the female children, and the bonds between the two families are lifelong and sacred. It is now becoming common for some men to choose their koumbaros rather than inheriting him automatically, but the relationship remains significant.

Marriage. In the traditional Pontian family, women were married when they were very young; perhaps this originated to avoid abduction to Turkish harems, which never accepted married women. Today the age at marriage has risen: it tends to be about 20 for women and 24 for men, whereas in the 1930s it was about 17 and 22 respectively. Marriage remains patrilocal, and the wife nearly always lives with her husband's family. Arranged marriage (and the related phenomenon of elopement—*klepsion*, or "stealing" the bride), formerly prevalent, no longer exists. In spite of these changes, there is a strong preference that marriages should take place within the Greek community.

It is common for men to spot their future brides at local religious celebrations or public events. They may then decide to embark on the four stages of meetings and agreements that lead to a marriage. The prospective groom will send representatives to the parents of the prospective bride, a task which used to be carried out by the *proxenitra*, a woman whose profession it was to arrange marriages. In areas where a Greek or Russian Orthodox church exists, weddings may include some form of religious ceremony in addition to a civil wedding. The Pontian wedding itself, however, takes place at the bride's house. The bride and groom stand facing each other across a table and exchange presents and rings, after which there is feasting and dancing. A second part of the marriage takes place on a different day at the house of the groom.

Wedding food includes chicken because of its supposed relationship to symbols of fertility. Guests give money or gifts to the couple, and the bride's parents give a dowry, which normally consists of movable goods such as furniture, crockery, and linen. Great emphasis is placed on the virginity of the bride, and it is traditional for the groom's mother to inspect the sheet from the marital bed for blood, as proof of her daughter-in-law's purity.

Domestic Unit. The Pontian Greek family has historically lived in domestic units of three and even four generations. In the past, most or all the sons would remain in the parental home, and their brides would join them there. More recently, only one son tends to stay with the parents. Hierarchy according to age is often strictly observed within the domestic unit: female members are supposedly ranked according to the amount of time they have been married, and younger males should be respectful and accept orders from older ones. A daughter-in-law should show great humility toward her husband's parents: it is traditional for her to avoid speaking directly to them (at least for a year), often using children as go-betweens instead.

Inheritance. In the past, equal inheritance by all male siblings was normal among Pontian Greeks. Today, however, whoever stays with the parents inherits the family house and its contents. This is normally the younger son, and older sons may be helped by parents to build new homes and to set up their independent households. There is no tradition of female inheritance, although daughters are given a premortem inheritance in the form of a dowry. Although private initiative (and therefore private property) is much more prevalent in Transcaucasia than in many other regions of the former USSR, in general terms the Soviet economic and legal system inhibited the accumulation of individual wealth and its inheritance.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. The majority of Greeks in the Soviet Union were historically (and remain) rural agriculturalists. Nevertheless, there are also increasing numbers of urban dwellers, who place great emphasis on education and whose occupations span a broad spectrum. The blossoming in the 1930s of Soviet Greek literature, arts, and theater is indicative of an artistic creativity that shows a few signs of reestablishing itself. Nevertheless, the widespread emigration by active and ambitious Greeks is not helping cultural development in the former USSR.

The type of work and consequent standard of living among Greeks varies greatly according to the republic where they reside. For example, Greeks in Ukraine include many coal miners, mining being one of this republic's main industries. On the other hand, most Greeks in Georgia are farmers, including many who became relatively wealthy because the former Soviet regime allowed them to sell their produce privately.

Pontian Greeks have a reputation for being hardworking and enterprising, both of which are reflected in their capacity for reestablishing themselves in new locations. It is not uncommon for Soviet Pontians to have been uprooted several times in a lifetime. For instance, many older people who left Turkey after 1916 to settle in the Black Sea regions of the USSR were later exiled to Central Asia in the 1930s or 1940s, and large numbers returned to the Black Sea and Transcaucasus after the 1950s.

Political Organization. Although Greeks are scattered throughout the republics of the former Soviet Union, they began to form local organizations in the late 1980s. Stimulated by Gorbachev's liberalizations, these societies began with cultural aims such as to encourage the teaching of

Greek and the establishing of links with Greece. The formation in 1989 of the All-Union Association of Greeks of the USSR, however, marked a new phase. Its influential president is Gavril Popov, then mayor of Moscow, who is himself of Greek origin. Serious discussions are taking place about the possible formation of an autonomous Greek republic or district within the territory of the former USSR.

Conflict. Pontian Greeks have a history of conflict with other groups and of fighting for survival. For centuries the Turks persecuted them on grounds of their religion and their language; Turkish persecution culminated in the genocide of 1916–1924. This was followed by the Stalinist persecution and the exiles of the 1930s and 1940s. Today interethnic relations are one of the most acute problems in the former Soviet Union, and Greeks are frequently trapped in the middle of other interethnic clashes, in addition to having their own difficulties. In Central Asia there have been violent incidents involving the dominant Muslim population and Greeks, and in Georgia Greeks are caught between Georgians and Abkhazian and Ossetic seperatists. New Georgian laws have restricted the use of local languages and have banned local political parties from running candidates in Georgian elections. This has increased the problems experienced by Greeks and other ethnic minorities in the republic.

Partially as a result of their sufferings during the twentieth century, the Pontian Greeks have idealized Greece as a utopian motherland that will put an end to all their troubles. Thousands of Soviet Greeks are now emigrating there. In reality, however, Pontian immigrants encounter a series of difficulties (particularly in the economic and linguistic spheres) in Greece, despite increased assistance by the Greek state.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religion. Pontian Greeks retain the Greek Orthodox religion, although political and social conditions in the former Soviet Union frequently made it difficult to practice. The closing of Greek churches and the active disapproval of Communist authorities resulted in adaptable communities of Greeks, which use Russian Orthodox churches or establish their own secret churches. The lack of Greek Orthodox priests in the Soviet Union meant that it was frequently necessary to perform religious rituals (using candles, holy water, and icons) without an officiator. It is more usual to attend church at religious festivals such as the *panayir* (saints' days) or Easter rather than every Sunday. Certain ancient customs adapted to Christian beliefs are also reported among Pontian Greeks of the Caucasus. For example, in a ritual known as *gurpan*, animals may be sacrificed to a saint, either in gratitude or to help ensure a favorable outcome in some serious crisis.

Arts. Pontian Greek culture has a strong tradition of music and dancing. Traditional instruments include the Pontian lyre (*kamentze*), flute (*zourna*), and a large drum (*daoul*). There are many songs that express the troubles of the Pontian people (their exiles and persecutions) and their yearning for their historical homeland. In addition to the particular singing and dancing occurring at weddings, funerals, and religious celebrations, songs are used in numerous Pontian customs. For instance, in the *klidonas*, young people place their possessions (rings, bracelets, etc.) in a vessel of water. The belongings are picked out one by one, and an individual's fate is predicted according to the theme of the song being sung at the time when the object is returned.

Death and Afterlife. The body of the dead person remains in the house for up to three days, and female relatives and friends sing mourning songs (*miroloyia*). If a priest is available, he will be asked to officiate at the funeral, but this is frequently not the case. At funerals, mourners distribute *koliva* or *kokiya*, a mixture of boiled wheat, sugar, and pomegranate seeds, decorated with sugar and nuts.

Close relatives of the deceased refrain from eating meat for up to a year, and women wear black clothes for a year (or for life if widowed), whereas men wear black and do not shave for forty days. Memorials are held three, nine, and forty days after death and after six months and one year. Thereafter, there are special days in the year (*tafiya*) when the dead are honored.

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SOFKA ZINOVIEFF

Gypsies

ETHNONYMS: Self-designations: Lom, Roma; Russian: Tsygane

Orientation

Identification. Gypsies of the former USSR can be divided into more than ten groups distinguished by language or dialect, culture, and way of life. Included among these are the Vlach Roma: Kelderari and Lovari; the non-Vlach Roma: Servi, Russkie (Khaladytko Roma), and Sinti (German); Krymskie Tsygane (Khorokhaia), Lom (Armenian), and Bosha (Zakavkaz); and Liuli [Jugi] and Mazang Mugat (Central Asian). They live scattered unevenly across European Russia and Ukraine, the Caucasas, southern Siberia, and Central Asia. Groups of Kelderash, Lovari, and Sinti are the only ones who live in great numbers beyond the borders of the former USSR: these Roma have settled in almost every country of the world. Many emigrated to America from Moldavia and Russia at the end of the last century. This article concerns mostly the Roma, or western Gypsies of the former USSR.

Demography. The 1979 census enumerated 209,000 Tsygane in the former USSR. Experts in the West and in the former USSR estimate that there are two to three times that number. The undercount may be because being recorded as a "Tsygan" bears a stigma that many prefer to avoid by registering as a different nationality. At any rate, according to the 1970 census, which reported a total population of 175,335 Gypsies in the Soviet Union, there were 97,955 Gypsies in Russia, 30,091 in Ukraine (34,500 in 1979), 6,843 in Byelorussia, 5,427 in Latvia, and 1,880 in Lithuania. Turning to Central Asia, there were 11,362 in Uzbekistan and 7,775 in Kazakhstan. These figures are based on the number of people holding passports. The number of Central Asian Gypsies may be as high as 156,000.

Linguistic Affiliation. Roma speak various dialects of Romani, which is an Indic language related today most closely to modern Hindi. Some dialects of Romani are Rushi (Baltic), Sinti (European), Ungrike (Hungarian), Keldarari and Lovari (Wallachian or Vlach), and Lomari (Armenian). These are in turn influenced by borrowings from the languages of surrounding nationalities: for instance, Kelderari living in Russia borrow from Russian. Recent studies show an increase in Soviet Roma who admit to speaking Romani (59.3 percent in 1959; 74 percent in 1970). Central Asian Gypsies speak Lavzi-Mugat as well as Tajik and Uzbek. Many Moldovan Gypsies speak Romanian as their mother tongue.

History and Cultural Relations

Linguistic evidence suggests that Gypsies left India in the tenth or eleventh century A.D., migrating west to Iran (Persia) and the Arabian Peninsula, with some splitting off to the north to Central Asia (although some argue that the Central Asian group arrived in an earlier migration). Some moved westward to Byzantium and the Transcaucasus, reaching Europe by around 1250. The Seljuk and Ottoman expansions caused mass migrations, and by the fifteenth century Roma lived throughout Europe.

Roma entered Russia in two main waves: from the Balkans, some moved to Moldavia and Wallachia, where they were enslaved until the nineteenth century, moving to Russia only after the abolition of slavery in the 1860s. From Europe, Roma first appeared in the Ukraine in 1501 and moved on into Russia and the north. By the mid-eighteenth century, special taxes were imposed on them to limit the occupations and trade they could undertake, and in 1759 the Empress Elizabeth forbade them to enter St. Petersburg. Within the century, however, they were allowed to live there and in Moscow, and many, particularly those who belonged to the famous *tsyganskie khory* (Gypsy choirs), thrived. Others settled in urban centers and in towns: today there are families who have been settled for generations. Others traveled, some extending their circuit from Moscow to Siberia. Most of these people lived with villagers in the wintertime, renting rooms from them, and traveled from April to October.

In the fifteen years after the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, Roma flourished. In 1925 the All-Russian Romani Union, led by Alexander V. Germano, was formed, and Gypsies acquired nationality status. In 1927 a Romani alphabet was devised by a group of Romani and Russian teachers. Four schools for Romani students were opened, and others offered some instruction in Romani. Texts, books, and collections of poetry and stories were published in Romany by Romany writers Ivan Rom-Lebedev, N. A. Pankov, Krustalev, N. Dudarova, and others. Two journals, *Nevo Drom* and *Romani Zoria* (New Road; Romani Dawn), were published in Romani from 1928 to 1937. In 1931 the Moscow Teatr "Romen" (Romani Theater) was created. For the first three years it performed in Romani; after that it played in Russian. For many years the theater was the center of a Romani cultural renaissance and drew Roma (and other Gypsies) to Moscow from all over the country.

In 1937, however, everything but the theater was "liquidated" (the Romani Union even earlier, in 1931), as Gypsies did not, according to Stalinist reasoning, have a territory or a "stable culture." In the late 1930s, thousands of Roma, under increased pressure to settle and collectivize, were sent en masse to Siberia or shot. Some all-Gypsy collectives were disbanded; the members were forced to integrate with other collectives. In the 1940s entire collectives were destroyed and at least 30,000–35,000 Soviet Roma were killed in the genocide during the Nazi occupation of 1941–1945. After the war, surviving collectives were disbanded by Stalin, and members were made to settle in mixed-nationality collectives. Even so, some Roma began to enter universities during this period, shifting from developing literacy in Romani to becoming educated in Russian. These intellectuals cut a path for some Roma to enter the Communist party and to build academic and professional careers.

Settlements

During the reign of the czars, Gypsies, in the areas where they were allowed to settle, stayed in camps at the edges of rural village communes, in some places renting rooms or houses in the towns in the winter in exchange for the use

of their horses, veterinarians, and metal repair and other services. Traveling was seasonal, in *kumpaniia* (groups) made up of several extended families. Many Gypsies were already settled in villages of their own, however, before the 1920s, and it was often these people who responded most readily to the government's offer of land for farming. Those who resisted settlement continued to travel, which led to the 1956 decree of the Supreme Soviet, "On Reconciliation of the Vagrant Gypsies to Labor." Rural Roma in many parts of the former USSR still travel seasonally, however, as drovers, farm workers, livestock traders, and street merchants, especially in remote areas of Siberia and Central Asia.

In the big cities, choral groups were among the first to settle. Groups who moved to urban centers after the Revolution preferred to occupy an entire apartment block together rather than be dispersed. In those early years of settlement, some families preferred to carry out most work and daily activity in the courtyard rather than remain inside, separate from each other. Many still live compactly, maintaining community and family ties, language, and Romani identity.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. Gypsies were known for their skill as metalworkers, tinsmiths, woodworkers, carpenters, blacksmiths, horse traders and trainers, and in associated occupations. Many Gypsies, especially in Central Asia, work as drovers for collective herds. Many Kalderari still work as tinsmiths, bringing work home to the small settlements near the cities where they live. Work is usually contracted for an entire group (*vortachi*) and the profits shared.

During the Russian civil war (1918–1921) Gypsies supplied the Red Army with cavalry horses and in the spring of 1925 formed the first Gypsy collective farm, Khutor Krikunovo, near Rostov. In 1926 the party decreed that the Union republics should set aside land for Gypsies who wanted to farm. Numerous collectives were set up all around the country over the next decade. In addition, many small Gypsy artels, or manufacturing collectives, were set up in the cities; an example of these collectives are the Tsygpishcheprom (Gypsy food industries) in Moscow. Most of these were eliminated as national cartels in the late 1930s, and there are now no all-Gypsy collective farms. There are, however, Gypsy cooperatives that make and sell shirts and jewelry. Some women work as fortune-tellers or as street merchants.

Gypsies are known as dancers, singers, and musicians. Gypsy choruses were extremely popular in the nineteenth century, and today many ensembles, which are usually built around a family, make a living playing at urban restaurants and for weddings. Some of these groups tour Europe. The Moscow Teatr "Romen" employs only about seventy Gypsies full-time. Russia's popular circuses employ many Gypsies as performers and as animal keepers and trainers.

Many Gypsies work at the same kinds of jobs as do other people—in offices, factories, and construction and as store managers and gardeners. There are also several doctors, at least one surgeon, several teachers, and lawyers and academics.

Industrial Arts. Many Roma have found applications in construction and industry for their skills as metal workers, blacksmiths, tinsmiths, and woodworkers.

Trade. In pre-Soviet times, nomadic Russian Gypsies, living on the edges of Russian villages and towns, carried on small-scale barter of skilled labor for food and clothing or for payment in money. Today some work as street vendors, selling jewelry, chocolate, cosmetics, cigarettes, and other hard-to-come-by goods at the main bazaars. Such trade—*na levo* ("on the left": the black market)—was illegal until recently.

Division of Labor. In urban, rural, and nomadic families there are clear-cut work roles for males and females. In the city, men carry out industrial and craft labor, whereas women work as merchants and occasionally as fortune-tellers. Rural and nomadic men are more likely to work with livestock. In urban, assimilated families, women often work outside the home—in industry, construction, medicine, and occasionally as teachers and academics. Like other women in the former Soviet Union, Gypsy women work a second shift at home, doing the cleaning, cooking, laundry, and child care. When a daughter-in-law moves in, she takes on many of the tasks of her husband's mother, allowing the older woman some leisure. Men do much of the shopping.

Land Tenure. Well-defined Gypsy land-tenure patterns are difficult to discern since they were not encouraged to settle or acquire land in czarist times, although there are instances of Gypsy settlement in Ukraine in the nineteenth century. In the first two decades of Soviet power, some Gypsies acquired farms and formed collectives and agricultural ventures.

Kinship

Roma place great value on the extended family. Even in urban areas and among highly assimilated Romani families, the extended family, or *tsigni vitsa*, is strong. Although they may live in separate homes, family members keep constant contact by telephone and daily visits. The extended family is an important economic unit and the base of a network of economic ties. Kinship for any individual may be reckoned bilaterally, although patriliny is usually the basis of membership in the larger *vitsa* (clan). A son may decide, however, to retain membership in his mother's vitsa, whereas a wife may take on her husband's. This flexibility is perhaps aided by the fact that Romani kinship terminology is cognatic (i.e., kinship links are not distinguished by gender)—father's sister and mother's sister are both called *bibi*, for example. Kinship terms may be used by younger people as forms of address for older people, and the converse is also true. *Phral* and *pey* (brother and sister) can be used as terms of friendship and greeting. Cousins (*woro/wara*) are not distinguished by degree. Roma often use or are influenced by Russian terms, collapsing terms in usage (e.g., "second-line brother" for "cousin").

Marriage and Family

Marriage. *Rom* (man) and *romni* (woman) also mean "husband" and "wife." Roma avoid Soviet ceremonies and have their own interesting wedding ceremonies, which are

strictly observed, even in big cities. These ceremonies blend Orthodox wedding ritual and Gypsy custom. Weddings generally take three days. The first day is set aside for the church wedding. On this day there is a mock negotiation of bride-price, or sometimes a mock abduction: the groom's friends and family storm the bride's home, which is barricaded by the bride's family. The bride and groom arrive separately at the church; after they have been "crowned," they travel together to the reception. There they kneel, holding icons while elders bless them with bread and salt. In some weddings, a procession circles the bride, who carries a staff. Dancing and singing are as important as tables bending under the weight of the food. After it is established that the bride is a virgin, guests don red armbands. (In some weddings the sheet is shown.) Guests offer gifts of money to the couple, placing the bills in a carved-out loaf of bread or announcing the amount with words such as, "from me a little, from God much more."

Marriages are customarily arranged by the parents, with the matchmaking usually initiated by the parents of the groom. Many couples marry in their mid-teens. Unmarried young men and women are not allowed to socialize alone together, as great value is placed on female chastity.

Domestic Unit. Young marrieds live with the parents of the husband. The bride is called *bori*, which means "one that my vitsa has acquired through marriage." The bori takes on most household tasks, giving up all outside activities for some time. For a couple to have only one or two children is rare; usually there are three or four. It is obligatory to live a year or two with the parents, at least before the first child is born. This pattern is reinforced by the urban housing shortage. Among rural and nomadic groups, extended families may stay together, living in adjoining houses. Among drovers, herdsmen travel together on seasonal cattle drives, whereas the women continue their chores in the home area.

Men command deference from women and are served by them in the home. Women may be considered potentially unclean (*marime*); in the past a woman had to take care not to brush the man accidentally with her skirts, which could pollute him. This was, however, also a source of female power, for a woman could avenge herself on a man by lifting her skirts before or over him. This could lead to his ostracization for up to a year. Although men make many family decisions and only male elders can judge in the *kris* (court), women are respected for their skill at bringing in daily provisions. The physical deference of women and the separation of the sexes does not always mean that women are silent, especially once they become elders in their own household.

Inheritance. With state control of most private property the rule in the former USSR until the Gorbachev era, inheritance usually included only personal items. In some cases, among entrepreneurial Gypsies, this can mean significant family treasures. Gold, especially, is prized as a gift between generations.

Socialization. Gypsy families prefer not to turn their children over to day-care centers, although urban women, like other Soviet women who work outside the home, may do so. Women are responsible for most child care, but often they do not care for the children alone; in the country relatives are always nearby, and in the city visits are frequent. Children are often included in adult company, and small ones may be passed from one to another: they receive kisses, are asked to speak, and often are held out to face the rest of the company. Men are also affectionate with children, male and female.

Romani is learned at home, Russian outside the home. There may be conflicts between Romani and Russian (and formerly, Soviet) values, especially for those who receive more schooling. The prime loyalty is to the family: Roma may consider other nationalities to be insufficiently family-oriented. Training in skills begins quite early, and children help their parents in whatever is the family occupation, be it dancing, carpentry, or something else. Girls become skilled at household tasks and may have experience with other kinds of work by the time they marry in their mid-teens. They also learn modestly deferent deportment.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Even today the social organization of Roma is very strong. It is different from the organization of Russian society or Soviet hierarchies. Gypsies are perceived by outsiders as being of low status. Roma themselves have a complex sociopolitical structure. Within, for instance, the group Roma, there are subgroups, "nations," or *natsiia*, such as the Servi, Kelderari, and so on. Within the natsiia there are *bare vitsi* and tsigne vitsi (large and small clans), which are often named for a founder. The family is the smallest permanent unit. There are also temporary groupings, called kumpaniia or vortachiia, which work or travel together or are settled in the same place.

Political Organization. The choice of the leader of the kumpaniia is as much a matter of social organization as one of political organization. Although leaders emerge as *bare roma* (big men), their position is not a fixed office. Different leaders may be chosen for different purposes as well. Certain people who are skilled at communicating with outsiders may take up the title of leader, though sometimes this is only for convenience. Gypsies around the world are organizing the Romani Union, in which educated Gypsies are being elected to offices that correspond to those in the governments of other nations.

Important decisions on the community level are made by the kris, or council of elders. Disputes between families or even entire vitsa are also settled there. Women are usually not allowed to speak during the kris, although they may lobby and brief their male relatives beforehand. Women generally gain influence after they are older, especially after they have acquired wives for their sons.

Social Control. Social control is strict regarding matters of hygiene, modesty, hospitality, marriage, and so on. Breaches may result in ostracism for up to a year, longer in extreme cases. The offending party may be labeled marime and shunned. In some cases, rules are different concerning outsiders: for the sake of the group, one must be more careful in contact with them.

Conflict. Strong societal prejudice has always existed in Russia toward Gypsies, although it may have been tempered in the past, when their skills and trading were more

essential to a preindustrial society. Soviet laws designed to stop Gypsy traveling were intended to halt what was considered the source of Gypsy social misbehavior. Many Gypsies, however, do not see traveling as a crime but as a means of livelihood. From the other point of view, Gypsies, who have other notions of proper behavior, often consider other groups to be less clean, hospitable, and so on, than they are. Cultural differences have also contributed to mutual misunderstandings.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Despite the official atheism in the former USSR, many Gypsies have maintained religious traditions and beliefs. Gypsies customarily observe the religion of the people among whom they live. Those in Russia and Ukraine are usually Russian Orthodox; in Estonia and Latvia, Lutheran; in Lithuania and Belarus, Catholic; and in the Crimea and Central Asia, Muslim (Sunni). Religious holidays are very important. In Orthodox families, Christmas (*kriguno*) and Easter (*patradi*) are specially observed. Tales and rituals enhance Romani interpretation of religious teaching.

Arts. Since the eighteenth century, Russian and Romani cultures have been extensively interrelated. (This type of relationship exists in other countries as well.) Numerous Russian, Ukrainian, and Soviet writers have been inspired by an image of Gypsies that symbolizes Russian longings for "freedom." Two Russian authors deeply influenced were Alexander Pushkin (1799–1837) and the symbolist poet Aleksandr Blok (1880–1921). In Pushkin's poem "Gypsies," the hero, Aleko, joins a Gypsy band in Bessarabia but ultimately murders his Gypsy wife Zemphira, who has rejected him, a Gazho (outsider), for a Gypsy lover. This story inspired Blok, who used some of the lines from the Pushkin poem: "the Gypsy camp was moving, the stars shine above."

Much of Romani lore reflects the boundary between Rom and Gazho, although not so romantically, of course, because these reflect the more mundane trials of surviving day to day in a Gazho world. More fantastic tales tell of sons who save the family from giant snakes; of clever boys who steal the Gazho king's horse; of children born at the same hour, their fates intertwined. Much is oral, improvized, and embellished by the best storytellers, who may add a humorous twist. Romani authors have published in the former USSR. In the 1930s Germano, Pankov, and Dudarova published scholarly works and political pamphlets, along with prose, translations from Russian, and textbooks. Ivan Rom-Lebedev and Krustalev wrote plays for the Romani theater, as well as stories. After 1937 nothing was printed in Romani until the 1980s, when there appeared a collection of tales and songs by the sons of storyteller Ishvan Demeter, R. S. and P. S. Demeter. Mateo Maximoff, a Gypsy author writing in Paris, was born in Russia.

A particular musical style known as the "Gypsy Romance" was formalized by the urban Gypsy choral groups in the nineteenth century. Singers perform Russian folk and urban love songs with a vibrato and a semitone decoration that draws from Romani singing. Some songs in Romani are also performed. Violins and guitars back the usually female singers. The style is considered by Russians to be melodramatic and romantic but is still quite popular. Other styles of Romani music are less well known.

It is in the Moscow Romani Teatr "Romen" that many Soviets have come to know Romani music and dance. The original repertoire of the theater was didactic and was designed by Gypsies for Gypsies. After a few years the theater concentrated on non-Gypsy audiences. The repertoire includes plays written by Gypsies, such as *We Are Gypsies*, *I Was Born in a Gypsy Camp*, and *A Girl Who Brought Happiness*, as well as Russian and European works such as Pushkin's *Gypsies* and Federico García Lorca's *Blood Wedding*. The most famous singer to emerge from the theater is Nikolae Slichenko, from Ukraine. The songs of the theater are known all over the former Soviet Union, as the theater has traveled and made films that have a wide distribution.

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DAVID CROWE, N. G. DEMETER, AND ALAINA LEMON

Ingilos

ETHNONYMS: Self-designation: Ingilo(eli). The word "Ingilo" is of relatively recent origin; it has been associated with the Old Turkish word *yangili* ("newly converted").

Orientation

Identification and Location. The Ingilos are one of the oldest ethnic groups among the Georgian peoples. In current administrative-political terms, Sainglo is part of the Azerbaijan Republic; it is located in the northwest of the Azerbaijan Republic, with its southwestern part adjoining the Georgian Republic. It is subdivided into three districts: Kakh, Zakatal, and Belakan. The Georgian term for the territory inhabited by the Ingilos is "Sa-ingilo."

The Ingilo territory at present is comprised of 4,780 square kilometers. It possesses rich natural resources and is noted for its variegated topography, flora, fauna, medicinal springs, sources of mineral water, pastures, and fertile soil (especially in the Alazani River Basin). The ecosystem of Saingilo is essentially a continuation of that of Kakheti and Kiziqi. The foothills and lowlands of Saingilo are characterized by a dry or semihumid subtropical climate.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Ingilos speak an eastern dialect of the Georgian language closely related to the Kakhetian and Kiziqian dialects.

History and Cultural Relations

The population of this region has been an organic part of the Georgian state and of (Orthodox) Christian faith since ancient times. In an earlier epoch the territory of Saingilo—at that time part of the Caucasian Albanian state—lay in the northeastern part of the province of Hereti, which was settled by related tribes and communities of Georgians, known as the Heri, linked by close social-economic and cultural-historical relations that led eventually to ethnic merger. There are data that support the assertion that in the fourth to fifth centuries Hereti was already a political component of Georgia; this is corroborated by surviving Georgian cultural monuments dating to the sixth to eighth centuries. In the eleventh century Hereti was part of the *saeristavo* (feudal Georgian duchy) of Mach'i. At that time, Hereti became part of the principality of Kakheti (K'axeti). Kakheti and the neighboring principality of Kartli were long the principal cultural centers of feudal Georgia. After the displacement, during the early medieval period, of the central government from southern Georgia (Meskheti, Tao-K'larjeti) to eastern Georgia, these principalities came to play an especially significant role. In the fifteenth century the term "Hereti" gradually disappeared from the political nomenclature and was replaced by the word "Kakheti," which referred to Kakheti proper plus Hereti.

In the Middle Ages seven Georgian schools were in operation in Saingilo (the students were taught theology, philosophy, orthography, church history, and the history of Georgia and Albania). These schools played an essential cultural and educational role and assisted in establishing cultural relations among the peoples of the Caucasus. Literary materials were prepared in the schools for diffusion in the northern Caucasus. In the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries the use of the Georgian alphabet and Georgian Christian literature spread from Saingilo to the neighboring province of Daghestan, and churches were founded there, remnants of which can be seen today. (It should be recalled that for a long time, beginning in the fifth century, a significant part of Daghestan was within the sphere of Georgian political influence.)

In the late feudal period, in keeping with political changes in Kakheti, the region of Eliseni came into being, corresponding to the territory of present-day Saingilo. It was here, on Georgian lands annexed by the Persians at the beginning of the seventh century, that Shah Abbas created the sultanate of Elisu. During the late feudal period, the military and political interests of the powerful Near-Eastern states came into conflict in the Caucasus. The political struggle between Persia and the Ottoman Empire for dominance in Caucasia had a significant impact on the fate of the Georgian people. It had particularly adverse consequences for cultural and political relations among the peoples of the region and led to hostility between the Georgians and the peoples of the northern Caucasus. The Persians contributed to political and, in particular, ethnic and confessional changes in the area. On the periphery of Georgia, feudal lords in the Daghestanian mountains, aided by support from Persia and Turkey, conducted an armed struggle against the agricultural settlements of Kakheti. The border regions of Kakheti were settled by Tsakhurs and Avars—Daghestanian tribes referred to as "Leks" by the Georgians. The struggle for the territory of Saingilo ended in the eighteenth century with its seizure by northern Caucasian mountaineers, who established there Avarian (in the Ch'ar-Belakan District) and Tsakhurian "free communes." As a result of raids conducted by bands of Avar and Tsakhur warriors in Saingilo, the Ingilos became serfs of the Daghestanian rulers, who forced them to make pay tribute. Some Daghestanian families hired themselves out as temporary workers on Ingilo farms. In this way, gradually, by peaceful or hostile means, these tribes settled in Saingilo and colonized it. Already after the foundation of the sultanate of Elisu the conquerors had, by a concerted effort, undertaken the Islamicization of the region.

In 1803 Saingilo (that is, the sultanates of Ch'ar-Belakani and Elisu) were incorporated into the Russian Empire. As a result, the Ch'ar-Belakan District (okrug) was established in 1830, and subsequently (in 1840), the Belakan District, administratively a part of Georgia. In 1842 this district once again became a separate region (oblast), and in 1844 the Ch'ar-Belakan Military Region was founded, which included the former sultanate of Elisu (the present-day Kakheti and Tsakhur regions). In 1860 the Zakatal Region was established on this territory, forming a part of the Tbilisi Province (Tiflisskaia Guberniia), which existed until 1917. In 1920 an agreement was signed by the Russian Federated Socialist Republic and democratic Georgia, according to which Soviet Russia recognized the following territorial units as pertaining to Georgia: Tbilisi and Kutaisi provinces; the Batumi, Zakatal, and Sukhumi regions; and other territories, including a significant part of the Black Sea coastal region. Consequently, after the decla-

ration of independence of the Georgian democracy, the Zakatal Region (Saingilo) was returned to Georgia. This turnaround in the tragic history of the Ingilos was only temporary: subsequent to the occupation and annexation of democratic Georgia by the Red Army, the ancient Georgian province of Saingilo was artificially annexed to the Azerbaijan SSR, despite the fact that the Ingilos bear no particular cultural similarity to the Azerbaijanis, a Muslim Turkic people differing from the indigenous Caucasian groups in many cultural characteristics. The joining of Saingilo to the Azerbaijan SSR was part of Stalin's nationality policy, which had the purpose of strengthening the imperial structure of the USSR. After the annexation of Saingilo the Azerbaijani element in Saingilo grew considerably. A part of the Ingilo population still retains the (Orthodox) Christian faith, but another, larger segment adheres to the Sunni sect of Islam. The Christian Ingilos dwell in Kakh District (*raion*), and the Muslims in Zakatal, Belakan, and part of the Kakh districts.

The population of Saingilo consists primarily of Ingilo Georgians, Avars and Tsakhurs, immigrants from Daghestan (Lezgins), and Azerbaijanis. There are also some Russians and others. Knowledge of the Azerbaijani language has increased among the Ingilos, but within the domestic circle they retain the Georgian language; this is especially true of Ingilo women. In recent times some Muslim Ingilos have shown a renewed interest in their ethnic origins, including a preference for Georgian rather than Muslim names.

Settlements

The Ingilos typically lived in dispersed settlements rather than planned, compact villages. Between the houses and farmsteads lay tilled fields, orchards, vegetable gardens, and vineyards. Some villages consisted of rows of houses on either side of a road. By contrast, in the mountainous regions of Saingilo, for the most part settled by migrants from Daghestan, the compact village predominated, owing to the scarcity of land. A well-appointed Ingilo farmstead was surrounded by a fence enclosing the living quarters and various outbuildings: mangers for the livestock, a *torne* (an oven for baking Georgian bread of the tandoori type), and so on. In most instances, the Ingilo home was a single-story stone building—though in certain regions wooden houses are also found, especially in the more densely forested areas along the Alazani River. The traditional home was comprised of two rooms: a larger room housing the members of the family, and a smaller room reserved for guests. The typical dwelling place had a packed-earth floor and a central hearth. Additional buildings, separate from the central residential complex, housed livestock. When the family holdings were divided, the buildings that had been used only during the summer became the permanent residences of some of the inheritors. Thus seasonal dwellings grew in the course of time into permanent villages.

Traditional family structures were still preserved in Saingilo as late as the first quarter of the twentieth century, and communal forms of life were still in evidence in social norms, behavior, forms of local government, and the like.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. Since ancient times the Ingilos have practiced a diversified agricultural economy: animal husbandry and the cultivation of grains, garden vegetables, wine grapes, and various fruits; walnuts have been a particularly widespread crop. Tobacco and silk were also produced. The various forms of traditional domestic industry, especially the production of textiles, played an important role in the local economy. The Ingilos were skilled stonemasons, joiners, tinsmiths, etc. The Ingilos have long been renowned for their talents as builders. At the beginning of autumn a large segment of the men would leave their settlements and go elsewhere to engage in seasonal work for the autumn and winter; spring and summer were the peak periods for economic activities in Ingilo villages.

Clothing. The style of Ingilo clothing is for the most part like that of Kakheti and Kartli. The traditional male costume of lowland Saingilo consisted of the Georgian woolen frock (*chokha*), the *arkhalukh* (Caucasian long shirt), and *kalamani* (leather shoes), manufactured in traditional domestic fashion. In the mountains men wore coats of well-softened sheepskin; prosperous families purchased, or made for themselves, long thickly padded sheepskin coats called *burman*, sewn together from lamb skins (similar to the *buruma*, which was especially popular among the Lezgians who had migrated to the mountainous regions of Saingilo). Also in widespread use was the so-called *chop'uzi*, a type of felt cloak. The chop'uzi was sewn together from scraps of wool and white, crudely worked felt. The traditional Ingilo women's costume included many common Georgian features, but differed in some respects, including baggy cotton trousers and long gowns, similar in outer appearance to the arkhalukh worn by men. The festival costume of Ingilo women was made from velvet and silk, adorned with silver ormanents.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. The common Georgian ethnic features are especially apparent in the realm of marital relations, and in many particulars the Ingilo marriage and its associated ceremonies preserve more features of the ancient Georgian institution of marriage and its corresponding social terminology than do marriage ceremonies elsewhere in Georgia. Ingilos customarily prefer to marry within their ethnic group, but this does not exclude the possibility of marriage with members of other groups.

Although women's rights were limited within the patriarchal family, they enjoyed considerable leeway in internal family matters and in the observance of customary avoidance, despite the fact that a bride-price may have been paid. This can be linked to the traditional propertied status of women, which arises from their authority and their personal possessions. The latter is based on the dowry, which came to be regarded as an inalienable possession of a woman married into a household, forming part of the economic basis of her rights within the family.

Domestic Unit. In domestic life the Ingilos maintained a series of traditional practices that have local as well as pan-Georgian characteristics. Until recent times, alongside

nuclear families, the large patriarchal family, consisting at times of over fifty members, continued to be an important component of the social structure. This family type was characterized by specific forms of property, government, and division and organization of labor according to age and gender. Among the members of the extended family there were clearly delimited rights and responsibilities in the sphere of property relations, manifested in the apportionment of major family holdings among the males of the senior generation.

The Ingilo family, it has been noted, has a patrilineal structure. The members of the lineage took an active part in the rituals associated with the birth of a child, especially a son. A son was considered a symbol of the unity and power of the socioeconomic kinship group because young women, once married, would leave their paternal kinship group, whereas males remained in their household, within the matrix of the local group, and continued in the traditions of their ancestors.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Throughout the territory of Saingilo, despite the spread of Islam, impressive and original religious edifices are to be found: the Monastery of the Mother of God at Gishi, the Kurmukhi monastery of Saint George, the Basilica of the Mother of God at Kum, and many other monasteries, churches, and ruins of fortified cities (e.g., Mach'i). Among the more widely observed Christian feast days is Kurmukhoba, the festival of Saint George at Kurmukhi, which is particularly interesting in that the shrine is visited by both Christians and Muslims. In Saingilo there are also ruins of shrines pertaining to individual clans. At Easter or other feast days the various Christian Ingilo clans gather at the spots of these ancient shrines, present sacrifices, and invoke God for the protection and increase of the clan. In Saingilo, besides Christian and Muslim rituals, traditional religious beliefs and practices were maintained, which found expression in all spheres of human activity (e.g., marital relations, funeral ceremonies, domestic economy, folk medicine). Fortune-telling, sorcery, belief in demonic spirits, and the like were widespread.

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NUGZAR MGELADZE
(Translated by Kevin Tuite)

Itelmen

ETHNONYM: Kamchadals

Orientation

Identification. The Itelmen are an aboriginal people of Kamchatka Peninsula, an area in Russia with the status of an oblast (the center is Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskii). In the north the Kamchatka Oblast borders the Magadan Oblast. The territory that is today inhabited by the Itelmen is a part of the Koryak Autonomous District (*okrug*), with its center at Palana); it is administratively a part of the Kamchatka Oblast. Itelmen have never had political autonomy.

Location. Until the arrival of Russians, Itelmen occupied the greater part of Kamchatka, on the western coast (Sea of Okhotsk) as well as on the eastern coast (Pacific Ocean) down to Cape Lopatka (the southern extremity of the peninsula). The northern boundary of Itelmen settlement was the 58th parallel. The neighbors of the Itelmen were Koryaks to the north and Ainu to the south. The modern territory of Itelmen settlement is bounded on the north by the Tigil' River and on the south by the Khairuzovo River. Two-thirds of the territory of Kamchatka is covered by mountains, among which are active volcanoes. The area is rich in rivers, most no more than 10 kilometers long. The largest river, the Kamchatka (Ujkoal), drains into the Pacific Ocean. The climate of the peninsula is maritime, monsoonal, and very cold, with frequent storms, winds, and snowstorms. The summer is short. The average annual temperature is below 0° C.

Demography. The number of Itelmen at the end of the seventeenth century was 12,000 or 13,000. At present the number of Itelmen is about 1,500, although less than 20 percent (the older generation) speak the Itelmen language, which was displaced by Russian about fifty years ago. Nearly the entire Itelmen population is rural.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Itelmen language is classified in the Chukotsko-Kamchatsky Group of Paleoasiatic languages. The term "Paleoasiatic languages" is understood geographically, not linguistically. In the same way, the Itelmen language is classified as one of the languages in the Chukotsko-Kamchatsky Group areally and not historically. Relative to surrounding languages of northeastern Asia, the Itelmen language is historically isolated. The

Itelmen language probably originated on the North American continent.

In the eighteenth century, when Itelmen occupied the greater part of Kamchatka, there were three distinctly marked linguistic communities: Eastern (Pacific coast), Southern (Petropavlovsk-Bol'sheretsk region), and Western (Okhotsk coast). The Eastern and Southern languages disappeared around the beginning of the twentieth century, supplanted by the Russian language. The Western language has been preserved until the present, but it is on the verge of disappearance. A written language with a Latin-based alphabet was introduced in the 1930s, but its development was interrupted soon afterward. A written language with a Cyrillic-based alphabet was introduced in the 1980s.

History and Cultural Relations

Archaeological research indicates that the Itelmen settled in Kamchatka before the Koryaks and the Ainu; their presence on the peninsula dates from the end of the Paleolithic period. The traditional occupations of the Itelmen are fishing, hunting, gathering, and, to a lesser degree, hunting of sea animals. The economy had a foraging character that precluded specialization and did not offer opportunities for the development of regular exchange. Before the arrival of the Russians, the Itelmen had no knowledge of metallurgy.

Itelmen were nomads and this quickened the processes of assimilation. In the eighteenth century all Itelmen were brought into the Russian Orthodox church. The hunters paid tribute in furs. The rulers' tyranny caused a riot (1730–1731). But the most tragic events in Itelmen history were epidemics: of smallpox (1768–1769) and then of "rotten fever" (probably influenza, 1799–1800 and 1819). As a result of these epidemics the population of Kamchatka decreased by two-thirds. The census of 1827 recorded only 1,800 or 1,900 Itelmen. Since then, their numbers have not increased.

After these epidemics, a growing number of Russian-speaking settlers increased the population on the peninsula. A creolized population (Kamchadals) began to form in the southern part of Kamchatka, where the administrative centers were located (Bol'sheretsk on the western coast and Petropavlovsk on the eastern coast, on Avachi Bay). Later, creolization spread to the valley of the Kamchatka River (eastern coast). At the beginning of the twentieth century the Itelmen language disappeared completely in these regions. The modern Russian-speaking Kamchadals are a minority, outnumbered by newcomers. The portion of the Itelmen population that still speaks the native language inhabits only a small area between the Tigil' and the Icha rivers. Today this area has narrowed in the south to the Khairuzovo River.

In the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries Itelmen were officially called "Kamchadals." After the Revolution their own name was reestablished. The Itelmen did not resist collectivization. Traditional productive activities—fishing and hunting—developed on the collective farms, as did dairy and gardening activities that had been adopted in the nineteenth century (cereal grains do not grow in Kamchatka). In the period after World War II, local authorities conducted a policy of "enlargement" of the small Itelmen villages that caused the destruction of many traditional economic relations and "lumpenization" of a part of the population. Education (including higher education) that the Itelmen received fueled the assimilation process and the loss of their native language. In the 1980s the teaching of the Itelmen language began again. Textbooks and dictionaries are being published, but for Itelmen children today this language is essentially foreign. In 1989, under the influence of democratization in the former USSR, Itelmen by their own initiative organized a union for revival of the Itelmen people, Tkhsanom (Dawn), founded with ethnocultural aims.

Settlements

The traditional dwellings were semisubterranean earth huts (*kist*) with an upper entrance for winter habitation and a hut on stilts (*mem*) for summer. The earth huts were built for the whole community, with a capacity of up to 100 people. The summer huts were built for single families. The villages (*atnoʔn*) were composed of one or several earth huts surrounded by a great number of summer huts and were situated on river banks. Itelmen settled also on the tops of small, even hills. They watered the slopes of the hills in winter to ice them so as to hinder access by their enemies. Beginning in the second half of the eighteenth century, Itelmen began to switch to the Russian type of dwelling (*izba*). The summer huts remained until the 1960s and 1970s. Modern Itelmen villages have electricity and radio, but no water supply or sewer system. After resettlement and enlargements, only Kovran and Upper Khairuzovo can be considered as real Itelmen villages (with a predominant Itelmen population). There are hospitals, kindergartens, and secondary schools in both villages.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. The traditional Itelmen productive activities, fishing and hunting for furbearing animals, have retained their importance. Until the 1960s sea-animal hunting had material significance, but it has now ceased because of a catastrophic decrease in the total number of ringed seals (*nerpy*) in the Sea of Okhotsk. Dairy farming and gardening are relatively new economic activities. The Itelmen used sledge dogs for transport, later also packhorses, and now tractors and Land Rovers. Water transport included boats that were hollowed from whole trunks of poplar trees (*txtum*). The Itelmen used oars to go down river, punt-poles to go upstream. There are as yet no modern roads on the west coast. There is air transport between the settlements (airplanes and helicopters).

Industrial Arts. Today the majority of Itelmen are collective farmers engaged in fishing and laying in of hay in the summer, harvesting of vegetables in the autumn, and hunting for furbearing animals in winter. There are no industrial workers or, for example, pilots among the Itelmen. Those who have received higher and secondary special education have become teachers, political functionaries at the lowest level, workers in kindergartens, mechanics, and tractor drivers. There is one scholar among the Itelmen,

ethnographer Nadezhda Starkova; she is employed in Vladivostok.

Trade. Except for primitive exchange, Itelmen were not traditionally engaged in trade.

Division of Labor. Formerly as well as now, men's tasks were fishing and hunting. "Women's" work was traditionally gathering, laying in of berries and edible plants, and housekeeping. Itelmen knew edible tundra roots and grasses well and used them widely. Today the practice of gathering is almost completely obliterated, replaced in some ways by the growing of vegetables.

Land Tenure. The concept of "owning land" has always been alien to the Itelmen. Places for hunting and fishing also have never been considered the property of anyone.

Kinship

Kinship Groups and Descent. No exact information about the character of Itelmen social structure has been preserved. Marriages were exogamous, but in ancient times they were endogamous as well. The mythological ancestors of the Itelmen were a brother and sister who had married. Prior to the introduction of Christianity by the Russians, polygamy was widespread. There was no ancestor cult among the Itelmen.

Kinship Terminology. In Itelmen kin terms, gender distinctions are sometimes ignored: *mitx* is "grandfather" and also "grandmother"; *sillatumx* is "brother" and "sister." The latter is for addressing persons of the same gender: "sister for a brother" is *lilixl*, and "brother for a sister" is *qitkindŋ*. In the same way *p'ec* is "child" irrespective of the child's gender (*ixlxʔ in p'ec* is "son, male child"; *mimsxʔ in p'ec* is "daughter, female child").

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Traditional marriage included working for the bride in her father's home and the ceremony of "grabbing the bride" (the groom would try to touch the bride's genitals while she and her family tried to thwart him), which had also spread to the Koryaks. After Christianization, Itelmen married in the church. Itelmen have never avoided mixed marriages. Modern marriages are carried out in accordance with the laws of Russia.

Domestic Unit. Apparently the primary economic unit was the patrilineal community, corresponding to the "large family" of the Koryaks (i.e., population of one kist). It is possible that the word *kŋalos* (family) earlier meant exactly this kind of community. The modern Itelmen family is the same as the rural Russian family.

Inheritance. Not having property in land, the Itelmen did not have the problems associated with bequeathal. Utensils, instruments, and buildings were also not inherited because the Itelmen avoided using objects that were left by the dead. In later times inheritance did not become a significant problem.

Socialization. Punishable acts were theft and murder. The latter led to blood feuds. Attitudes toward infidelity were dispassionate; a husband divorced his wife by ceasing sexual intercourse. Parents loved their children, but the children did not respect their parents. In this regard Itelmen are similar to Kereks.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Lacking autonomy, the Itelmen are in the Russian administrative system and occupy the lowest level in this complex hierarchy.

Political Organization. Itelmen are too few to have developed their own political structures. Moreover, until recent times there has been no opportunity for political activity of any kind in the USSR. Itelmen were not, however, excluded from the Communist party, and there were a number of members among them. Rather often Itelmen have held leading positions at the level of their region and district. The party and soviet bodies of the Koryak Autonomous District have often been headed by Itelmen and not Koryaks. Althought these Itelmen spoke their own language poorly, they spoke Koryak fluently. The Itelmen have privileges that are established for the native population of the North.

Conflict. There is no word for "war" in the modern Itelmen language, but there is the word "enemy" (*xagelan*). No traces of intertribal conflicts and unavoidable encounters with the Koryaks (and apparently with the Ainu) remain in the folklore. Legends about wars with the Koryaks were written down in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (in Russian retellings), but by the twentieth century no one remembered these legends. The absorption of Kamchatka by Russia did not occur without disturbances and revolts, but they have not remained in the people's memory, perhaps because those who remembered died during the epidemics. Subsequent cohabitation of Russians and Itelmen (who were turned into Russian-speaking Kamchadals in the south and east) was peaceful. In the nineteenth century life in the Itelmen-Koryak contact zone on the west coast was also peaceful. After the Revolution the Itelmen unreservedly took the side of Soviet authorities.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. As with all other northeastern Paleoasiatic peoples, the cult of the Raven (Kutx), demiurge and creator of life on Kamchatka, spread among the Itelmen. Sacrifices were not made to him, however, but to local spirits (gods), to good ones as well as to evil ones. There were special sites for sacrifices not far from the villages. In their earth huts Itelmen had also "household gods," hollowed from wood. Apparently there was also a certain supreme spirit, Nustaxcax, strictly speaking, "God." This word was fixed in the eighteenth century, but was not associated with the Raven-Kutx in any way. The religiosity of Christianized Itelmen was not deep. After 1917 they readily became atheists.

Religious Practitioners. The shamans were mainly elderly women, rarely men. In contrast to the practice of the shamans of the Koryaks, the Itelmen shamans did not use a tambourine. The priests of the Orthodox church were exclusively Russians; the service was also performed in Russian. There are no translations of the Bible in the Itelmen language.

Ceremonies. No traditional Itelmen holidays have been preserved. The most important one was the autumn thanksgiving holiday that lasted many days and was accompanied by various ceremonies. The settled Koryaks adopted this holiday; it is known among them as Hololo (see Krasheninnikov 1949, 413–427).

Arts. Ancient Itelmen mythology exists only in Russian and German renderings (Krasheninnikov 1949; Steller 1774). Only in the twentieth century has the *amŋel* (the Itlemen genre of folktales) been recorded in the original language. Modern musical folklore is represented by songs, performed almost exclusively in Russian. The newly founded society Tkhsanom (see "History and Cultural Relations") has set revival of Itelmen songs and dances as its goal.

Medicine. Healing was done by shamans, who existed into the 1920s and 1930s. At present, there is a sufficiently developed system of health maintenance in the territories of the district.

Death and Afterlife. According to Itelmen mythology the world beyond the grave is organized exactly in the same way as our world is except that it is better in every respect. Thus death was imagined as a second life, moreover an eternal one. Itelmen carried seriously ill and dying people out of the house to the tundra or mountains and left them there. Often such people went away themselves. If someone died in a house, it had to be abandoned. The deceased were neither buried nor cremated. Stillborn infants were hidden in the hollow of a tree trunk. After Christianization Itelmen started to bury their dead in the ground. According to Russian custom, a funeral feast in memory of the deceased takes place on the ninth or fortieth day after death.

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ALEXANDR P. VOLODIN
(Translated by Ann Kremer and David C. Koester)

Kalmyks

ETHNONYMS: Khal'mg, Western Mongols

Orientation

Identification. The Kalmyks are the Western Mongols, also known as the "Oirats," who in the beginning of the seventeenth century undertook migration west, eventually to roam the steppes of the Volga, Don, and Kuban rivers. Today the Kalmyks reside in the Republic of Kalmykia, located in southeast European Russia bordering on the Caspian Sea. It is one of the twenty autonomous republics within the Russian Republic. Traditionally the Kalmyk (also transcribed Qalmïq) people identified themselves by the name of one of the tribes they belonged to: Torgut, Khoshut, and Derbet. It is commonly believed that the term "khal'mg" is derived from the Turkic *kalmak* (to leave behind, to remain) and was used by the Turkic peoples as early as the fourteenth century to designate the Western Mongols. In fact, there is no historic or linguistic evidence to substantiate this conclusion. The term "khal'mg" did not become a self-designation until the early nineteenth century.

Location. Kalmykia is bounded by the Volgograd region in the north, the Stavropol region in the south, the Rostov-on-the-Don region in the west, and the Astrakhan region in the east. Kalmykia occupies the western part of the Caspian lowland, the Ergeni highlands, and the Kuma-Manych depression. Most of Kalmykian territory is a steppe, ranging from arid in the west to semidesert in the southeast. The Kalmyk steppe is located at approximately 45° to 48° N and 44° to 48° E. There is little surface water—mostly shallow saline lakes. The climate is continental, with hot dry summers and often cold winters with little snow. The average temperature in July varies from 23° to 26° C and in January from 8° to 5° C. Average annual precipitation is 30–40 centimeters in the northwest and 17–20 centimeters in the southeast. In the south the winters are usually without snow, hence the traditional use of these lands as winter pastures for the sheep herds.

Demography. Fifty years after their arrival at the Caspian steppes in the 1630s, the Kalmyk population was 70,000 tents or about 300,000 people. The descendants of those who failed to join the majority (who departed for Zungharia in 1771) and remained in the Caspian steppes, reside today in Kalmykia. In 1939 there were 140,000 Kalmyks out of 204,000 residents of the Kalmyk ASSR. In

1979 the Kalmyks constituted 41.5 percent of the Kalmyk ASSR, or 122,000 people out of 293,000 total residents. According to the 1989 census the population of Kalmyks in the Kalmyk Republic was 146,316 out of a total population of 322,579. Throughout their history many Kalmyks settled in neighboring towns or became Cossacks. Descendants of these Kalmyks may still be found outside Kalmykia in the cities of eastern Ukraine, the Don region, in the northern Caucasus, and in Siberia. Some Kalmyks left Soviet Russia after the October Revolution of 1917 and after World War II and settled in small communities in Paris and in New Jersey and Pennsylvania in the United States.

Linguistic Affiliation. Kalmyk belongs to the Mongolian branch of the Altaic Language Family, as do the Buriat and the Mongol languages. Torgut and Derbet are the two major dialects spoken by the Kalmyks. The Kalmyks used a vertical Old Mongolian script until 1648, when the Buddhist scholar Zaya-Pandita replaced it with a writing system that more adequately reflected the sounds of the Kalmyk language. The Zaya-Pandita writing system, also known as "Todo Bichig," remained in existence until 1925, when it was replaced by the Cyrillic alphabet. The Roman alphabet was introduced in 1930 and again replaced by the Cyrillic in 1938, which remains in use to this day.

History and Cultural Relations

In the early seventeenth century a large group of the Oirats, predominantly of the Torgut tribe, left Zungharia and began to migrate westward. By the 1630s, having conquered some Nogays and caused others to flee, the Kalmyks occupied pastures along the Emba, Yaik (today Ural), and Volga rivers. By the end of the century, joined by the Derbet and Khoshut tribes from Zungharia, the previously loose confederation of Kalmyk tribes turned into a powerful political and military force under Ayuki Khan. The increasing superiority of the Russian military and dependence on access to Russian markets, however, led to a closer alliance with Russia and eventual recognition of Russia's suzerainty in 1724. The Kalmyks continued to lose their political and administrative autonomy, and their pastoral economy declined with the arrival of agricultural colonists and a resulting shrinkage of Kalmyk pastures. In 1771 the Kalmyks resorted to the dramatic act of moving back to Zungharia. The majority of the Kalmyks—31,000 tents, or more than 120,000 people—departed from Russia. En route they were attacked by the Kazakhs. Only a small group survived a long and arduous journey; their descendants are still found in the Xinjiang region of China. The rest died from famine or fell victim to the hostile raids of the neighboring nomadic peoples. The 11,000 Kalmyk tents that were unable to cross the Volga because of an early thaw remained behind. The autonomy of the remaining Kalmyks was abolished by Catherine II, and throughout the nineteenth century they found themselves increasingly incorporated into the administrative and military structure of the Russian Empire. The Soviet government created by decree a Kalmyk Autonomous Region within the Russian Republic in 1920. In 1935 the status was upgraded to that of an autonomous republic. The Kalmyk ASSR existed until December 1943, when, charged with collaborating with German troops, the Kalmyks were deported to Siberia and the republic was abolished. Many Kalmyks died as a result of the deportation (compare 1939 and 1979 censuses under "Demography"). In 1957 the Kalmyks were rehabilitated and returned from Siberia. The Kalmyk ASSR was reestablished in 1958.

Tensions between the encroaching agricultural colonists and the nomadic Kalmyks had existed since the middle of the eighteenth century. After the creation of the Kalmyk ASSR, tensions between the Kalmyks and the Slavic residents of the republic (mostly Ukrainians and Russians) continued. During the fifteen years of Kalmyk exile, the Slavic population in the area increased, and the return of the Kalmyks brought a new wave of hostilities between the two groups. Today, a long-standing sense of injustice and the new rise of nationalism continue to fuel a traditional animosity.

Settlements

Despite the attempts by the Russian government to settle them, the majority of the Kalmyks remained nomadic until the collectivization campaign of the 1930s. Until then the Kalmyks had no urban centers and followed the routes of the annual migration cycles. By 1939 most of the Kalmyks had been forced to join the collective farms and resided in the newly built permanent settlements or villages. A few chose to settle in the recently founded capital of the republic, Elista. At present, although the number of towns grows and their population keeps increasing, the majority of the Kalmyks continue to reside in rural areas.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. Animal husbandry based on extensive pastoralism was the basis of the traditional Kalmyk economy. Herds provided for most of the needs: food, clothing, and means of transportation. Kalmyk herds consisted of horses, sheep, camels, goats, and cows. Horses and sheep constituted the backbone of the Kalmyk pastoral economy. Kalmyk horses were distinguished for their speed and endurance. They were herded in groups called *adun,* consisting of 100 to 200 horses. Fermented mare's milk provided the alcoholic beverages *arki, arza,* and *khursa.* Kalmyk sheep were a "fat-rump" type and provided meat, milk, pelts, and wool. Camels, goats, and cows were of relatively less significance. In the 1830s an average Kalmyk family had 60 to 150 sheep, 10 to 50 horses, 5 to 15 camels, and 10 to 30 head of cattle. Hunting traditionally served as a form of military training and a supplement to the diet. The largest game in the steppes was the saigak, a large, horned antelope. Since the eighteenth century, ever-increasing dependence on Russian markets and the subsequent turmoil in Kalmyk society has caused many Kalmyks to abandon their traditional lifestyle and seek employment in neighboring Russian towns, or, most commonly, at the fisheries. As in other nomadic societies, booty captured in raids constituted an important part of the Kalmyk economy. Slaves captured in raids were sold or exchanged for goods. Moscow was expected to send annual payments in cash and valuable items to the Kalmyk chiefs. In addition, the Kalmyks were paid cash for their participation in Russia's military campaigns. Although

cash became more prominent in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Kalmyk economy remained at the level of subsistence. In today's Kalmykia animal husbandry, in particular of sheep, remains the principal economic activity. With the construction of several irrigation systems, winter wheat, maize, and fodder crops became important, mainly in the western part of Kalmykia. The main industry is the processing of agricultural produce such as wool, meat, and fish.

Trade. With their arrival in the Caspian steppes, the Kalmyks became major suppliers of horses to Russia; this lasted until the middle of the eighteenth century, when trade with the Kazakhs in Orenburg became more important to the Russian government. The Kalmyks also traded their livestock with neighboring towns along the Volga. Astrakhan, a city in the estuary of the Volga, was a center of this trade, which was conducted outside the walls of the city at the place called "Kalmyk bazaar." Authorities in Moscow tried to control this trade lest the Kalmyks obtain weapons, in particular firearms. The threat of a glut in the Russian markets served as an important policy tool of the Russian government. Traditionally, most of the trade was conducted not by the Kalmyks but by the Tatars, merchants from Bukhara and Khiva, and later by the Russians. The main items of trade were and remain the products of the cattle-breeding economy. Today, Kalmykia is the major supplier of mutton and wool to the other former Soviet republics.

Division of Labor. In the past the labor force was engaged in extensive nomadism, with no labor specialization other than that provided by cattle breeding. Production was a domestic function in which each family, or perhaps *khoton* (a group of families), cared for its own needs. Most of the labor was performed by women. They prepared food, made clothing, and tanned hides. There were few artisans among the Kalmyks. During the years of Soviet rule the role of gender in the division of labor became less significant, and now women are employed in a variety of jobs.

Land Tenure. Unlike settled people, the main value for the nomads rested not in land but in herds. Herds were privately owned but were grazed on common pastures. Land and water were held in common. The Kalmyks practiced a meridianal type of nomadism, moving north and reaching the mid-Volga region in the spring-summer season and then returning south to seek protection from the cold weather in the reeds of the lower Volga region. The routes of annual migration, which lay near the sources of water, were carefully chosen and agreed upon by the chiefs. The arrival of the colonists in the eighteenth century cut off the Kalmyks from the best pastures along the rivers. A shrinkage of the vital pastureland eventually led to a sharp decline of the Kalmyk economy. After the collectivization of the 1930s the Kalmyks completely abandoned nomadism and became sheep farmers on the Soviet collective farms. A decision by the Soviet government toward the end of its tenure to introduce private property is likely to lead to the emergence of private herds in the near future.

Kinship

The extended family (örke-bül) is a major unit of solidarity and authority. It may include as many patrilineally related nuclear families (ger-bül) as can live and work together. The patrilocal extended family includes a group of men related by patrilineal descent (lineal and collateral), the wives of these men, and the immature children of all these families. Descent is strictly agnatic. Kalmyk kinship terminology is an example of a bifurcate collateral kinship system. Although kinship ties remain strong today, they are gradually giving way to modern demands and expectations. Thus, newlyweds ideally seek to establish their own residence as soon as possible, and, more frequently, young men and women decide to leave their families to fulfill their ambitions in the Kalmyk capital or, sometimes, major former Soviet cities.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Marriage was traditionally an important rite of passage and symbol of adulthood. Only upon marriage was a boy considered "to become a man" (*kun bolva*). Monogomy was prevalent, but polygamy was practiced among the Kalmyk chiefs and the well-to-do. It was not uncommon for the younger brother to marry a deceased brother's widow. Marriage was ordinarily arranged by parents, and an astrologist (*zurkhachi*) was often consulted about the compatibility of a bride. There was no elaborate property settlement. Couples were sometimes engaged as early as 6 to 7 years of age and married at the age of 16 to 18. Arranging a marriage was a long process requiring the performance of numerous elaborate customs. Lamas did not conduct the wedding ceremony. After the wedding the newlyweds settled in the khoton of the groom. Today, because of the severe housing shortage, postmarital residence is conditioned mostly by the availability of space rather than the force of tradition. Traditionally, divorce was readily accomplished at the wish of a husband. A wife seeking a divorce confronted many difficulties and could obtain freedom only after many humiliations and with the lamas' consent. Nowadays divorce is increasingly common. The age of marriage and childbearing is early or mid-20s for both men and women. Legal abortion is the principal means of birth control.

Domestic Unit. The basic domestic unit was the khoton—a nomadic camp composed of several agnatically related families. An average khoton consisted of ten to twelve families, each residing in its own *ger* (tent). The khoton functioned as a single economic and social unit. Every nuclear family was potentially capable of taking its sheep, leaving the extended family, and joining another khoton. At present, the extended family household is the primary form of domestic unit, with a growing tendency toward nuclear families.

Inheritance. Inheritance was through the male line of descent. Property was usually divided among the sons, the eldest inheriting the largest share. A woman could inherit property temporarily until a minor male heir reached maturity.

Socialization. Friendship was a primary means of traditional socialization. After having sworn allegiance to each

other, two Kalmyks became nökörs, united by a firm male bondage. Fines paid in cattle were the most common means of enforcing the law. In the nineteenth century, corporal punishment introduced by the Russian administration became the major means of discipline. Respect for parents, adults, and the aged was and continues be important.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. The basic traditional nuclear household was a tent, or ger. Ten to twelve gers, most often patrilineally related, comprised a khoton, with a senior elder as a headman. The khotons were associated into larger units, the *ayimaks*, which were not based on kinship. Instead, the ayimaks united a number of patrilines that shared the same grazing area. The number of tents in the ayimak varied greatly, from 100 to 1,000. At the head of the ayimak was a Kalmyk noble with the title of *zayisang*. The largest socioadministrative unit was the ulus, a large group of tents united by political allegiance to their ruler, the *tayishi*. The tayishis and the zayisangs were the ruling elite. The majority of the society were the *albatu*, the commoners who were ruled immediately by the khoton headmen and by a variety of other officials. Today the distinction between social groups is primarily occupational.

Social Control. Written law was known to the Kalmyks as early as the middle of the seventeenth century. But it was the common law that was most widely used well into the twentieth century. Now strong tradition and a widepread police system are the main means of social control.

Conflict. The Kalmyks, a warrior society, have a history of continuous military, political, and social conflict. Until the late eighteenth century the Kalmyks were in an almost permanent state of war with their neighbors: the Nogays, the Tatars, the Don Cossacks, the Russians, the Ukrainians, and the Kazakhs. The Kalmyks participated in Russia's largest revolts, those by Stepan Razin in 1670–1671 and by Emelian Pugachev in 1773. In the eighteenth century Russia's interference led to protracted civil wars and a severe crisis in Kalmyk society. After the Bolshevik Revolution the policies of collectivization, forceful sedentarization, and deportation to Siberia wrought a heavy toll on the Kalmyk people.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. The religion of the Kalmyks is Tibetan Buddhism, or Lamaism, which they adopted in the late sixteenth century. As a result of the growing isolation from Tibet since the late eighteenth century, the Kalmyk lamaist hierarchy developed somewhat differently from that of the Mongols and the Oirats. The most important holiday was Tsahan Sara or "White Month," which took place around the time of the vernal equinox. The holiday marked the beginning of the New Year according to the Kalmyk lunar calendar. Until the 1917 Revolution many Kalmyks chose to convert to Russian Orthodoxy. The Soviet government made a sustained effort to eradicate religion. Today, most of the Kalmyks are atheists, and although some of the traditional holidays are celebrated, they are no longer associated with the religious ceremonies.

A pan-Mongol deity, Tsahan Avga (White Elder), was the most popular. He was believed to have resided at the shamanistic temples (*obo*) located along the migratory routes of the Kalmyks. The obo, a heap of stones honoring the local spirits, often served as a site for performing various rituals, which usually ended in traditional contests of horse racing, wrestling, and arrow shooting. Superstitions, intended to deceive the evil spirits, were elaborate and extremely numerous.

Religious Practitioners. Lamaism places particular importance on the role of the lama, a monk-preceptor. The Kalmyk chief lama was appointed by the Dalai Lama. The clergy was divided into three basic groups: *manji* (apprentices who kept 10 precepts), *getsul* (novitiate monks who kept 36 rules), and *gelüng* (fully ordained monks who kept 253 rules). In the eighteenth century there was one gelüng for each 150 to 200 tents. The local elite supported the *khurul* (lamaist monastery) and donated herds and people for its upkeep. In the early nineteenth century there were about 200 khuruls, of which only 62 remained by the end of the century. Despite the laws forbidding shamanistic practices, the medicine men (*emci*) remained influential.

Arts. Singing and dancing were always popular. They were commonly accompanied by a *khuur*, an instrument similar to a rebec with strings made out of horse gut, and by a *yatkh*, a type of psaltery with a separate base for each string, which the performer plucked with plectra. Oral epic poetry glorifying military feats and bravery is particularly well known. It was traditionally recited by a bard (*jangarchi*), with an accompanying *dombr* (a two-stringed lute). In the early twentieth century these songs were collected into the Kalmyk epic *Janggar*.

Medicine. Hospitals and physicians are now available to the population, although medical facilites are inadequate. The limited water supply, traditionally poor hygiene, inadequate diet, and high consumption of alcohol have contributed to high infant mortality, low life expectancy, and persistence of infectious diseases, particularly tuberculosis. There was an outbreak of AIDS in Elista in 1989.

Death and Afterlife. Kalmyks traditionally believed that death occurred at the moment when the soul left the body. Accordingly, the deceased were left in the steppes to be eaten by wild animals, so as to facilitate the release of the soul from the body. For several days after the death a lama read on the departed's behalf from the Book of the Dead. The deceased was expected to be awakened by a light: it was to be an encounter with one's own self, which was at the same time the ultimate reality.

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Karachays

ETHNONYM: Qarachaylï

Orientation

Identification and Location. The Karachays inhabit the northern Caucasus in the Karachay-Cherkess Autonomous Oblast (AO) of the Stravropolski Krai, in the following districts (*raions*): Karachay, Malo-Karachay, Zelenchuk, Ust'-Jegutin, and Prikuban. In 1990 the Karachay-Cherkess AO became an autonomous republic, the Karachay-Cherkess ASSR. Contemporary Karachay occupies three ecological zones. The first is the high mountain zone, Great Karachay, containing one of the major peaks of the Caucasus, Mount Elbruz (5,133 meters), rich alpine pastures, and the source of one of the major rivers of the western Caucasus, the Kuban. The second zone, the Little Karachay, is comprised of low mountains and hills, with a mild climate and land suitable for cultivation. The third zone consists of plains with a dry climate and winter pastures.

Demography. There were 55,000 Karachays listed in the 1926 census; this had increased to 125,800 by 1979.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Karachay language belongs to the Kipchak (Qïpchaq) or Northwestern Group of the Turkic languages. Specialists have noted numerous borrowings from the Ossetian language. In the past, when their language lacked a writing system, the Karachays used Arabic (also the language of instruction in the Muslim schools), whereas Russian was used for business purposes. (The first Russian school was opened in 1879.) A Karachay alphabet with Latin characters was devised in 1924 but was replaced in 1939 with a Cyrillic-based script. There is some discussion at present (1992) of returning to a Latin-based alphabet.

History and Cultural Relations

Various points of view exist in contemporary scholarship regarding the origin of the Karachays. Some think that the primary role was played by the Kipchaks or Polovtsians—groups which, under pressure from the Mongols in the thirteenth century, went into the mountains of the central Caucasus, where the Iranian-speaking Alans were living. Groups of Alans, assimilated by the Turkic Polovtsians, constituted the nucleus of the Karachay people. In the opinion of other scholars it was earlier Turkic-language groups that took part in the formation of the Karachay ethnic group: Hunns, Bulgars, and Khazars, who were living in the northern Caucasus in the ninth to twelfth centuries. The historical territory of the Karachays is located on the upper reaches of the Kuban: the settlements of Kart-Jürt, Uchkulan, Jazlïk, Khurzuk, and Duut. In the nineteenth century the Karachays began to migrate to lands on the middle course of the Kuban and its tributaries, such as the Teberdï River in Little Karachay. In the 1920s Karachays with little or no land began to settle on lands that had been assigned to them after the October Revolution. These are the settlements of Uchkeken, Tereze, El-Tarkach, Kichi-Balïk, Kumïsh, Sarï-Tüz, and others, a total of over twenty. In 1943 the Karachays were deported to regions of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, and their autonomous oblast was liquidated, not to be reestablished until 1957 as the Karachay-Cherkess Autonomous Oblast. After the return to the northern Caucasus, part of the Karachay community remained in Central Asia and Kazakhstan.

The deportations, many believe, dealt a serious blow to Karachay ethnic identity, weakening the transmission of language and culture. Another tragic consequence of this event was the destruction of Karachay graves and sacred sites by those who resettled the territory during the time of exile. With the rise of nationalism in the early 1990s, the deportations, as an event experienced by all strata of society, have considerable resonance as a rallying point for the Karachays.

Settlements

The settlements in Great Karachay were large and included several quarters (*tiyre*), each of them settled by the members of one familial-kinship commune. Houses in the settlements were laid out haphazardly, abutting closely on one another. There were no gardens. Livestock were kept at camps, that is, at the temporary dwellings of herdsmen outside the settlement, and, in summer, in the alpine pastures. Around the settlements were plow lands and irrigated hay fields. The settlements in Little Karachay were not as compact nor divided into patronymic quarters.

The dwelling, or *yuy*, was constructed of pine, which grows in abundance in the Karachay Mountains. The traditional dwelling was oblong and of cut timber. The roof had two sloping surfaces to allow the heavy rains to run off, and an earthen cover a meter thick. Along the front side the inhabitants attached an awning on supporting pillars. Light penetrated the dwelling through a smoke hole above the fire. Small windows could be closed with sliding shutters. Within the house there was a large space, to which was adjoined a storeroom for food. For heat there was a fireplace built into the wall, with a wide chimney fashioned out of withies and daubed with clay, which rose high above the roof. The more archaic sort of hearth consisted of an

open fire that was kindled in the middle of the dwelling on the earthen floor. This hearth was used for a long time in the older buildings and in the camps. The inner space of the Karachay house was divided into two halves. Farther from the door, behind the hearth, was the honored male half (*tër*), where the men and the male guests were seated (unless there was a special guest area or guest house, the *qonoq yuy*). The bed or couch of the head of the family, resembling a wooden sofa with three backrests, was located here as well. Closer to the door was the half for women and children, where household jobs were performed and the dishes and kitchen utensils were kept. In a large undivided household, a special dwelling for the married sons with a separate exit into the yard was constructed next to the main dwelling in which the parents, unmarried young people, and children lived. This special building, the *otoú*, was used for sleeping and for preparing food, whereas the main house served as the center of family life.

Farm buildings were either separate from the dwellings or added on to them. As late as the nineteenth century, covered courtyards (*bashï jabïlghan arbaz*) with towers, dwellings, and byres, like a closed-off polygon, were common. The closed-off courtyard was covered with an earthen roof supported by thick pillars; its main exit to the street had massive doors. The arbaz could be 4 or 5 meters high. There were no windows, although sometimes openings were made in the roof. Within these covered yards hay, firewood, wool, felt, felt coats, and other property were stored. During family festivals, dances and reception of guests took place there. The arbazes were occupied by individual family groups with many members and, when necessary, served as fortresses. Formerly livestock were kept in the arbaz during winter, for which it was divided with poles into sections, each serving for one type of livestock. In the nineteenth century separate houses for married sons began to be built, which did not always adjoin the arbaz.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century the traditional Karachay dwelling began to change. Large glass windows and wooden floors and ceilings were introduced, and within the house Russian cooking ranges replaced fireplaces. There also appeared a new type of house, built of wood and stucco with an iron roof, not infrequently two stories high with a porch running around the entire house. Even when the dwellings include a modern house with a gas stove, rural Karachay women do most of their cooking on the hearth, in the room with the earthen floor.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. The traditional economic base of the Karachays was distant pasturing of livestock (sheep, goats, cattle). In summer the livestock were taken to mountain pastures; during winter they were kept in the forested fields of the southern slopes or on pasturelands rented in the valleys. Livestock were sold in Transcaucasia. Dairy products were prepared at home—cheese, *ayran* (sour milk), kefir, and butter. Agriculture was weakly developed because of the inadequacy of arable land (used, in general, to raise barley and maize). Wheat was purchased in the valley settlements.

Clothing. Karachay clothing was, for the most part, of the traditional northern Caucasian type. One component of both female and male apparel was a tunic-shaped undershirt and underpants. Men's outer clothing included a quilted overcoat (*qabdal*), beneath which was worn a long narrow collarless Circassian coat (*chebken*) and cotton pants. The chebken was worn with a leather belt with silver ornamentation, from which a dagger was hung. Shepherds had a special outfit: a long felt cloak or wrap with a hood. In winter at the camps or on the road during rainfall they would don a felt greatcoat (*jamchï*). The headgear (*bërk*) was a sheepskin winter cap, and in summer a felt hat with a brim (except in bad weather, when a cloth cowl was worn). Footwear was fashioned out of rawhide, like a peasant bast shoe, with stitching down the middle of the sole. This shoe, the *chabïr*, was worn on the bare foot with a cushioning layer of dried grass. The more prosperous Karachays wore footwear of morocco leather with a soft sole. Women's outer clothing consisted of a dress worn open near the top, like the men's chebken, and a long gown, like a man's quilted coat. Women girded themselves with a silver belt (*kämar*), although poorer folk wore a sash of ordinary weave. In winter the older women wore a sheepskin coat or a long quilted coat, whereas young women threw a warm shawl over their shoulders. Headgear varied according to social status and age. Women of the more privileged classes wore high velvet caps decorated with gold or silver stitching or low caps with flat tops. Over the cap they would tie a kerchief. After the birth of her first child the woman donned a black kerchief instead of a cap, tied around the head by a special knot (*chokh*). Above this the woman put on another kerchief, the manner of binding depending on the time of year and her age. Their footwear was of rawhide, although upper-class women wore shoes with wooden supports. Depending on social class and condition, dresses were sewn from domestically produced cloth or expensive purchased fabric—calico, velvet, or silk. A costly holiday dress would be decorated with galloons, gold stitching, and silver bosses, and the caftan gown was fastened with silver clasps over the breast. At festivals women wore long embroidered appendages (*jeng uch*) attached to the sleeves.

In the Soviet and post-Soviet periods clothing styles have modernized. Urban dwellers wear European-style clothing, as do men in the countryside. Rural teenage and adult women, without exception, cover their heads in public. Only the elderly women continue to wear the traditional black head scarf. It should be noted that rural Karachay women take great pride in their long, thick hair. They say that keeping the hair of girls very short, until about age 7, subsequently causes the hair to grow thick and strong.

Food. The products of animal husbandry always constituted the base of the traditional diet. Sour milk (ayran) from goats was especially prized. (Ayran was also prepared from cow's and sheep's milk.) It was eaten every day, either as a separate dish or with cornbread. Often the Karachays would crumble a flat cake into a cup of sour milk, to which they added sour cream, honey, or sugar. This dish was called *chanchkhan*. Ayran was also eaten with grits (*kak*). Another popular dairy product was kefir (*gïpï*). Cheese from sheep's, goat's, or cow's milk was an everyday food, and sour cream, curds, and cream could be pur-

chased in the urban markets of the northern Caucasus. The Karachays also churned butter. They prepared a dish known as *mereze* from curds fried in butter, to which maize flour was added. Meat dishes were important in the diet, especially mutton but also beef and game. A traditional type of sausage was made from liver. Meat was boiled and fried, and mutton and goat meat were dried and jerked for winter consumption. Bread was prepared from wheat flour, maize, millet, and barley, which were purchased from the inhabitants of the valley settlements. Of these, wheat was the most prized. In addition to unleavened bread, a type of leavened dough (*ekmek*) was commonly made, which the Karachays learned about from the local Russians. Pies (*khïchïn*), filled with cheese, meat, beet greens with cheese, or potatoes with cheese, were often baked, as were shortbread pies stuffed with eggs, rice, and raisins. To celebrate the end of springtime field labor, the Karachays baked a special so-called spring pie (*khïchaman khïchïnlï*). Wild fruits, berries, and herbs were collected in the forests. In the Soviet period store-bought goods such as groats, sugar, and candy entered everyday life. The traditional drink was the beerlike boza, which the women prepared from barley or *zïntkhï*, a type of millet.

Industrial Arts. The production of woolen goods, such as hats and shawls, remains an important cottage industry, performed by women in the home. Some Karachay women claim that in winter, when yard work is minimal, a woman can knit up to twenty-five shawls a month, using homespun hand-dyed wool. In 1991 a woolen shawl, sold through middlemen in urban markets, could fetch up to 250 to 300 rubles (the average Soviet monthly salary). The Karachays generally perceive themselves as a people distinguished by their diligence and industriousness.

Division of Labor. There was traditionally a gender division of labor: the men worked in animal husbandry, agriculture, and wood carving; women took care of the home, prepared dairy products, made felt and cloth, embroidered, wove galloons and other adornments, and raised the children. Only women cooked food, but only men were permitted to slaughter sheep.

Land Tenure. Land ownership was of several kinds: feudal, communal, mosque property (*waqf*), and private. The prominent feudal families had large plots of land of up to 1,000 hectares. Arable lands were held by families and could be sold and inherited. Forests, pasturelands, and hay fields constituted communal property. At the present time there are state farms, collective farms, and privately held property.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Each Karachay belongs to a familial kinship group (*tukhum*), the members of which have a common name. Earlier the tukhum occupied a section of the settlement and had common hay fields and a cemetery. Marriages are forbidden within the tukhum. The members of the tukhum are obligated to help one another. A kinship group has its own brand for marking cattle and horses. If a member of the tukhum wanted to sell a plot of land, the land had to be offered first to other relatives within the tukhum, and only if they refused to buy it could it be offered to more distant relatives, neighbors, or strangers. Around the beginning of the twentieth century the tukhums lost the characteristics of a kinship grouping; existing social structures were dissolved and the functions of the tukhum—defense, distribution of land, and general decisions concerning the village—passed to the village commune, which maintained possession of the forests and specifically communal pasturelands. The lands of families that had left Karachay passed into the possession of the communes. The commune helped its members with irrigation projects, saw to defense, organized the upkeep of trade routes in the mountains, and so on. After the annexation of Karachay by the Russian Empire in 1828, the basic form of government became the assembly, replacing the popular gathering.

Kinship Terminology. Kinship in the patronymic group is reckoned in both the paternal and maternal lines. The kinship terminology is Turkic, the basic terms being *ata* (father), *ana* (mother), *egech* (sister), *qarnash* (brother); these could be combined to give *atanï qarnashïdan tuughan* (father's brother's son), *ananï egechinden tuughan* (mother's sister's son), and so on. Affinal kinship terminology, arising from marriage bonds between two families, uses the terms for blood relations with the addition of the word *qayïn*: *qayïn ata* (husband's or wife's father), *qayïn qïz* (husband's or wife's sister), and so forth.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. The marriageable age for men was regarded to be about 18 to 20, and for women, about 14 to 15; in practice, men married at age 22 to 23 and women at 18. An order of marriage was observed within the family: the younger did not marry before the elder. Several marriage arrangements were common: by agreement with payment of a dowry or bride-price (*qalïn*), by abduction (without the woman's consent), or by elopement (with her consent, though staged as though it were an abduction). Agreements to marry contracted between underage people were not rare (including infant betrothals), and there were also leviratic marriages. The amount of the bride-price depended on social status. A large bride-price could ruin the groom's family and yet not enrich the family of the bride, since her father was obligated to spend a great deal on gifts and hospitality. On the other hand, giving a woman in marriage without a bride-price was considered shameful. During the courtship period negotiations took place concerning the amount of the bride-price and gifts to the bride's family—usually horses to be given to her father, brothers and "milk mother" (the woman who nursed her, not necessarily her real mother). The bride-price could also be paid in livestock, money, arms, and sometimes land. The bride was supposed to bring a dowry (*berne*) to her new household: dress, plates and dishes, and domestic utensils. The parents selected the bride for their son, with trusted persons serving as matchmakers; the courtship could sometimes go on for years. When an agreement was reached, a meeting for formal betrothal was arranged, attended by persons empowered to act on behalf of the fiancé. During this meeting a marital pact was concluded according to Muslim ritual—in particular, the bride-price was agreed upon and the day of the wedding was set.

The wedding ceremony was presided over by the effendi in the presence of witnesses. For several days before the wedding designated persons notified the invited guests and prepared food: pies, beer, meat (mutton), and boza (a fermented beverage). Horsemen with banners met the bride at her home, although the groom himself did not participate in the procession. He met the bride at his home, where various rituals took place: a dagger was held above the bride's head, and she was showered with candy, money, and nuts. The bride, veiled by a silk kerchief, was taken to one corner of the room and remained standing there throughout the entire wedding. The wedding feast lasted three to seven days. Ten days later, the groom's family arranged a large banquet in honor of the bride's induction into their household. Before this banquet the bride was greeted by her husband's parents: the mother-in-law presented ritual pies, and the father-in-law a cup of boza or mead. One of the relatives cut off the bride's veil with the blade of his dagger, and she was again showered with candy, money, and nuts. The bride (*kelin*) returned to her room; from then on she functioned as a member of the household.

The groom at first avoided his wife's parents: he kept out of their sight during the wedding and for a few days thereafter, remaining in the home of a relative or close friend. Only three or four days after the bride arrived in his home did the groom come to her, secretly at night, escorted by his friends. After that he still did not call his wife by name, addressing her by a nickname. She, for her part, observed certain obligatory avoidance practices: she could not speak to her husband's parents or elder relatives (in the case of her father-in-law, this prohibition might continue for a lifetime). After several months the bride, wearing a new dress, returned to her parents' home. Only after the son-in-law was invited by his wife's relatives to receive hospitality did his avoidance of them come to an end. The bride remained with her parents up to two years before settling permanently in her husband's household.

Domestic Unit. The basic domestic unit was the nuclear family of parents and children; extended families comprised of three or four generations were rare. The head of such an extended family, the *yuy tamada*, was the oldest male (grandfather, father, oldest brother or son): he managed the economy and the family finances and assigned the family members their tasks. The activities of the head of the family were controlled by the family council, comprised of the men of the oldest generation and the oldest woman. The family group collectively owned the house, livestock, land, and movable property. The senior woman held considerable power within the household and was in charge of the preparation and distribution of food. Because traditions of hospitality constitute an important aspect of Karachay social relations, the senior woman plays a significant role in safeguarding family pride and honor.

Socialization. Education in necessary tasks was an important aspect of traditional upbringing. From the age of 6 children assisted their parents. Boys helped care for livestock, living in the camps with older men; girls helped with the housework and learned how to make *kiyiz̆* (cloth) and how to embroider. Great significance was attached to moral education, familiarity with Karachay traditions, the cultivation of attitudes of respect to elders, hospitality, and the ethical norms governing relations.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social life was regulated by *adat* (customary law). Only in certain spheres—family and inheritance—was Muslim law (Sharia) given preference: the Sharia court reviewed cases of divorce, guardianship, division of property, and adoption. Adat allowed for punishment by fines and other sanctions: the guilty individual could be barred from the mosque, prevented from entering the home of a deceased person to pay condolences, excluded from attendance at village festivities, subjected to a general boycott, and deprived of Muslim burial rituals. In cases of murder, the commune attempted to reconcile the hostile parties and have the matter resolved by payment of a blood-price. After rendering this payment, the murderer—bareheaded, wearing a cerement over his shoulder, his hair and beard unshorn as a sign of mourning—crawled through the crowd of villagers to the parents of the victim. The latter, as a token of reconciliation, would cut his beard with scissors. If the victim's parents did not agree to the payment, then the murderer would try somehow to touch his lips to the nipple of a breast of the murdered person's mother (or of any woman of that family). Should he succeed in doing so, the murderer was considered a relative and the hostilities came to an end.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religion. The Karachays are Sunni Muslims. There was traditionally a mosque in every quarter of the village. The effendis were usually immigrants from Daghestan, Turks, or Kazan Tatars. Many pagan beliefs were maintained in the culture. There were cults associated with trees and stones, for example, the *qarachaynï qadaú tashï* ("fundamental stone of Karachay"), pieces of which are placed under the corners of a house during construction, and the sacred pine tree (*jangïz terek*) near the village of Khurzuk (*Narody Kavkaza*, vol. 1, 263). The Karachays also made sacrificial offerings at the time of driving cattle to pasture, performed rituals to bring rain or sun, and believed in evil spirits (*almastï*) and in Apsatï, the guardian of wild animals (a divinity widely known among the peoples of central and western Caucasia—the Abkhazians, Adygheans, Ossetes, and Svans). The Karachays also worshiped the god Aymush, the guardian of livestock. Among the old Karachay divinities are some deriving from an ancient Turkic stratum. The chief god, Teyri, can be equated with Tengri, the sky god of the ancient Turks. Traces of Christianity have also intermingled with pagan beliefs (e.g., the cults of saints Elias (Elia), Nicholas (Nikkol), and George (Gürge).

Arts. Among the applied arts, the most developed was the making of decorated felt with geometrical designs, stylized ram's heads, and horns. Floral designs were rare. The colors used included black, white, grey, and red. Other applied arts were gold stitching and the weaving of gold galloons for clothing. With the dissemination of factory-produced goods and the decline of traditionally made clothing, these highly artistic products passed out of the

Karachay way of life. Today only the tradition of making decorated felt remains. Karachay folklore is diverse and includes the Nart epics (shared with neighboring tribes), tales, riddles, proverbs, and sayings. There is a genre of didactic poetry known as *algish:* in ancient times it functioned as a hymn to the god Teyri, but with time became part of the wedding ritual (the ritual of unveiling the bride in the presence of her parents-in-law). There are also several types of songs: work songs, prayers (for example appeals to Apsatï for a successful hunt), and the song of Inai to accompany the beating of felt. Epic songs recounted events in Karachay history, such as the struggle against the Crimean khan, Abazin-Kyzylbek raids, and the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878.

Medicine. Magical techniques included various spells and rituals, but also more "rational" means such as herbal remedies. Dislocations and breaks were set with bone splints. Ayran was considered a remedy for burns, upset stomach, poisonous stings, and leprosy.

Death and Burial. The effendi would be invited to read the Quran to a dying person. The deceased was covered with a white covering from head to foot and transported from his or her bed on a large piece of felt. News of the death was circulated by a "harbinger of sorrow." Within the village everyone put aside their work and went to the home of the deceased to express their condolences and participate in the funeral. The women wept loudly, keened, tore their clothing, and scratched their faces. The body, wrapped in a felt coat or piece of felt, was carried on a special stretcher to the patronymic cemetery (the privileged classes practiced burial in vaults). If possible the burial occurred on the day of death, before sundown. Six or seven days later the first funeral repast was held, with another on the fifty-second day and then another a year after death. Mourners wore black and men let their beards grow for a year.

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NATALIA G. VOLKOVA
(Translated by Paul Friedrich and Jane Omrod)

Karaites

ETHNONYMS: Ba'ale Mikra, Binei Mikra, Karaim

Orientation

Identification. Karaites or Karaim are followers of non-Talmudic Judaism and thus are distinct from rabbinic Jews such as the Ashkenazim. Karaites adhere to the Torah and Pentateuch, the books of the Prophets, and the Writings—and exclude the Talmud, the post-Torah rabbinical commentary, which is accepted by other Jews. In Russia today, the few remaining Karaites live principally in cities.

Demography. It is virtually impossible to estimate the number of Karaites at the time of their appearance in the region of the former USSR. By the end of the eighteenth century the number of Karaites was approximately 3,800. During the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there were significant migrations. Many Karaites returned from Galicia and Volynia to the Crimea. In Crimea, Karaites moved from the mountains to the coast, primarily to Yevpatoria and Feodosia. As a result, the ancient Karaite center of Mangul was deserted and the population of Chufut-Kale declined significantly. At the same time Karaites were migrating from the Crimea to other Black Sea cities (Odessa, Nikolaev, Kherson) as well as to Moscow and St. Petersburg.

In the mid-1840s the number of Karaites reached approximately 6,000. The principal center was Yevpatoria, with a Karaite population of 2,000. At the end of the 1870s there were 10,000 Karaites, and by the beginning of the twentieth century the Karaite population was around 12,800, 90 percent of whom lived in cities.

As a result of the Revolution, the number of Karaites at the beginning of the 1920s declined to 12,400, and by the beginning of World War II there were less than 12,000. In 1937, according to Karaite tradition, 483 Karaite families were relocated from the Crimea to Lithuania. Because of World War II and assimilation, at the end of the 1940s about 7,000 Karaites lived in the USSR, and another several thousand lived in Poland and other countries. The 1959 Soviet census records 5,700 Karaites; the 1970 census shows 4,600; and the 1979 census only 3,300. At the present time, the number of Karaites in Russia is no more than 2,000 to 2,500. Several thousand East European Karaites live elsewhere in Europe and the United States. There is also a Karaite community of as many as 25,000 of Middle Eastern origin in Israel and a remnant population in Egypt.

Linguistic Affiliation. Karaites in the former USSR speak Karaite, one of the languages of the Turkic Group, in three dialects: Crimean, Halicz-Lutsk, and Trakai. Of the contemporary Turkic languages, Karaite is closest to the Crimean Tatar language. Before the 1917 October Revolution, Karaites used Hebrew as a written language, which at the end of the nineteenth century began to be replaced by Russian, and in the 1920s and the 1930s by Polish and Lithuanian. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries attempts were made to create a written Karaite literary language based on the Hebrew alphabet, which was

later replaced by the Russian alphabet in Russia and by the Latin alphabet in Poland. Use of the written Karaite language, however, was never widespread. At present, most Karaites consider Russian their native language, and only 15 percent of Karaites, the overwhelming majority of whom are older people, continue to speak Karaite.

History and Cultural Relations

The origin of the Karaites is not clear. In one widely accepted view, the Karaite sect of Judaism is believed to have been founded by Anan ben David in Baghdad at the beginning of the eighth century. The teachings of ben David were directed against the influence of the Talmud and found many adherents among the Jewish population of Babylonia. The original followers of the sect called themselves Ananites; they were joined by followers of other Jewish sects. In the ninth and tenth centuries the new teachings were consolidated, and the sect began to be called Karaite. Followers of Karaitism actively proselytized their teachings among Jews of the Near East, and soon followers appeared in Palestine and other parts of the Middle East as well as in Europe, as far as Spain, where, however, their presence was brief.

In the twelfth century Karaites settled in the Byzantine Empire, from which some migrated to the Crimea. The presence of Karaites in the ancient capital of the Crimean Khanate, Solkhat (now Stary Krym), in the fourteenth century is documented, although the Karaite influence was observed earlier. For instance, the twelfth-century Jewish traveler Pethahiah of Regensburg met members of a sect similar to the Karaites in the southern Russian steppes, populated at that time by Turkish nomads. Karaites settled throughout the Crimean Peninsula, and Chufut-Kale (also called Sela Yehudin, "Jewish Cliff"), Mangul, Feodosia, and Yerpatoria also became major centers of the Karaite community.

Tradition has it that in 1392, after a successful march into the Crimea, Crown Prince Vitovt of Lithuania settled several hundred Karaites in his state, in Trok (now Trakai, near Vilnius), Lutsk, Halicz, and Krasny Ostrov (called by Karaites Kukizov, near Lvov). Karaites later appeared in other cities of Lithuania, Podolia, and Volyn' (Panevezhes, Sauliai, Derazhnia, and others).

Legal rights of Karaites in the Polish-Lithuanian Kingdom and in the Crimean Khanate did not differ from the rights of other Jews. Both communities had the same rights, bore the same responsibilities, and paid the same taxes—equal to those collected from the surrounding populations—or special Jewish taxes. The treatment of Karaites and Jews at this time was similar. For example, in 1495, Karaites, along with Talmudic Jews, were exiled from Lithuania, returning in 1503. At the time of the Bogdan Khmelnitsky pogroms of 1648, many Karaites were killed along with other Jews. In 1679, in the village of Shaty, near Trok, Karaites were accused of the ritual murder of a Christian child. As a result of the help of other Jews, the case was dismissed in 1680 and the Karaites escaped undeserved punishment. This similar treatment led to the establishment of friendly relations between the communities before the conquest of the Crimea and Poland by Russia at the end of the eighteenth century.

After their settlement in the Crimea, under Tartar rule, the intellectual life of the Karaites effectively ceased. Only after the resettlement of part of the community in the Polish-Lithuanian State, where they came into contact with European civilization and with Ashkenazi Jews, did a spiritual reawakening of Karaitism begin. First, liturgical works were translated into Karaite. Later, in the fifteenth century, Karaites of Lutsk and Trok entered into correspondence with the reknowned Karaite scholar Elijah Bashyazi of Constantinople, and some became his students.

A significant number of Karaite scholars appeared among the Karaites in Trok in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. These included Joseph Malinovsky, Zerah ben Nathan, Shlomo Troki, and Abraham ben Joshua. The best known of them, Isaac ben Abraham Troki (1533–1594), wrote a polemical anti-Christian work, "Hizzuk Emuna" (The Strengthening of Faith) in 1593, first issued in Latin translation under the title "Tela ignea Satanae" in 1681. This work became widely known among Christians, who published many refutations.

Under the influence the Karaites of Trok, intellectual activity grew among the Karaites in Lutsk and Galich. In 1699 Mordechai ben Nisan Kukizov wrote two treatises on Karaitism. His relative, Joseph ben Samuel ha-Mashbiz, the author of many theological works, became a *hakham* (pl., *hakhamim*; wise one, the community leader) of Halicz and laid the foundations for an entire dynasty of hakhamim and *hazzanim* (religious leaders).

Beginning in the second half of the eighteenth century, an active intellectual life arose among the Karaites of the Crimea, associated with the arrival of a group of scholars from Lutsk. Notwithstanding the existence of a large number of scholars among these Karaites, however, there was a noticeable shortage of hakhamim and hazzanim, as well as of teachers (*melanmedim*), in their communities.

Lithuania was conquered by Russia in 1783, and the Crimea in 1793; the majority of Karaites fell under Russian rule and, together with the rest of the large Jewish population, were placed under special restrictions. At first these laws applied equally to the Karaites, whom the Russians considered Jews. But in 1795 Empress Katherine II of Russia issued a decree that the double tax not be imposed on the Karaites, and, furthermore, that they be allowed to purchase land. For the first time in history, Karaites and Jews were distinguished under law. The schism was deepened by a ban on conversion of Talmudic Jews to Karaitism.

The policy of distinguishing Jews from Karaites continued into the reign of Czar Nicholas I. In 1827, the Crimean Karaites, and in 1828, the Lithuanian and Galician-Lutsk, were exempted from the military service, which was mandatory for Jews. Further, the Karaites received certain privileges, such as permission to hire Christian servants, receive Russian citizenship on the same grounds as others, and swear their own oath in court, all of which further distanced them from rabbanic Jews. In 1809 Karaites came into open conflict with Talmudic Jews; they demanded that the authorities evict the Talmudists from Trok, maintaining that they were illegal residents. This demand was refused, but in 1822 the Karaites again applied to the administration with the same request, and in 1835 it was granted. The support by the Government Council of the

Karaites' right to reside in any part of the Russian Empire was an important event, as it freed them from required residence in the Jewish Pale of Settlement. The long battle by the Karaites for equal rights ended in 1863, when the Government Council decreed that "Karaites under the jurisdiction of the common laws of the Empire have the same rights alloted to Russian subjects, contingent on their property and monetary holdings." The only limitation was the ban on Karaites taking people of other religions into their community. The Karaites also succeeded in having their official name changed from "Karaite Jews" to "Russian Karaites of Old Testament Faith," and later to simply "Karaites." In practice, however, many points of the new law were not followed. In 1875 Karaites applied to the Minister of Internal Affairs with a petition to order the administration not to call the Karaites "Jews" and not to apply to Karaites laws that were meant for Jews.

A special contribution to the struggle for equal rights for Karaites, as well as to the collection of Jewish and Karaite documents and manuscripts and their study, was made by Abraham ben Samuel Firkovich early in the twentieth century. Firkovich assembled one of the largest collections of Jewish manuscripts in the world during his travels in Egypt, Palestine, Syria, the Crimea, and the Caucasus. He also published a collection of inscriptions from an ancient Karaite cemetery at Chufut-Kala. On the basis of property inscriptions in manuscripts and dates on gravestones, Firkovich asserted that Karaites settled in the Crimea several centuries before the birth of Jesus Christ and thus carried no responsibility for his crucifixion. Later, he argued for a link between the Karaite faith and that of the Khazars (a Turkic people), who adopted Judaism in the eighth century. Firkovich asserted that Karaites, as non-Talmudic believers and as descendants of the Khazars, were entitled to different treatment than Jews. Although some scholars, contemporaries of Firkovich, noticed quite a few forgeries among the manuscripts that he discovered and on the gravestones, the "Khazar theory" of the Karaites' descent found a place in literature and persists, despite the strong skepticism of some scholars.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the production of Hebrew-language literature and science in the Karaite community ended. A few of the Karaite intelligentsia tried to develop Karaite literature in the Russian language, through printed publications such as *Karaite Life* and *The Karaite Word*, which appeared in 1911 and 1913 respectively, but these efforts were short-lived. At the same time, a secular literature in the Karaite language appeared, represented by the works of S. Kobetsky, A. Novitsky, and Z. Abramovich.

After the 1917 Russian Revolution, a significant part of the Karaite bourgeoisie emigrated from the country. There was a second wave of emigration in 1920–1921, motivated by the famine in the Crimea and the Ukraine, which led to the resettlement of many Karaites in central regions of the country. The overwhelming majority of Karaites who emigrated settled in Poland, Turkey, France, Romania, Bulgaria, Egypt, Latvia, and the United States. As a result of Poland's independence, Trok and Galitsko-Lutsk Karaites became citizens of Poland. When Soviet troops occupied the Baltic states and the eastern regions of Poland in 1939, however, they, along with the Crimean Karaites, became residents of the USSR. The Soviet government recognized the Karaite people in 1932, and later they were officially designated the Karaite nationality.

Karaite literature flourished in the 1920s in the old Karaite centers of Poland, and with it came an ethnic revival. Through the efforts of hazzan Samuel Firkowicz, Karaite youth in Trok studied in their own school, and their knowledge of the Karaite language was significantly greater than that of the older generation. Firkowicz himself worked for the revival of the Karaite language, writing poetry and doing verse translations in Karaite.

After the Nazis came to power in Germany and the swift rise in anti-Semitism there, Karaites tried to prove their non-Jewish ancestry. In January of 1939 the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Germany noted in a special resolution that Karaites did not belong to the Jewish religious community and that their "racial psychology" was not Jewish. As a result, the Karaites were not persecuted during World War II. In 1942 the Nazis questioned three Jewish scholars, M. Balaban, Z. Kalmanowicz, and I. Schiffer, as to the descent of the Karaites. Understanding the mortal implications of this for the Karaites, all three affirmed the non-Jewish ancestry of the Karaites. In the same year, however, the Karaite populations of Krasnodar and Novorossiisk were killed "by mistake" along with the Talmudic Jews.

After the war Karaites quickly began to assimilate. Many moved to the large cities, where they no longer formed communities and practically all of the younger generation spoke only Russian. The Khazar ancestry of the Karaites had become firmly entrenched in Soviet ideology. All attempts to refute this "theory" or make reference to a relation between Karaites and Jews met with furious resistance on the part of Karaite scholars. On the other hand, many Karaites, often secretly, continued to consider themselves Jews. Karaite culture in the contemporary Soviet Union has practically ceased to exist, with the exception of a small Karaite museum in Trakae.

Economy

During the Middle Ages and afterward, Karaites were principally engaged in trade. They facilitated the development of trade between Poland and Turkey, and their trade routes stretched from the Podolsko-Volynia lands and Lithuania to the Crimea, to Constantinople, and to the Near East. In the nineteenth century a few businessmen among the Karaite traders founded companies in Odessa and Petersburg and became leaders in international trade. Besides merchants, there were a significant number of farmers among the Karaites who cultivated gardens and orchards and were particularly successful with crops that were brought from the Crimea and were new to Lithuania. By the nineteenth century there were a fair number of educated Karaites who became doctors, lawyers, and scholars. In the 1930s Karaites ceased almost entirely to work in agriculture. At the same time, the number obtaining a university education rose significantly. After World War II Karaites abandoned their traditional occupations, taking up professional careers in engineering, medicine, education, music, and the like.

Clothing. Traditional Karaite dress was similar to Tatar dress. In Poland Karaites wore European-style clothing. An

indispensable object of masculine attire was the small Kolpak hat. Hakhamim wore high hats, Klobuk, and large gowns (*djubbe*). Wide pants were included in both women's and men's costumes.

Food. The Karaite kitchen was constructed according to the laws of *kashrut*, as were the kitchens of Talmudic Jews. Karaite cooking was subject to a strong Turkish influence, however. For example, Karaites prepared *katlaina* (a cheese cake consisting of several layers), *tutmac* (a kind of macaroni), *umach* (dumplings), and other dishes.

Kinship, Marriage, and Family

Until the twentieth century, matrilocal and neolocal residence were the norm; that is, after marriage, the young couple lived with the parents of the bride or started a new household. Now nuclear families are the norm. The dominant figure in a family was the father. Karaites did have customary levirate marriage, though, as a rule, it was avoided by a ritual freeing of the parties from the obligation. Marriages were strictly monogamous. Divorces were prohibited. The parents of the groom, having chosen a bride, sent a matchmaker to her home. Upon agreement of both sides, a day was selected for the betrothal. After the betrothal, a date was set for the wedding, which might take place much later. The groom and his parents were expected to bring a bride-price (*kalym*) for the bride. The bride brought a dowry, which was registered on the marriage document (*chuppa yazysy*), into the groom's home. The marriage was performed under a canopy (*chuppa*) in the presence of a clergyman and relatives on both sides.

Sociopolitical Organization

The leader of a Karaite community was the hakham. The house of prayer, called a *kinessa*, was headed by two hazzanim who had a helper (*shamash*). Religious schools (*midrash*), operated in the communities. Before the 1917 Revolution, Karaite communities were managed by the Karaite religious governing body (formed in 1837), and by the Trok governing body, which split off from it in 1863. After the Revolution the majority of the Karaite community in Soviet Russia was destroyed. In Poland an organized Karaite life still existed in the period between the world wars. At the present time there is a kinessa at Trok, in which about twenty believers assemble at major holidays.

Religion

Religious Beliefs. Education of Karaites was based on literal study and understanding of the Torah (Bible). All religious laws were derived from Torah text, from the meaning of words and the context. Karaites deny the divine origin of the Talmud (commentaries on religious belief and law), considering it the product of a folk tradition and appealing to this tradition only in cases where the Torah is unclear or inadequate. In some cases, however, Karaites accept the decisions of rabbinic Talmudists. Over the course of many centuries Karaitism has evolved its own version of a Halachah, or religious code, formerly a code of separate rules, opinions, and decisions. The systematization of this code occurred at the end of the fifteenth century.

Religious Practices. The Karaite calendar is lunar. The celebration of the New Year can fall on any day of the week, and thus the beginnings of many holidays may not always coincide with the Jewish calendar. Unlike rabbinic Jews, Karaites celebrate Passover and Sukkoth for seven days rather than eight, observe no fast before Purim, and do not celebrate Hanukkah as a holiday. Karaites have greater prohibitions regarding work on Saturdays, stricter rules about butchering cattle, and use the meat only of animals indicated in the Bible. As among Jews, circumcision of boys is performed on the eighth day after birth. Karaite liturgy is significantly different from that of rabbinic Jews. Their prayers consist of Biblical texts, psalms, and their own liturgical poetry. Karaitism is in essence a sect of Judaism—beliefs and practices do not go outside the framework of Judaism.

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IGOR KOTLER
(Translated by Dale Pesmen)

Karakalpaks

ETHNONYMS: Kalpaks, Karalpaks; Russian names: Chernyye klobuki, Karakalpaki

Orientation

Identification. Karakalpaks speak a Central Turkic language, live primarily in the Turanian (Aral Sea) Basin of Central Asia, and are by tradition Sunni Muslims of the Hanafi school. "Karakalpak" means "black hat" and identifies the former Soviet republic (ASSR) of the people of the same name.

Location. The Karakalpak Republic is an amalgamation of the old Khivan Khanate (1811–1920) and the Khorezm People's Republic of the early 1930s, makes up the eastern third of the Uzbek Republic, and is located between 41° and 46° N and 55° and 62° E. The Karakalpak people are heavily concentrated in Uzbekistan (98 percent), with most (93 percent) being located in the delta country of the Amu Darya (Oxus River). Their homeland includes sections of both the Kyzyl Kum (Red Desert) and Kara Kum (Black Desert). The region is extremely arid, rarely receiving more than 12.5 centimeters of precipitation per year, over half of which falls from February to May. Diversion of rivers for irrigation, both within Karakalpakia and upstream, have radically depleted the water that reaches the

Aral Sea, which has lost 40 percent of its surface area since 1960. Nukus is the capital of the republic.

Demography. In 1990 the Karakalpak population was estimated at 380,000. Of this, 350,000 lived in the Karakalpak ASSR, 16,000 resided in other parts of Uzbekistan (the provinces of Bukhara, Tashkent, Fergana, and Samarkand), 3,000 in Turkmenistan (Tashauz Province), 2,500 in Russia (mainly Moscow), and 2,000 in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. Beyond the Soviet border, there were at least 3,000 in Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, and Pakistan. Within the republic, population density averaged 7.9 persons per square kilometer and population was growing at 3.4 percent per year. Some 52 percent of the republic's inhabitants and 70 percent of the Karakalpaks were rural. In 1979, 62.6 percent of the republic's population was nearly evenly split between Uzbeks and Karakalpaks, followed by Kazakhs (26.9 percent), Turkmen (5.4 percent), Russians (2.3 percent), and others (Dagestanis, Tatars, Ukrainians, and Koreans). The Central Asian groups (Uzbeks, Karakalpaks, Kazakhs, and Turkmens) are more than 60 percent rural, whereas nonnatives are more than 80 percent urban.

Linguistic Affiliation. The national language is Karakalpak, which belongs to the Kipchak or Kipchak-Nogay Linguistic Subgroup of the Central Turkic Group of the Altaic Language Family. It has two primary dialects: northeastern, closer to Kazakh, and southwestern, closer to Uzbek, and a number of peripheral subdialects, which are hybrids of Kazakh, Uzbek, and Turkmen. Nonliterary until 1930, the Karakalpak language was first unsuccessfully rendered into Arabic, next endowed with a Latin alphabet, and lastly (in 1940) provided with a Cyrillic script. The Soviet Karakalpaks were still semiliterary in 1990, and their written literature is insignificant. The oral traditions are richer and similar to Kazakh, Crimean Tatar, Uzbek, and Nogay epics. Karakalpak is the native tongue of 96 percent of the Karakalpak people. Russified Karakalpaks are a meager 0.5 percent of the population.

History and Cultural Relations

The Karakalpak people are the culmination of 2,700 years of ethnic mixing of indigenous Iranians of the Mediterranean Caucasoid race (Sacs) with invading Altaic-speaking peoples of Mongoloid extraction, among them Huns and Oguz Turks. The latter, including the Pechenegs, who themselves had mixed with Bashkirs and Ugrians (of Magyar lineage), reached western Central Asia in A.D. 500. In the eleventh century a faction of Karakalpaks joined the Seljuks in the latter's invasions south and west, but the majority remained behind in the Aral Sea Basin. It was these Karakalpaks to whom the twelfth-century Russian chronicles alluded as "Chernyye klobuki" (Black Hats). The western Pecheneg-Karakalpaks entered into an alliance with the Kievan princes against marauding Kipchak (Polovtsian/Cuman) tribes. In gratitude, the Kievan princes rewarded the Chernyye klobuki for their bravery in battle with appanages along the Dnieper River. The Black Hats ranged from the Dnieper to the Aral Sea. They did not use "Karakalpak" as their self-name until after 1500. The Kipchaks, despite their adversarial relationship with the Karakalpaks and, indeed, with most of the Trans-Uralian steppe dwellers, Turkicized these peoples between the years 1000 and 1300. In the 1200s Karakalpakia became part of the Golden Horde, and, as the latter weakened during the next two centuries, the Karakalpaks became more closely allied with the Nogay Horde. During the 1500s, while living in the delta regions of the Syr Darya (Jaxartes River), the Karakalpaks began to be alluded to by name and became virtually independent, albeit not united: each tribe was governed by its own leaders (*bijs* and *batyrs*). Independence was short-lived: over the next 200 years, the tribes became subjects of the Bukharans, Kazakhs, and Dzungarians, the last of whom caused the Karakalpaks to migrate in two directions. One group went up the Syr Darya to the Fergana Basin ("upper Karakalpaks"), and a second moved closer to the Aral Sea ("lower Karakalpaks"). After 1750 the lower Karakalpaks again migrated, this time to the Amu Darya Delta, which in 1811 became part of the Khivan Khanate. Over the next seventy years, the Karakalpaks revolted against Khivan rule several times. In 1873 the right-bank Karakalpaks were annexed by Russia; those on the left bank remained subjects of Khiva. After the Bolshevik Revolution (1917), the struggle for Karakalpak autonomy was tortuous both in design and jurisdiction; however, on 5 December 1936, Karakalpakia was recognized as an ASSR within Uzbekistan.

The Karakalpaks are a distinct minority in their own republic. Uzbeks prevail in the south, Kazakhs in the east and west. The republic is the most Muslim and the most Turkic of all former Soviet administrative units. The Russian population is less than 3 percent of the total and their influence is hardly felt, except for decisions emanating from Moscow. In this regard, economic decisions pertaining to the expansion of irrigation for growing a nonfood, cotton, have resulted in considerable environmental degradation and have stimulated the formation of an environmentalist movement. Karakalpaks almost never intermarry with Russians, who, according to one mythical tradition, have a common genealogical origin with the Karakalpaks.

Settlements

Karakalpakia exhibits an arcuate settlement pattern that corresponds to the fanlike combination of the main channel, distributaries, and irrigation canals of the Amu Darya Delta. In 1983 the republic had twenty-five settlements large enough to be included in the *Atlas SSSR* (Atlas of the USSR): nine towns, thirteen urban settlements, and three large nonurban settlements. Settlements that did not conform to the drainage pattern were along the Kungrad-Makat (Trans-Aral) Railway, along the old shoreline of the Aral Sea, or on isolated oases. Villages (*kishlaks*) of fifty or more houses are typically part of a system of more than 100 state and collective farms. Although modernized during Soviet rule with (broad streets, new houses, schools, stores, electricity, and natural gas), the villages are still characterized by small, enclosed, clay-walled cottages with dirt floors. These villages are nestled in the shade of Lombardy poplars along irrigation ditches lined with mulberry trees. In the rare cities and towns, the adobe construction of the native Turko-Muslims contrasts with the wood and prefab construction of the nonnatives (Russians, Crimean Tatars, Ukrainians, Koreans, and others).

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. Subsistence occupancy no longer exists in the Karakalpak Republic. Under socialist domination, especially since the 1930s, all land and means of production belong to the state. Private plots (0.6 hectares, or 1.5 acres per household in Central Asia) are actually leaseholds. Agriculture dominates the economy, and all the cultivated land is irrigated. Locals say that without irrigation, agriculture, "indeed life itself," would not exist in Karakalpakia. Thus, in a drive to maintain self-sufficiency in cotton production, the Soviet regime doubled the consumption of irrigation water from the Amu Darya between 1960 and 1990. If agriculture dominates the economy, then cotton dominates agriculture, accounting for at least 65 percent of the arable land and up to 90 percent of the income of the republic. Farming is conducted on more than sixty state farms (sovkhozy) and some fifty collective farms (kolkhozy) with an average of 2,000 hectares (5,000 acres) of arable land per farm. Grain, 90 percent of which is rice, accounts for 10 to 15 percent of the farmland (sorghum and wheat are also grown). Feed crops, especially alfalfa, compose 20 to 25 percent of the sown area; indeed, Karakalpakia is today the leading producer of alfalfa in the former USSR. Less than 5 percent of the croplands consists of specialty crops like the Khorezm muskmelon, watermelon, grapes, apricots, apples, pears, plums, new potatoes, and other vegetables. On the berms that parallel the irrigation canals, silkworms are bred in mulberry trees. Livestock are raised for their meat, milk, wool, pelts, eggs, and cocoons. Half of the inventory consists of sheep and goats (Karakul sheep are raised for Astrakhan pelts). Other animals include cattle, 40 percent of which are dairy cows, and, for a Muslim region, a surprisingly large number of hogs (178,000 in 1979). Poultry are raised on private plots, and muskrats are nurtured commercially (the Karakalpak Republic is one of the largest muskrat producers in the former USSR). Apart from agricultural resources, the republic is deficient in raw materials, especially in evaporites, natural gas, building materials, and other nonmetallics. Local industry, therefore, depends heavily on agriculture for its inputs. The republic boasts seven cotton-ginning and three cottonseed-oil factories. While the Aral Sea yielded twenty-four different fish species and 3 percent of the Soviet annual catch, the Muynak cannery flourished. With the shrinkage of the sea, Muynak stands starkly 50 kilometers from the seashore and relies on imports of frozen fish from the Barents Sea 2,000 kilometers away. Light industry prevails in all the major cities (Nukus, Khojeyli, Takhiatash, Muynak, and Chimbay).

Industrial Arts. Although machines have rapidly replaced handiwork, Karakalpaks have a history of expert craftsmanship. Unlike their neighbors, they adorn their homes and yurts luxuriously with decorative carpets, wall hangings, macramé, and wide-fringed belts, currently stressing brown, green, and blue patterns on a red and yellow backdrop. The tribespeople are also recognized for their excellence in work with leather, wood, and bone.

Trade. Kolkhoz production is procured through state agencies, the profits and bonuses from which are distributed to farmers by the collective-farm management; salaries are based on the amount of work performed by each person. In contrast, sovkhoz production belongs to the state, and state-farm workers receive a standard wage. Both state and collective farmers are eligible for private plots, the yield from which may be sold for extra income in collective farm markets in the towns and cities.

Division of Labor. Even through the Soviet period, Karakalpak household duties remained distaff work. Women and adolescents are largely responsible for the harvest. Men do the planting, herding, fishing, and heavier industrial and bureaucratic work. Women do light industrial—especially textile—work.

Land Tenure. The heavy emphasis on cotton and rice leaves little room for adequate crop rotation, which accounts for the reported soil erosion, in particular by wind. Ordinarily, Soviet farmers use seven-or nine-field crop rotations, but Karakalpaks lack this variety. Alfalfa and pasturage have been introduced to diversify the plantings, both of which replace the nitrogen extracted by cotton and rice.

Kinship, Marriage, and Family

Kinship. Large families are a Karakalpak ideal: four children are common, and eight or ten are not unusual. The nuclear family is enhanced by as many as four generations in the same household. Descent is patrilineal. Beyond the extended family is a subclanic formation called the *koshe*, consisting of a group of families claiming descent from a common male ancestor over four to five generations. To the Karakalpak, the koshe is a psychological reality, with its own claim to territory and close kinship. Under Soviet rule, koshe integrity has been maintained on the kolkhoz, the members of which usually correspond to an *uru*, or clan. Each clan therefore is made up of several koshe. Upward of twenty-one clans can trace their origins to a dozen or more ancestral tribes that today are ethnographic groups of the Karakalpak nation. According to Bennigsen and Wimbush (1986, 114), they still consider themselves members of a tribe and have an acute sense of kinship with others of the same tribe elsewhere in Turkic areas of the former Soviet Union. Prior to the Revolution, the tribes represented a loose confederation, divided into two Karakalpak federations of separate Turkic and Mongol origins.

Marriage. Karakalpak girls are expected to marry young. During the 1960s, one-third of them married between 16 and 19. Although allowed to attend middle, technical, and, occasionally, higher schools, many girls withdrew at age 18 to be married. Men are expected to pay a bride-price (*kalym*). Although discouraged by Soviet mores, marriage by prior arrangement (i.e., child marriage) sometimes occurred. Wives were expected to move into the household of their fathers-in-law. They had few rights and privileges except the dowry, which was not illegal in the USSR. What was illegal was the marriage of minors. Muslim families often concealed the ages of their daughters through outright chicanery, for example, by refraining to register their girl infants or by sending them away to relatives in districts where their ages were not known. Where clans are concerned, exogamy is strictly observed. Divorce among Karakalpaks is as infrequent as it is easy; the rate is much lower than that of Soviet Slavs. The typical Muslim divorce was

illegal under Soviet law. Legal divorce, however, was simple, especially where childless couples were concerned: at most, it required an hour before a procurator for the division of property. Divorces of parents with children could take several weeks, but the wife invariably got the children and a portion of the husband's wages, which the state garnisheed for her.

Domestic Unit. Dining at the same hearth keeps the Karakalpak family united. To avoid eating "forbidden" Russian fare, the families generally dine at home. Some families continue to eat at low tables and to sleep on the floor.

Inheritance. Sons receive the bulk of the father's wealth. Widows are entitled to one-half the amount inherited by the sons and are subject to levirate.

Socialization. Karakalpaks, like all Soviet citizens, were subject to Soviet, not Muslim, law. Corporal and capital punishment, especially for theft of state property, were legal. Crime rates typically were low, but under the Gorbachev reforms they rose.

Sociopolitical Organization. Under the Soviet system, the Karakalpak ASSR was a dual hierarchical socialist republic. Until the Gorbachev reforms, the republic was governed by a unicameral Supreme Soviet and an overlapping "shadow government" composed of the republic's Communist party leadership. Members of the Supreme Soviet were elected for four years; there was 1 deputy for every 3,000 people.

Social Organization. Apart from the extant inequality between the genders, there were at least two classes within Karakalpak society: the Communist party *nomenklatura* and the average citizen. The latter disparity may change in the future.

Political Organization. The republic is subdivided territorially and economically into *raions* (districts). Political representation is based on the raion, *gorod* (city), *poselok* (settlement), kishlak (sedentary village), or *aul* (semisedentary village), each of which has its own party executive committee and governing soviet.

Social Control. The Supreme Soviet of the ASSR elected the Supreme Procuracy, which was composed of two judiciaries, for a period of six years: one was concerned with criminal cases and another with civil cases. Under the Soviet system, the republic was controlled by its militia, the KGB, local branches of the armed services, party volunteers (*druzhiniki*), public opinion, and Islamic mores.

Conflict. In the past, related auls and kishlaks would unite under the names of illustrious patrilineal ancestors, in whose names Karakalpak clans went to war. The recent peaceful outcry against environmental depredation, the result of overirrigation, has inspired a quasi-Green Party. The Karakalpak tribes have not taken up arms since the Basmachi revolts on their territory in 1918–1920.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Since the Karakalpak sense of nationhood is said to be the weakest among Central Asian groups, Islam is a major unifying force, especially unofficially. The republic had 553 mosques in 1914; today there are less than 10. In the mid-1980s, Bennigsen and Wimbush (1986, 112) located 5 working mosques in Nukus (2), Turkjul, Khojeyli, and Chimbay.

Religious Beliefs and Practices. Officially Hanafite Sunni Muslim, Karakalpakia, especially in its northern part, is a major center of Central Asian Sufism. Estimates for the Karakalpak Islamic faithful in the 1970s were: firm believers (votaries), 11.4 percent; believers by tradition, 14.4 percent; hesitant believers (interested parties), 13.6 percent; indifferent believers (part-time Muslims), 39.1 percent; and atheists, 21.5 percent. Kurban Bayram (Sacrifice of Abraham) is the most important holiday. Fasting at Ramadan persists despite official condemnation.

Arts. The music of the Karakalpaks reflects an ancient oral tradition that was preserved by tribal bards and instrumentalists. Native songs are diverse in type and theme. They are basically diatonic with melodies that are rich in glissando, grace notes, and other embellishments. The most popular instruments are the two-stringed *dutar* (a pizzicato instrument) and the *kobuz* (a kind of fiddle). Reed pipes, flutes, and mouth harps are also used. Since the 1940s national symphonic compositions have been produced, including the symphonic poem *Karakalpakstan*. Although amateur theatrics, maintained by goliards, preceded the 1917 Revolution, a formal dramaturgy dates from the 1920s. The first national plays, originating during that decade, were *The Girl Who Found Equality* and *Yernazar, the Camel's Eye*. In the seventy years since, dozens of other dramas have been created.

Medicine. Modernization has meant general access to Soviet medical care; however, the health of the Karakalpaks, especially near the retreating shore of the Aral Sea, has deteriorated. Because of the salty grit roiled up from the dry lake bed, throat cancer rates have soared, respiratory and eye disorders have increased markedly, rates of infancy and childhood anemia are extraordinary, and local infant mortality is the highest in the former USSR (60 per 1,000). Pesticide and fertilizer use (DDT and *butifos*) have polluted drinking water and traces of the same have been found in the milk of lactating mothers. Sanitary conditions, even in hospitals, are deplorable.

Death and Afterlife. Karakalpak believers are convinced that on the Day of Judgment, Allah will weigh their good and bad actions, which are recorded during their lifetimes in the Book of Deeds, and decide their final destination—paradise or hell.

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VICTOR L. MOTE

Karelians

ETHNONYM: Karjalaiset

Orientation

Identification. The Karelians belong to the Baltic-Finnic branch of the Finno-Ugrian peoples. The Karelians are not nor have they ever been a unified ethnos. They presently live in Finland and the former Soviet Union and have been partially assimilated into the Finn and Russian populations, but many consider themselves Karelian even though they cannot speak the Karelian language. They are not officially counted in Finland, but the Karelians in Russia are included in the census as a separate people. Since the Middle Ages the Karelians have formed a portion of the Finnish nationality, and the Finnish and Karelian folk traditions have a great deal in common. The Karelians, however, differ from both the Russians and the Finns in language and from the Finns also in religion.

Location. Prior to World War II, the Finnish Karelians lived chiefly in Border Karelia, in eight districts along the northeastern shore of Lake Ladoga. After the war, the area was ceded to the USSR and the population was resettled in Finland. Soviet Karelians live primarily in the Karelian Republic, which is flanked by Finland in the west, by Murmansk in the north, by Arkhangel'sk in the east, and by Leningrad in the south. The capital of the republic is Petrozavodsk.

The surface area of the republic is 172,400 square kilometers and includes many eskers, lakes (at least 61,000), and rivers, which are glacial formations. Onega and Ladoga are the largest lakes. Water covers 20,000 square kilometers, and 49 percent of the republic's area is forest; there is also a great deal of marshland. Northern Karelia is a part of the Eurasian zone of conifers; in southern Karelia there are leafy trees (birches, rowans, alders) besides conifers. Forestland has plentiful berries (blue-, cow-, and cloudberries) and mushrooms. The fauna includes big animals such as deer, bears, wild boars (in the south), and wolves and small ones such as beavers, squirrels, rabbits, badgers, and marten; on Lake Ladoga there are marble seals.

On average, agricultural land of the republic is 1.3 percent (in some parts of the south 4–13 percent and in the extensive north 0.5 percent) of the total land area. Because of the sea, the climate is relatively warm compared with other northern areas east of Karelia. The annual average temperature is 0.5° C in the north and 2.6° C in the south.

Demography. After World War II, 400,000 Finns and Karelians moved to other parts of Finland from Border Karelia and the Karelian Isthmus, which had been ceded to the USSR; 35,000 of them were ethnic Karelians (i.e., they spoke Karelian) of the Russian Orthodox religion. The remainder were Finnish-speaking people, mainly Lutherans. These migrants came for the most part from rural areas and were resettled in the countryside of Finland. Urbanization in Soviet Karelia increased after the war: in 1987, 81.4 percent of the population lived in towns. In 1989 the total population was 795,000, with 77,200 registered as Karelians. The total number of Karelians in the USSR was 138,000 in 1979. Most of the Karelians currently live in the Olonec and Prääsä regional units in the south and in the Kalevala District in the north.

Linguistic Affiliation. Karelian is one of the Baltic-Finnic languages and is divided into three main dialects: North Karelian, spoken in the northern area of former Soviet Karelia, and the Livonian and Lydian dialects of the south. Each dialect is still quite different from the others, which makes it difficult to develop a single written Karelian language. Some Finnish Karelians in Border Karelia spoke the Livonian and some the North Karelian dialect. There is no official written Karelian language, though it has been written to some extent in both Finland and the USSR. Today Karelians in Finland generally speak Finnish; in Russia, primarily Russian. Through 1945 the Karelian Isthmus, which was regionally called "Karelia" and whose Finnish-speaking population referred to themselves as "Karelians," was also a part of Finland. On the basis of language and origin they can be considered Finnish. No examination of this group will be made in the following discussion.

History and Cultural Relations

Contemporary Karelia, located on both sides of the Finnish-Russian border, has been inhabited by some group speaking a Baltic-Finnish language for at least 1,000 years. The Karelians were first mentioned in the Scandinavian sagas (Egil-saga) in 874 and later on in the so-called Novgorodian Chronicle in 1143, when they took part in a military invasion against the Western Finnish tribes. In the thirteenth century the Karelians inhabited large areas around Lake Ladoga, some areas of eastern Finland, the Karelian Isthmus, and areas around the White Sea and Lake Onega. This area became a battlefield between Novgorod (later Muscovy) and Sweden and was divided. The same division has been maintained in varying forms in the twentieth century. With Finnish independence in 1917, Border Karelia remained part of Finland. The Karelian Autonomous Republic was established in 1923 in the new socialist state out of the old Russian Karelia, succeeding the Karelian Labor Commune (Karel'skaja Trudovaja Kommuna) formed in 1920. In 1940 the area of the autonomous republic and the areas ceded by Finland to the USSR after the Russo-Finnish War formed the Karelian-Finnish Soviet Socialist Republic (Karelo-Finskaja SSR),

which was again changed in 1956 to an autonomous republic. During World War II Soviet Karelia was occupied by German and Finnish forces.

Following World War II, Border Karelia and the Karelian Isthmus were ceded to the USSR. Thus the Finnish Karelians were displaced from their old Karelian location.

Settlements

Karelian settlements were generally located by a river or body of water. Village types can be classified as follows: irregular villages, sparsely populated, the houses scattered and distant from one another—especially prevalent in the north; ordered-row villages, in which the houses are arranged along the shore of a river or lake; and street villages, in which the houses are oriented with the gables toward the street (more recent than the other two, this type was initiated by administrative decree). The latter two types appear in the south among Finnish Karelians. After World War II rural settlement was centralized and the old villages were deserted.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. The Karelian economy, prior to the changes of 1917 to 1918, combined small-scale agriculture and modest stock raising with hunting (especially of furbearing animals) and fishing. Fur pelts were sold, as were salted and dried fish. In the early twentieth century, burned-over woodland was still farmed in addition to arable land. Livestock included cows, sheep, and goats; pigs were also kept in the southern areas and reindeer in the northern. Ironworks began to develop in the eighteenth century and sawmills in the nineteenth; trade, too, expanded. Some Finnish Karelians began working in Olonec, others in St. Petersburg, and northern Karelians traded in Finland and went to fish in Norway. After the Revolution, the economy of Russian Karelia changed radically: state and collective farms were established and agriculture was mechanized. The forest, mining, and foundry industries were enlarged. Border Karelia, as a section of independent Finland, had to orient itself to Finland rather than to St. Petersburg and Olonec. The lumber industry developed in the region. New arable land was cleared for agriculture.

Industrial Arts. Folk art in some form (weaving, birch-bark- and woodwork, ceramics) has today developed into professionally based industrial art. Compared with Finnish folk art, Karelian folk art is more colorful: decorated wood and birch-bark articles (e.g., the archaic wooden spinning seat, *kuosali*) and very rich embroidery (traditional pearl-embroidered women's headdresses—*sorokk, lakkipaikka, cäpci*—and ceremonial towels, *käzipaikka*). The influence of Russian folk art on Karelian art is obvious.

Trade. In the nineteenth century Karelians in the Arkhangelsk District of northern Russia traveled around Finland as peddlers (*koroboinik*) selling cloth, textile products, and consumer goods. At the end of the century many Karelian merchants opened shops in Finland. Before 1917 Border Karelian trade was directed toward St. Petersburg. Trade in Soviet Karelia was in state hands; to some extent, however, private enterprise did exist.

Division of Labor. Women performed the household and child-care tasks. Outdoor work included certain agricultural work (e.g., haying and harvesting, threshing), caring for the livestock, and fishing. Women grew and processed flax and wool for spinning, and they spun and wove cloth. While the men were at work or peddling, the younger women often handled the farming and fishing, too. They did not engage in hunting. The older women took care of the household tasks and child raising. In addition to their gainful employment and farming, the men were also skilled carpenters and did their own building. Men were involved in handicrafts such as wood-, straw-, and birch-bark work, smithing, and ceramics, but never those involving textiles. Children first helped with the household chores and looked after their siblings, then gradually became involved in tending the stock and other outdoor tasks. In addition to a division of labor by gender, one can also note a division by generation.

Land Tenure. Conditions of landownership have varied throughout the course of history. In the early nineteenth century Finnish Karelia was still dominated by the so-called system of land grants, which had developed in the previous century, in which the land was in the hands of a few noblemen, the peasants having the right to use it. In the late nineteenth century the peasants were given the right to purchase land for themselves; the state took over some of the land and some peasants became tenant farmers; after 1917 these tenants gained the right to purchase their farms. In nineteenth-century Russian Karelia the peasants were chiefly the czar's peasants but also served the gentry and the monasteries. At that time, there were mirs—village communities that had a collective right to use village land. The reforms of 1861 and 1906–1914 gave the peasants the right to purchase land shares for their own use. An even greater part of the formerly communal land shifted to private ownership. Following the Revolution all land reverted to common ownership, either as cooperative or state farms, in conjunction with the collectivization begun in 1929.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. There were three categories of relatives (*sugulaiset, omaizet*): first-degree relatives (blood relatives), determined by descent through the male line; second-degree relatives (relations through marriage); and third-degree relatives (religious, or so-called spiritual relations). The importance of lineage of the first type is a factor in all decisions concerning the members of the lineage (e.g., in land use); this is evident in life rituals. Second-degree lineage is more formal.

Kinship Terminology. Kinship terminology varies with degree of relationship. Most terms for blood relatives are common to other Baltic-Finnish languages—and thus are very old: namely, *emä* (mother), *izä* (father), *poiga* (son), *tytär* (daughter), *sisar* (sister), and *velli* (brother). Exceptions are the terms of the third-degree relatives, which are included in this blood-relative category: namely, *rist'izä* (godfather) and *rist'emä* (godmother), reflecting the im-

portant role of godfather and godmother. In case of the parents' death, they are obliged to take care of the child. Most kinship terms based on marriage are of Russian origin: *svajakka* (wife's sister's husband or wife's brother), *svuat* (son-in-law's/daughter-in-law's father), *n'evesk* (bride), *zeniha* (bridegroom), *surd'ak* (wife's brother). Some terms for blood relatives are of Russian origin, too: namely, *d'ädä* (uncle) and *t'ötä* (aunt).

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Marriage is a union of two lineages. Traditional weddings lasted several days, with plenty to eat and drink, magical occurrences, poems, and lamentations. The percentage of church weddings was not large. Small-scale weddings, in which the bride moved to the groom's home, with the ceremony performed only thereafter, began to develop in the late nineteenth century.

Domestic Unit. In the early twentieth century, and still to some degree until World War II, extended families of three or four generations did exist, although the common domestic unit was the nuclear family. The family can be categorized as patriarchal, patrilinear, and patrilocal. If a family had no sons, the daughter's husband could come to live in the house as a *kodaväνy* (live-in son-in-law). The *izändä* (head of the household) was the father or oldest son, who directed the outdoor work and made financial decisions. The *emändä* (mistress of the house), generally the wife of the *izändä* or oldest woman, supervised stock raising and indoor tasks. Gender division was also expressed by the names for the wife: if her first child were a boy, she was called *mucoi*, *akka* if the child were a girl.

Inheritance. Land inheritance could be either in the form of actual ownership or land use. Although different laws were enacted in Finnish and Russian Karelia, there were many common features regarding inheritance. Men and women had equal legal rights. Widows, too, have been able to inherit the farm and run it. In practice, however, a son generally inherited the farm because women moved to their husbands' homes. According to customary law, the girls received some personal effect from the household (e.g., a cow, goat, textiles, spinning wheel). If the household had no son, the kodavävy or even some outsider's son might become head of the household and in this way inherit it. Currently, Finnish law mandates that the widow and children inherit. In Soviet Karelia individuals could inherit houses and other personal effects, but not land.

Socialization. Previously the Karelians socialized primarily within the family and village. Traditions were strong; the guiding influence of living and dead relatives was great. Tradition had been adapted to the doctrines of the Orthodox church, which represented the official socializing force. In the twentieth century the school, various hobby groups, and mass media have become increasingly important factors in socialization.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Prior to the twentieth century, the majority of Karelians on both sides of the border were either independent landowning peasants, tenant farmers, or landless. Representatives of the first two groups earned their living in part from their own farm and in part from wage labor. A commercial bourgeoisie gradually began to develop in the nineteenth century. There was a small Karelian intelligentsia. After the Revolution, the means of production as well as the land were nationalized in Russian Karelia. Private ownership prevails in Finland.

Political Organization. Before the Revolution the Russian Karelians lived in the districts of Arkhangelsk and Olonec. Afterwards, the Karelian Autonomous Soviet Republic, divided into fifteen districts (*raions*), was established. The republic was governed by the president, Supreme Soviet, and higher party officials. Beneath them were the local soviets (area, village, and town councils). Throughout history, Finnish Border Karelia has sometimes been under Russian, sometimes under Swedish-Finnish rule. In the nineteenth century the region was a part of the autonomous Grand Duchy of Finland and thus a part of the Russian Empire. After the 1917 Revolution, the portion of Border Karelia that was part of independent Finland began to develop local political organizations.

Social Control. Public opinion and tradition coupled with the national judiciary form the social-control system.

Conflict. Conflicts were national, political, or social. National conflicts were wars or other wrangles, first with Sweden, then with Finland, Novgorod, and Muscovy (later Russia and the USSR). In these wars Karelia had continuously been a battlefield and site of border adjustments. One part of Karelia has always belonged to an eastern state and another to a western one. Social conflicts mainly concerned landownership. Swedish government attempts to assimilate Finnish Karelians to the Finnish people (propagation of Lutheranism, the Finnish language, and the Swedish-Finnish life-style) sometimes involved violence (especially in the seventeenth century). The consequence of this was the mass escape of Karelians to Russia, mostly to Kalinin District (formerly Tver District) near Moscow, where there still are Karelian people.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. By the Middle Ages the Karelians had been converted to Orthodox Christianity. Today there are also Lutheran Karelians, especially in Finland, and Karelians who profess no religion. Alongside Christianity and blended with it, however, persisting into the twentieth century, a pre-Christian religion with mythological features still existed (animal ceremonialism, cult worship of the dead, and guardian spirits). There is a great deal of mythological material in the folk poetry of the *Kalevala*. The *haldii* were the guardian spirits of nature, animals, and certain cultural places. Until the end of the nineteenth century a sect of Old Believers (Starovera, also Raskolniki), who had been excommunicated from the Orthodox church in the late seventeenth century, was widespread in Russian Karelia. The Old Believer religion played a role in hindering the advance of institutionalized Christianity.

Religious Practitioners. The Orthodox religion was instituted by the church and its leaders, the traditional religion by family or village representatives. The many forms of guardian spirits and death-cult worship were assimilated into the Christian church's worship of saints. Traditional

religious specialists have included the seer or wise man (Karelian: *tiedäjä*; Finnish: *tiedoiniekku* [both derived from the word *tietää*, "to see or know"]; Russian: *patvashka*).

Ceremonies. In addition to Christian ceremonies (and partially assimilated into them), there are ceremonies pertaining to the death cult and the worship of guardian spirits. The funeral ceremonies, *muistajaiset*, were held at specified times (see "Death and Afterlife"). Mourners lamented beside the grave and brought food to the deceased. In the twentieth century animal sacrifice (mainly bulls and rams) was still made for the blessing of livestock. The sacrifice was combined with the *pruazniekka*, the festival held in honor of the village's Christian patron saint.

Arts. The Karelians are known for their old epic and lyric folk poetry, which the Finnish scientist Elias Lönnrot collected (both in Finnish and in Russian Karelia) and published in the middle of the nineteenth century, the *Kalevala*, which is called the Finnish national epic or the Finnish-Karelian epic. The Karelians are also known for their spells and lamentations, wooden architecture since the eighteenth century (e.g., the Kiz Church and monumental peasant houses), and the ancient petroglyphs on the shore of Lake Onega.

Medicine. Popular folk medicine, practiced by seers (tiedäjä) possessing a knowledge of rational healing methods as well as spells and magic, has long coexisted with official medicine. The seers previously employed shamanism. The great ones were usually men. Lesser seers used homeopathy and other rational methods.

Death and Afterlife. The Karelian concept of death and afterlife is multilayered: Christian notions have been superimposed on animism and the age-old Eurasian shamanic view of a tripartite world. It was believed that the *pokoinikk* (deceased) lived among the living for forty days following death, after which he or she moved into the land of the dead. In the muistajaiset (generally the ninth, twelfth, and fortieth days after the funeral), the deceased was invoked and remembered as a family member, informed of events, and asked for his or her blessing. Communication with the dead occurred through ritualistic lamentations, which are still performed by women today.

See also Saami

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KAIJA HEIKKINEN

Kazakhs

ETHNONYM: Kazaks

Orientation

Identification. Kazakhs are a Central Asian people who live mainly in Kazakhstan, formerly the Kazakh SSR. The so-called Kirghiz SSR was established as part of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic in 1920 and renamed the Kazakh SSR in 1926. In 1991 it declared its sovereignty and independence and began to be called the Republic of Kazakhstan. Toward the end of 1991 it voluntarily joined the other states that formed the Commonwealth of Independent States. The Republic of Kazakhstan is a multicultural state, with members of numerous different ethnic groups living there. A significant portion of the population is Slavic, mainly Russians and Ukrainians, who constitute nearly half the population in some northern areas. Also living in Kazakhstan are Uzbeks, Kyrgyz, Tajiks, Turkmens, Uighur, Tatars, Dungans, Germans, Koreans, Greeks, Kurds, Turks, Mordvins, and many peoples from the Caucasus, especially the northern Caucasus.

The self-name of the Kazakh people—"Kazakh" or "Kazak"—has existed, according to written sources, since the seventeenth century and was generally known to neighboring peoples by the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Russians, who called them "Kazakhs" or "the Kazatskaye" (or also "Kazattskaya"), subsequently began to call them "Kyrgyz" (although the actual Kyrgyz are the Karakyrgyz or Will Stone Kyrgyz), "Kazak-Kyrgyz," "Kyrgyz-Kaisak," and "Kyrgyz-Kazakh." This occurred because the Russians sought to differentiate the Kazakhs from the Russian Cossacks who had settled in neighboring regions of Siberia at the beginning of the eighteenth century, or in Kazakh territory itself. Only in 1926, when the Kazakhs gained national autonomy, was the name of the Kirghiz ASSR changed to Kazakh and did the Kazakhs regain the use of their traditional name.

Location. The territory of the Kazakhs, known as Kazakhstan, is quite large. It stretches from the Balkhash

Lowlands in the east to the Ural River in the west (about 3,000 kilometers) and from the Syr Darya and Chu river systems and the Tobol River in the south to the Imum and the Irtysh rivers in the north (about 2,000 kilometers). Basically the region consists of steppe, desert, and semidesert lands, which in the east and southeast are bounded by the Altai and Tianshan massifs. In the extreme northwest are the southern marshes of the Common Syrt; in the south the wide, flat Pre-Caspian Lowlands and, further on, the desert peninsula of Mangyshlak. The Ural River flows almost all the way across the Common Syrt and the Pre-Caspian Lowlands, emptying into the Caspian Sea. To the west, Europe begins at the Ural Mountains, and Asia is to the east.

The Mangyshlak Peninsula, along with the low mountain ridges of the Aktar and Karatar, is distinguished by deep hollows, the deepest of which—Karagie—is 132 meters below sea level. To the east from Mangyshlak there extends the desert plateau of Ust Urt. Both of these places are now used by the Kazakhs for winter pasturage. To the northeast lie the Pre-Caspian Lowlands bordering the spurs of the Urals and the low mountain massif of Mugogzhari. Further east lie the Turgay plateau and, south of it, the Tuvan Lowlands filled by the desert of Kyzylkum. To the north of the Aral Sea are the sandy massifs of the great and small Balger. The desert of the Pre-Aral Kanakum is north of the Aral Sea. The Aral Sea has recently become well known, as it is gradually growing shallow and creating an ecological crisis. Since ancient times, the Kazakhs have used this region for winter pasturage for their cattle.

Further to the east, the Kazakhs occupy the southern region of the western Siberian plain, to the south of which spreads the fine summer pasturage that the Kazakhs affectionately call the Sary-Arka. Yet further to the south is the desert of Betpak-Dala. The Chu River, its waters flowing from the west, separates the southern part of Betpak-Dala from the sands of Muyunkum. From the southeast to the northwest the land is framed by the mountain ridges of the Karatay. To the east of the Betpak-Dala Desert lies Lake Balkhash and, to the south of the lake, the well-known province of Gernirechye, or, as the Kazakhs call it, Jetys.

The wide variation in the landscape and variable distances from the oceans have led to a climate that is basically continental but with marked regional variation. In the north the winters are cold and long, with temperatures dipping to as low as -45° C. In the central regions winters are moderate, and in the south they are gentle and short, almost without snow. Summers are dry and range from warm in the north to hot in the south.

Precipitation is rare almost everywhere other than the mountains, and especially so in the desert regions, where it is less than 10 centimeters per year. Only in the foothills and mountains is rainfall plentiful, ranging from 40 to 160 centimeters per year. Winds blow across the entire region; in the steppe lands these winds turn into severe snowstorms (*buran*) in the winter, and in the fall (and less often in the summer) into dust storms. The variations in topogaphy and climate have also produced marked variation in the distribution of water sources. Although there are about 85,000 lakes, many are in the mountains in the north, with hardly any in the desert and semidesert regions. The water level in lakes and rivers rises and falls markedly with the seasons, and during droughts some dry up completely in the summer months. The water in the great majority of lakes is saline. Fresh water is found only in the steppe lands and the mountains and in the flatland along the major rivers and lakes. The two seas—the Caspian and Aral—and the largest lakes, including Balkhash, are isolated basins. Only major rivers such as the Ishim, Irtysh, and Tobal cross the Kazakh region and extend into other regions.

The flora is diverse. Many varieties of grain (feather grass, wormwood, and *tipchak*—an oatlike grass that grows in steppes and deserts) flourish in the steppe in the north; the main summer pasturage is found here. Wormwood and grasses predominate in semidesert regions. Most of Kazakh territory is desert covered by drought-resistant bushes, small brush, and different grasses called salt grass (*solyanka*). In the sandy deserts are sand wormwood, sage, acacias, and haloxyon (*saksaul*). In the flatland are *tugainye* woods, and around the lakes reeds are found in abundance. The foothills are covered with poppies and tulips. Higher up in the mountains are bushes and mixed woods of aspen and birch and, even higher, coniferous forests. In the forest belt, fed by the glacial streams, are alpine and subalpine meadows with a rich variety of flora. The soil in Kazakhstan is mostly fertile. In the north it is chernozem, to the south *chermits* soils are most common, and in the desert regions there is a mix of red-brown, grey-brown, and sandy soils. Agriculture in the desert regions requires irrigation.

As with the flora, there is also a rich variety of fauna including 155 varieties of mammals, 480 of birds, 49 of reptiles, 11 of amphibians, 150 of fish, and many invertebrates.

Demography. According to the 1989 census, there were 8,136,000 Kazakhs in the lands of the Soviet Union, with 6,535,000 in Kazakhstan. Kazakhs also live in Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan in Central Asia and in Russia. Over 1 million live in other countries, mainly China, Mongolia, and Turkey, and in Europe.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Kazakh language belongs to the Northwest or Kipchak Group of Turkish languages of the Ural-Altaic Family. Together with Karakalpak and Nogay it forms the Kipchak-Nogay Subgroup of the Kipchak languages. Kazakh has three dialects—Western, North-Eastern, and Southern.

History and Cultural Relations

Much archaeological and documentary evidence establishes the continuous history of Kazakhstan from the Late Paleolithic era. In the late Bronze Age (end of the second to the beginning of the first millenia B.C.) the inhabitants of the steppe region began practicing nomadic animal husbandry, mining, and the production of bronze wares. More than 100 settlements dating to the Bronze Age, with foundaries for the fusion of metals and the manufacture of weapons, tools, and ornaments, have been discovered. In the following period (roughly from the first millenium B.C. to the Christian Era) the nomadic tribes of Kazakhstan began to consolidate into larger units—the Saks (Scythians) tribal union in southern (Semirechie), eastern, and

central Kazakhstan, and the Savromat Confederacy to the west and partly to the north. Ideologically, the cults of the sun and fire dominated worship of the goddess-guardian of the domestic hearth and of fertility and totemism, and magical practices were retained. The well-known Scythian-Saksian style flourished, renowned to this day for its artistry and expressivity. Subsequently, new, more powerful tribal unities developed, these showing early signs of centralized state power: Usuni, and Kangyugi (in southern Kazakhstan the Semirechie), which maintained contacts with Bactria and the empires of Kushan, Panthia, and China.

In the second 500 years of the first millennium A.D. a process of feudalization took place. Powerful feudal states such as the Old Turkish, Tyurgesh, Karluk, Oguz, Kumak, and Kipchak ruled the region, with each tending to replace the next. In 1219–1220 Mongol Tatars conquered the region; their rule restricted cultural and economic development. The emergence of the Kazakhs as a distinct ethnic group occurred in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries with the rise of the Kazakh Khanate. There were three powerful entities called zhuz (Russian: *orda*): the Old Zhuz in southern Kazakhstan and the Semirechie, the Middle Zhuz in central and northern Kazakhstan, and the Young Zhuz in western Kazakhstan. At the start of the nineteenth century the Bukeev Zhuz broke away from the Young Zhuz and occupied the Pre-Caspian steppe between the Volga and Ural rivers. Each of the zhuzes consisted of a number of tribes, which were further subdivided into smaller tribes and clans within the tribes. The clans were unified internally by common ancestry.

During the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries the "traditional" culture of the Kazakhs was established, including house type, furnishings, utensils, clothing, food, rituals, art, and oral tradition. All customs and beliefs were strongly influenced by the nomadic and seminomadic animal husbandry that was the basis of Kazakh life.

In the first quarter of the eighteenth century the survival of the Kazakhs was threatened by invasions of the Jungans from the east in 1713, 1718, and 1722–1723, a period known as "the years of the great disaster." The Jungans seized a significant amount of Kazakh land, and some Kazakh tribes and clans fled west and established protective ties with the Russians. In 1731 the Kazakhs of the Young Zhuz (Khan Abulkhair) and some from the Middle Zhuz accepted Russian citizenship. The unification of Kazakhstan with Russia was completed by the 1860s, and, as a result, the Kazakh steppe was ringed by Russian military lines and fortifications, which served to strengthen the Russian Empire. The basic military force was drawn from Cossack settlements, to which were given over 67 million hectares of the best Kazakh land. During the unification process the power of the Kazakh khans was weakened (the Young Zhuz in 1824 and the Nukeev Zhuz in 1845), and a new administrative system based on the rule of the czar was introduced. The new system delineated the following territories: West-Siberian, later Steppe (with the Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk regions); Orenburg, with its Ural and Tungai provinces; Turkestan territory, with its Syr-Dal'in and Semirechie provinces. In turn the provinces (*oblasts*) were subdivided into regions (*uezds*) and the regions into districts (*volosts*). Kazakh lands were declared to be state property and granted for usufruct without a time limit.

During this period, the Kazakh economy also changed markedly. Trade increased, agriculture developed, and the first industrial enterprises, mainly devoted to the processing of agricultural raw materials, were developed. The territory was also settled by large numbers of peasants from European Russia, and Kazakhstan became a multicultural region. The presence of the Russians affected the Kazakhs in a variety of ways. On the one hand, they lost large tracts of the best pasturage because this land was allotted to the settlers. On the other hand, the settlers were involved in the development of Kazakh agriculture and the emergence of a Kazakh ethnic consciousness. A Kazakh bourgeoisie was born, and a working class began to emerge—both entirely new social groupings for the Kazakhs.

During World War I large numbers of Kazakhs were mobilized for rear-echelon work. In 1916 an anticolonial movement flared up, only to be harshly suppressed; 300,000 Kazakhs were forced to migrate beyond the boundaries of Russia, some to China and Mongolia. During the 1917 Revolution and the civil war and in subsequent periods, the Kazakhs shared the same fate as other peoples of the USSR. On the one hand, a backward, agrarian region was transformed into an agricultural, industrialized republic. As a result, a high culture emerged, characterized by literature, art, science, and technology. These years, however, were also marked by cruel famines, especially during the years of massive collectivization, which for the pastoral Kazakhs was accompanied by enforced settlement, epidemics, and many Stalinist repressions that killed millions of people. For example, during the famines of the 1930s the populations of entire villages perished—hundreds of thousands of Kazakh families. Those who survived left their property and herds behind and set off for Siberia, Central Asia, and other regions. Approximately 1 million Kazakhs dispersed in China, Mongolia, Afghanistan, and other countries. Nearly 200,000 of these returned in 1934; the rest remained abroad. During the 1930s, mass purges and campaigns against "enemies of the people" were carried out among the Kazakhs, as among the other peoples of the USSR. As a result of all these tragic events, 1.75 million Kazakhs perished—nearly 40 percent of the total population.

Despite these horrific human losses, the national economy of Kazakhstan nevertheless developed steadily. In the prewar years, 200 large-scale industrial enterprises were established, land-tenure regulations for the former Kazakh nomads and seminomads were implemented, and livestock raising and agriculture were improved.

World War II interrupted the peaceful development of the Kazakh Republic. More than 1.2 million citizens of Kazakhstan were drafted into military service and participated in the defense of the USSR. According to data from 1946, 96,638 Kazakh veterans received decorations and medals of distinction.

During the war the Kazakh homeland also played a vital role in the country's economy, providing coal, oil, and various metals and furnishing the army with food products. Also during the war, Kazakhstan accommodated more than 1 million Russians, Ukrainians, Belarussians, and

other peoples of the Soviet Union evacuated from frontline areas.

In the postwar period, the Kazakhs endured several unfortunate events. In the mid-1950s, there was a mass "opening up" of the virgin steppe lands. With the help of 640,000 immigrant workers who arrived to aid the Kazakhs, more than 1.8 million hectares of land were plowed and sown—that is, approximately 60 percent of the total area of the country's newly opened land. In 1956 Kazakhstan provided the state with more than 1 billion *puds* (36 billion lbs/16.38 billion kg) of bread. This was more than in the eleven preceding years combined. The virgin land epic was ill-conceived, however. Over a huge area the most fertile layer of soil (humus) was destroyed by erosion. In addition, the lands previously used for pasture, the best ones, were reduced, which seriously undermined the basis of the Kazakhs' traditional occupation, livestock raising. The ecological situation in Kazakhstan deteriorated, as the plowing up of the steppes resulted in a reduction of the number of livestock and the stocks of wild animals and birds and the drying up of the rivers and lakes.

In the rural areas, less than one-half of all children are provided with preschool institutions; most medical facilities are ill-equipped, lacking medicine and medical supplies; and hospital beds are poorly distributed. The homes of rural Kazakhs, as a rule, lack running water and sewer systems; more than 700 settlements use imported water. Many cities, including large ones, are experiencing a severe shortage of water. In remote districts, where mainly Kazakhs dwell, a low standard of living remains: there is a high infant and maternal mortality rate and a high rate of disease in general.

Not every aspect of the development of industry was well received. Although Kazakhstan is an industrially developed country, the structure of the national economy is one-sided: the principle emphasis has been on the attainment and initial processing of raw materials. All of these factors led to serious socioeconomic complications and to a shortage of industrial goods and food products.

To this one must add the irreparable changes in the ecosystem as a result of 40 years of systematic nuclear testing in the Semipalatinsk region. The air, earth, rivers, and lakes of the once-blossoming region were contaminated with radioactivity in a large area around the testing ground; the people, especially the children, as well as the animals and plants are suffering from the effects of these acts.

An ecological tragedy is coming about with the unprecedented drying up of the Aral Sea. Because of the shortage of water, the dispersal of poisonous chemical fertilizers, and the general contamination of the land and water, everyone living within a few kilometers of the Aral Sea is perishing. The tragedy affects not only Kazakhs but other peoples as well—the Turkmens, the Uzbeks, and the Karakalpaks who live in the basin of the Aral Sea.

The events outlined above have led to an exacerbation of socioeconomic and political problems and to dissatisfaction manifesting itself in various ways. On 17 December 1986 student disturbances broke out in the capital of Kazakhstan, Alma-Ata. As a result of provocation, clashes between youths and the militia flared up, causing numerous casualties. Nearly 1,700 people were injured and more than 8,000 arrested and detained, many of whom were convicted. At the present time these events have been reappraised as struggles for democratic freedom. December 17 has been proclaimed Kazakhstan's Day of Democracy.

In June 1989 long unresolved social problems in the city of Novyi Uzen' (Mangyshlak Peninsula) led to interethnic conflicts—members of seventy ethnic groups, many from the Caucasus, live in the city alongside Kazakhs. As a result of the riots, lives were lost and strikes were held repeatedly at the mines of the Karagandin coal basin.

The modern political life of the Kazakhs is very active. Legislators are passing a series of laws that are fundamentally changing the lives of the people of Kazakhstan. The president of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Nursultan Nazarbaev, was popularly elected and enjoys the support of most of the population, especially the Kazakhs. In September 1991, the Communist party of Kazakhstan was renamed the Socialist party. Other parties have arisen, including the Social Democratic party, the Alash Party of National Independence, and the Republican party, along with many social movements. Testing at the atomic proving ground of Semipalatinsk Oblast has been discontinued. The Aral Sea Basin has been declared a zone of ecological disaster, and measures are being taken to rectify the aftereffects of this catastrophe. Among the laws adopted by the Parliament of the Republic of Kazakhstan, notable are the laws connected with the development of the culture and language of the Kazakh people as well as those of other ethnic groups living in the territory of Kazakhstan. The Kazakh language has become the state language, although Russian continues to be the language of international relations. Legislation about teaching and record keeping in the languages of other nationalities in areas where they live in dense concentration has also been passed.

Fundamental economic changes have come about. Joint-stock companies, cooperative works, and the privatization of businesses have been authorized. The number of farm-based economies is growing. Land is given to farmers for unlimited use, including the right to inherit it. On collective and state farms, leases are receiving widespread distribution; anyone may rent a portion of land to cultivate crops, in return for a portion of the harvest but is entitled to sell the remainder at market price. Since 1992, in Kazakhstan as in many other republics of the former USSR, free prices for food and industrial products have been introduced, with the exception of products of primary necessity. In short, a market economy is being developed.

Settlements

As of 1989, 16,538,000 people live in Kazakhstan, of which 57 percent are urban dwellers and 43 percent rural residents. The capital of the republic, Alma-Ata, was founded in 1854 and is situated at a height of 700–900 meters by the northern slopes of the Zailiiski Altai range; its population is 1,132,000. There are 82 cities and 132 urban-type settlements in Kazakhstan. The 17 provinces (oblasts) include 218 rural and 33 urban districts. In the cities Kazakhs live in large apartment buildings, paying monthly rent, as well as in houses of the rural type, which,

in general, they own. In the rural settlements and *auls* of rural areas, Kazakhs live in houses of their own construction. A portion of rural dwellers use houses built for them on collective or state farms. At the present time, measures are being undertaken toward the privatization of all housing. A distinguishing feature of the Kazakhs living in rural areas is the retention of the traditional transportable dwelling—the yurt—in several regions of Kazakhstan (the Mangyshlak Peninsula, the areas around the Syr Darya, etc.), even up to the present. The yurt is a round, collapsible dwelling consisting of a wooden frame covered in felt. The basis of the frame is several sliding wooden lattices (*kerge*), which fold up when collapsed. The bigger these lattices are, the bigger are the yurts themselves. Long curved poles (*uuk*) are attached to these lattices from above, the sharp upper ends of which are put into a wooden hoop (*shangyrak*). Thus the roof of the yurt has a dome-shaped appearance. In one place between the lattices Kazakhs fasten a wooden bivalved door frame. A flap of felt on the hoop of the yurt's dome is tied back to form an opening for smoke from the hearth, which is traditionally positioned in the center of the yurt, slightly closer to the door. Today yurts are used mainly during the summer. They serve as dwellings chiefly for families of shepherds who set off with their herds for the summer pastures. Other rural inhabitants set up yurts near their homes in the summer.

The entire internal space of the yurt is strictly arranged according to tradition. Opposite the door by the wall is the *zhuk*, where trunks filled with household items are stacked; during the day the bedding is also piled up there. The place in front of the zhuk is considered the most honored (*tor*). The most esteemed guest occupies this spot and, in the event no guest is present, the master of the yurt does so. The floor of this area is covered with fleece carpets or even fur bedding over the usual felt. The woman's half of the yurt is located to the left of the tor, where she stores household tools and food supplies as well as the large skin bag (*saba*) for *kumys* (a beverage prepared from sour mare's milk). The bedding of the master and his wife is located nearer to the tor. The area to the right of the tor is considered the male half, where the horse harness, saddle, and the master's tools are found. Closer to the door is the place reserved for the younger members of the family, including sometimes even a married son. The door of the Kazakh yurt always faces south. Kazakhs still try to preserve the traditional layout of the yurt's interior as much as possible.

Among the settled and semisettled Kazakhs (among the latter during their winter camp), permanent dwellings are found, differing according to the climatic conditions of the vast Kazakh homeland and depending on the influence of neighboring settled peoples. Thus, among the northern Kazakhs, a permanent dwelling in a yurtlike form was originally widespread, as is common among peoples of western Siberia. In the south and west of Kazakhstan, the ancient form of dwelling was the adobe cottage. In the middle of the nineteenth century, however, quadrangular buildings with flat roofs covered with earth and turf appeared. As a rule, these were built without a foundation and had an earthen floor, which was covered with felt and carpets. They utilized turf, adobe bricks, wood, and stone as building materials.

Today the rural dwelling of the Kazakhs is a rather large accommodation with several rooms. Usually there is a room for the elderly, in which they maintain the traditions particularly strongly. There is also a guest room with modern furnishings. The kitchen is set off separately. Even now, however, the whole life of a family is spent in a single room, especially during the winter. Many rural homes have their own steam heating.

Despite the predominance of a nomadic or seminomadic life-style among the Kazakhs, they did construct a large number of "cult" monuments—funerary buildings (see "Death and Afterlife").

Economy

In the pre-Revolutionary period the Kazakhs were prominent on the Eurasian Steppe, leading nomadic and seminomadic life-styles. Their chief occupation was livestock raising; the animals were kept in pastures year-round. These pastures were divided according to season—summer, spring/fall, and winter, based on when grass was sufficient, in turn depending on climatic conditions. The summer pastures were located in the north, in the steppe zone, with abundant, lush grass. It was impossible to remain there during the winter, however, as the huge amount of snow would not permit the livestock to graze. Therefore the nomadic livestock breeders were required to move with their herds far to the south to the desert and semidesert zones in the winter, where vegetation flourished after the autumn rains and where there was little snow. Sometimes the migration reached upwards of 1,000–1,500 kilometers. En route, the nomads would stay for a short while at the spring/fall pastures when they were migrating to the north in the spring and to the south during the fall. Such a migratory system was quite widespread among the Kazakh nomads and seminomads; it has been designated "meridianal" in the literature.

In the mountainous regions the nomadic and seminomadic Kazakhs passed the winter in the valleys of the mountain rivers and ravines, where there was little snow, whereas in the summer they and their herds went high into the mountains to the alpine and subalpine meadows. This type of migration is called "vertical."

The particular nomadic life-style determined the specific makeup of the herd. The domesticated animals had to withstand travel during the lengthy migration and, crucially, had to be able to procure food for themselves from under the snow during the winter. The horse was most suited to these conditions and was thus highly prized among the Kazakhs. The horse was also the main transport and riding animal, able to cover a long distance in a relatively short time. The horse also supplied kumys, which has been revered since the days of the Scythian nomads. Horse meat was also considered most tasty and nutritious; horse hair was used in the preparation of strong, thick ropes.

In early childhood the Kazakh nomad was given a colt, which she or he called by name, looked after, and by the age of 5 to 7 was already riding. Adult Kazakhs, both men and women, were spectacular riders; so great was there skill

that several researchers noted that the rider seemed to become one with the horse. The importance of the horse in the life of the Kazakh nomads is further attested by the fact that instead of "to the left" the Kazakhs say "mounting side" (*minar yak*); instead of "to the right" they say "whip[-holding] side" (*kamshi yagt*). From as early as the Scythian-Sak period, nomadic livestock breeders have revered the horse as a totemic animal.

Sheep have no lesser significance to the Kazakh nomads and seminomads. As with the horse, the Kazakhs had their own particular breed of sheep, which was well suited to the conditions of year-round pasturing without warm refuge during the winter. "Fatty-tail" sheep were particularly prized—that is, sheep that instead of a tail had a large fatty growth that reached a weight of 10–16 kilograms. Kazakhs get all that is necessary for life from sheep. From its wool they make felt, with which they cover the traditional nomadic dwelling, the yurt, and make felt carpets decorated with multicolored ornamentation. They cover the earthen floor in the yurt with these carpets. In the winter the Kazakhs put stockings of thin felt in their boots for warmth. Felt is also used as a saddlecloth.

From sheepskins, which the Kazakhs, as a rule, process themselves, they sew warm coats, hats, and sometimes men's trousers. The pelts of domestic animals, including sheep, are sent to market. A minority of Kazakhs also raise goats, from which they also get milk, meat, wool, and pelts.

Camels serve as the basic beast of burden among the Kazakh nomads and seminomads. During the migrations they load all domestic goods on them, including the dismantled parts of the yurts. Kazakhs keep fewer camels than they do other domestic animals, however. Even rich families possess no more than fifty to sixty camels; other households, the poorer ones, have no more than three or four—that is, only as many as are required to transfer all domestic items during the migrations. In several regions of Kazakhstan—on the Mangyshlak Peninsula, for example—the Kazakhs drink *shubat* (the sour milk of camels), which is their preferred beverage. Camel's wool is valued for its great warmth. Like the horse and the sheep, the camel is highly esteemed by the Kazakhs. Muslims view it as a holy animal.

The Kazakhs also raise cattle. Among the nomads, it is true that there are only a few, and often none, because they are not suited for long and rapid migrations and are not capable of procuring food for themselves from underneath the snow. Relatively more cattle are found among the seminomads, who, in contrast with the nomads, undertake shorter migrations and prepare hay for the livestock to eat during winter. Cattle are not only a source of milk, meat, and leather; they are also the principle beast of burden in agricultural endeavors.

In general, the Kazakhs grew a variety of grains: wheat, millet, a little rye, barley, and others. At present Kazakh farmers, for the most part, raise the best kinds of wheat: the so-called hard (durum) wheats. The cultivation of rice, peas, corn, and industrial crops, especially cotton and tobacco, is widespread. In the south of Kazakhstan, the cultivation of fruits and vegetables is developing.

In a number of regions of Kazakhstan where the conditions are suitable for irrigation agriculture—along large rivers and lakes, for example, or in foothill regions where streams abound—the Kazakhs have always practiced agriculture.

Food. Kazakhs make butter and various types of curds and cheese from sheep's milk. The most widespread is a dry cheese from sour milk, *kurt*. It is one of the chief means of nourishment for the average Kazakh in the winter months, when there is no milk. The Kazakhs always boil sheep or cow's milk; only mare's milk is used fresh and, in this case, always soured. The most beloved and widespread Kazakh dish is boiled lamb, in Kazakh *bes barmak* ("five fingers," since the Kazakhs, like many other Eastern peoples, eat with their hands). They give the specially prepared lamb's head to the most esteemed guest.

Division of Labor. The community is divided into smaller units, auls, which consist of closely related families headed by the senior member, an *aksakala* ("white beard"). Usually this is the father, although the adult married sons head the other households. After the father's death, his oldest son becomes head of the aul.

The households of the aul cooperate in many labor-intensive activities, such as tending the livestock. The most difficult jobs necessitate the strength of many workers; for example, the shearing of sheep in spring and fall requires the combined efforts of the households and auls of the entire nomadic community. At present, Kazakhs are trying to preserve the traditional forms of the family, especially in rural areas; under urban conditions, this is obviously more difficult.

Land Tenure. The summer pastures are usually under the governance and use of individual clans, which consist of several nomadic kin groups or communities. The winter pastures, as a rule, are in the common use of the small nomadic community. Water sources for livestock are a chief concern of the nomadic breeders. Best of all are natural sources: rivers, streams, lakes, and so forth. Frequently, however, livestock can slake their thirst only from wells; therefore these are the property of the individual households that dug them, or of the aul. The right to use the pastures nearest to the well follows from this. There are also wells that belong to the entire clan. As a rule, such wells were dug long ago. The land-use pattern of the seminomadic Kazakhs is similar, but in contrast with the nomads, they also have hay-growing areas for the preparation of winter fodder. As a rule, these hay-growing areas are under the control of individual households and are spread out near the winter pastures. Also located here are the arable lands: seminomadic Kazakhs engage in varying degrees in agriculture along with raising livestock. The poorer a household is, the more it relies on agriculture. The poorest families, who have no livestock, have abandoned seminomadism and live year-round in one location, engaging in agriculture or some other business. Thus, they constitute the settled population among the Kazakhs.

Industrial Arts. In addition to raising livestock and practicing agriculture, the Kazakhs engage in a variety of manufactures. Only women process wool and prepare various items from it, but both men and women process leather and pelts. Woodworking and metalwork are in the domain of the men. Traditionally, only Kazakh men were

occupied with tending the livestock (including the milking of the horses), whereas women performed all domestic tasks, including the erecting and dismantling of the yurts during the migrations. Notable for their quality are the preparation of various felts and the working of leather and pelts for clothing, various types of skin vessels, saddles, and so forth. Woodworking is widespread, including the preparation of the wooden parts of the yurt, saddles, trunks, and wooden vessels, which like the skin vessels are indispensible in nomadic conditions. Many wooden products are adorned with carvings. One of the most ancient trades of the Kazakhs is metalwork: the fabrication of weapons and instruments of labor as well as household items. The art of silver adornment is highly refined.

The ,years of Soviet dominance were marked by the fostering of a nihilistic attitude toward national culture; as a result, many traditional Kazakh trades disappeared almost completely. Only in the present has a rebirth of traditional Kazakh trades occurred, in conjunction with a general rebirth of national culture.

Clothing. The traditional Kazakh national costume was closely tied to their nomadic life-style. Thus, the oldest materials used in clothing preparation were cloths woven from camel or sheep wool, thin felts, skins, and fur. In ancient times, however, they had already begun sewing clothing from manufactured fabrics—cottons, silks, and wools from Central Asia, China, and, from the eighteenth century on, from Russia. In our own time, fabrics of industrial manufacture have supplanted all others. The men's outfit traditionally consisted of an undershirt and pants, which in the summer also served as work clothes. Over the shirt, men wore long *beru kavkas* or *beshmets* (quilted coats, narrow but widening toward the bottom, knee-length with long sleeves). The *shapan*—a robe with long sleeves tapering from the shoulder to the fingers, with a stand-up collar, worn open and therefore always with a belt—was ubiquitous. Poor Kazakhs fashioned their shapans from homewoven camel wool; the rich, however, made them from velvet, heavy cloth, or silk of bright colors. Depending on the weather, Kazakhs would wear one shapan over another. In the wintertime, they wore coats sewn from sheepskin—either double-sided or not—or from skins of lamb, ferret, marten, and fox. The outer trousers were made of skins adorned with ornaments, especially among the rich. When setting off on a long journey, the Kazakh horseman inserted the flaps of all the robes he was wearing into these trousers. Their high-heeled boots, sewn of strong skins, were well suited to riding.

The traditional winter headgear of the Kazakhs was a pointed fur cap (*tymak*) with earflaps of lamb's wool or even sable fur, with a felt base covered by heavy cloth. Factory-made caps with earflaps have almost completely supplanted them. In the summer Kazakhs wore hats made from thin white felt with bent-back flaps (*kalpak*); recently such hats have also been replaced by factory-made ones, including ones of felt. It has again become fashionable, however, especially among youths, to wear the traditional felt caps which, incidentally, provide better protection against the cold. These caps have turned into a distinctive "ethno-designative" feature. *Bashlyks* with a crown with a small peak and flaps to cover the ears and neck were sewn from felt and later from cloth. It was usual that the head was always covered, even at night during sleep, if only with a *tyubeteika* (Central Asian embroidered skullcap).

Traditionally, all Kazakh men shaved their heads as well as their mustaches and beards around the lips. At present, only elderly men shave their heads, and most men let their mustaches and beards grow.

The belt was an indispensible part of the traditional costume; Kazakhs tied it over the shapan or trousers, especially when they were preparing to ride. Belts were of silk fabric or skins—the latter were decorated with metallic plates, of silver and sometimes even precious stones, among the rich.

The Kazakh women, like the men, wore a shirt and trousers as undergarments. Sometimes, however, the shirt was long and tunic-shaped and served as a dress. Fashioned out of cotton fabric, the shirt-dress was white (but dark for older women and of bright and variegated colors—usually red—for younger women). Beginning in the middle of the nineteenth century, Kazakhs began to sew these brought in at the waist, to which they attached a wider lower part at the gathers. As an adornment to this lower part of the dress, younger women sewed on two or three frills of the same material. Sometimes they embroidered them and covered them with braids and silk ribbons.

Over the dress women wore sleeveless tunics extending down to the knees, with an open collar and a clasp at the belt. They also wore beshmets. These were sleeveless ones, fashioned of thick cotton, wool, silk, or velvet fabrics. Red, green, or raspberry beshmets of velvet were particularly prized. The women, like the men, wore robes when out and about and sheepskin overcoats in the winter.

Women's footwear consisted of leather boots sewn for one foot—that is, without distinguishing the left side from the right. They also sewed soft boots of green and red leather and adorned them with embroidery. Women's trousers were of almost the same cut as the men's.

A great diversity existed in women's headgear. Variations pointed to age differences, family position, or membership in a given clan. Thus, girls wore elegant caps with a cloth crown, which they decorated without fail, and a fur cap-band (*boryuk*). The decoration was finished with eagle-owl feathers, which had a protective function. The young women wore the most expensive female headdress, *saukele*. This consisted of a tall (up to 70 centimeters) cone of felt, covered in expensive fabric and richly ornamented with various pendants, fur, and precious stones. Along the sides of the saukele descended corals, pendants of beads, and other decorations. From the back of the saukele women attached long, richly embroidered and adorned ribbons or kerchiefs of expensive fabric. Among the rich, the worth of the saukele could reach up to 2,000 silver rubles. Therefore, the saukele passed from one generation to the next in Kazakh families.

In the year after marriage, the young woman donned the headdress of the married woman, which represented a type of cowl of white fabric covering the head, shoulders, breast, and back. Kazakhs call such a headdress *kimeshek*. Young and middle-aged women decorated theirs with embroidery on the outward-facing side; those of the elderly were not embroidered. Among the various Kazakh clan groups, this headgear was differentiated according to cut,

form, and dimensions of the part covering the back. Women wore the kimeshek when at home, and, when going out, they put on a white turban of great width over it.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, multicolored silk shawls with tassels imported from Russia came into fashion. Today, particularly in rural areas, women wear headgear according to their age; if young girls or women appear in public without headgear, they meet with great disapproval from the older generation. Girls do not necessarily wear a headdress at home, especially the daughter of the master of the house. If a young woman wears a headdress, it indicates that she is marriageable.

Women and girls also differed from one another in hairstyle. The former braided their hair into two or three plaits, whereas the girls had many thin braids, sometimes as many as thirty. Young women and girls adorned their braids with shells, metallic plates, pearls, and coins. Rich Kazakh women sported many silver adornments—rings, bracelets, earrings, breast pendants, and so on. Some of these adornments had a sacred significance. Thus, the arms of a woman were considered unclean if she wore no bracelets. As with men, an indispensible attribute of the female costume was a richly ornamented belt of beautiful fabric or even skin.

Many researchers note the influence of the Tatar outfit on both the Kazakh men's and women's attire and, from the mid-nineteenth century, of Russian-style clothing, especially in the cities. In the present, as was noted above, individual parts of the traditional Kazakh attire that serve as ethno-designative features have been preserved. The national costume has been retained to a great degree in rural areas and among the elderly population, especially by the women, as well as among those who most uphold the occupations of the traditional branches of the economy—shepherds, for example. In general, however, Kazakhs today wear clothes of urban cut and of factory manufacture.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Rather close kin relations were preserved between persons counting back to the seventh generation. Men who were united by this kinship group were not allowed to select a wife from it. In other words, an exogamic clan up to the seventh generation existed among the Kazakhs. Several such clans constituted an even larger clan, which also had one common ancestor. In turn, these clans were united into even larger groupings, groups of which formed tribal unities, entering into three zhuz (see "History and Cultural Relations"). The Kazakhs considered all these clans and tribes to have a common origin or forefather. Specialists maintain that although the ancestors of the exogamic clans were actual personages, those of the larger clans and tribes were legendary or fictitious. The oldest zhuz of the Kazakhs consisted of eleven large tribes, namely Dulat, Alban, Suan, Sary-Uysun, Srgeli, Ysty, Oshakty, Chaprashty, Canyshkly (Katagan), Kangly, and Zhalair. All these tribes in ancient times entered into a union of tribes, headed by an *usun*. In turn, each of these enumerated tribes consisted of several large clans. Thus, the Dulat tribe consisted of four clans: Botpay, Chmyr, Saikym, Zhamys. These also consisted of several clans. For example, the Botpay clan had four subclans: Xudaykul, Chagay, Bidas, and Kuralas; the Saikym clan had ten; the Chmyr clan, three; and the Zhamys clan, seven. Each of these subclans was divided into yet smaller groupings down to the exogamic clan and family-kin groups. Every Kazakh knew his own genealogy, at least to seven generations. Thus, the Kazkahs could always determine their kinship ties to one another. Large tribes of Kazakhs entered into the Middle Zhuz: Kipchaks, Argyns, Naimans, Kere, and Uaki. Three large tribes constituted the Younger Zhuz: Bayul, Alimul, and Zetyru. Historical tales and legends associated with the origin of a given clan or tribe also exist. Every Kazakh clan and tribe had its own *tamgy*, a clan symbol, as well as a war cry, the *uran*.

The memory of membership in a given tribe or clan still persists among the Kazakhs, even down to the smallest grouping. The Kazakhs of the oldest generation know this particularly well. In connection with the growth of national self-awareness, the interest in one's past has awakened among the youths as well.

Kinship ties among the Kazakhs were traced along both the male and female lines. The children of the daughters or sisters of a woman were called *zhien* by her other relatives, whereas the latter were called *nagashi* by the former. In accordance with centuries-old traditions, the Kazakhs attempted not to offend their zhiens and not to refuse them anything, insofar as was possible. According to customary laws, the zhien could take any valuables from the relatives of the mother up to three times.

Kinship Terminology. Kazakh kinship terminology shared many features with that of other Turkic peoples of Central Asia, such as differentiation of age within generations, recognition of many degrees of lineal and collateral agnates, and recognition of maternal as well as paternal lines. Consonant with their penchant for calculating kinship, Kazakhs had numerous terms designating consanguinity and affinity.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. A variety of forms of marriage existed among the Kazakhs. The most widespread was marriage via matchmaking and purchase of the bride for a *kalyn* (brideprice). For an individual to enter into marriage, the observance of certain restrictions tied to the exogamic norms—social, national, and sometimes that of the clan/tribal denomination—were required. The exogamous barrier generally was in effect up to the seventh generation (see "Kin Groups and Descent"). The Kazakhs still uphold this restriction. Traditionally, those who violated the exogamic barrier were severely punished, to the point of expulsion from the clan and even death. In social relations, the parents tried as much as possible to become related to families of standing equal to themselves. Historically, in Kazakh marriages ethnicity and religious factors held great significance. Marriages of mixed ethnicity were encountered, however, especially between Kazakh men and Turkic-speaking women who followed Islam. Less frequently did the Kazakhs take wives from among followers of other faiths. According to Sharia (Islamic law), Muslims could marry nonbelievers only if the latter publicly renounced

their faith and adopted Islam. Marriage of Kazakh women to nonbelievers was strictly forbidden. Even in the present, such restrictions generally continue to operate among the Kazakhs.

One form of arranged marriage was the so-called cradle-betrothal, in which the fathers of the future bride and groom negotiated their marriage immediately following the birth of the children.

One of the most ancient forms of marriage among the Kazakhs was abduction, in which, under certain circumstances, the young man abducted his future wife either with her agreement or without it.

As a rule, patrilocal marriage predominated among the Kazakhs. There were instances, however, in which the groom went to live among the relatives of the bride, usually when the daughter was the only child in the family.

Levirate (*emengerlik*) and sororate (*baldyz alu*) exist among the Kazakhs. In accord with the custom of levirate, after the death of her husband, the widow, together with the children and all the property of the deceased, is inherited by his brother (i.e., she becomes his wife). If the wife or a betrothed bride died, the widower husband/groom, according to the custom of sororate, had the right to marry the younger sister of the deceased. Although this custom was not as strongly observed as levirate, individual instances persist in the present day.

There are also remnants of ancient variants of "cousin marriages" among the Kazakhs. The so-called cross-cousin marriage is one in which a man married the daughter of his mother's brother or his father's sister. The "ortho-cousin" marriage was one in which a man married the daughter of his father's brother or of his mother's sister. The latter, of course, would have been a violation of the exogamic norms and therefore was not encountered among the Kazakhs; marriage between children of sisters, however, was frequently encountered, as the exogamy was observed only along the male line.

A necessary condition of Kazakh nuptials was the custom of recompense payment, the kalyn, from the groom's family to the father of the bride. In general, the bride-price consisted of livestock. In response to the bride-price, the bride brought a rich dowry to the home of her intended, which by tradition obligatorily included a yurt.

In accord with custom, Kazakhs could have several wives; Islamic doctrine permitted up to four wives. Kazakhs turned to polygamy, however, only when the first wife was barren; if there were no male heir; by virtue of the tradition of levirate; or because of the inability of the first wife to lead the domestic household, owing to illness, for example. A rich man could have several wives in order to increase the number of his descendants, have sufficient labor resources available, and other reasons. According to custom, the husband had to care completely for all his wives and children.

The senior wife in the house (*baybishe*) occupied a special position with respect to the second and third wives (*tokal*). This often led to strained relations among them and their children. Therefore the Kazakhs tried to separate them into individual households or even auls, insofar as possible.

The wedding ceremonies began with the matchmaking, at which the size of the bride-price and the order of its payments were agreed upon. From this moment on the preparation of the dowry was set into motion in the bride's home. As a rule, the parents carried out the selection of the bride, since frequently the bride and groom did not know each other. Only after payment of part of the bride-price could the groom "secretly" visit the bride.

After the payment of the kalyn, the wedding day (*toy*) was designated. Usually the groom first came to the bride's aul, where the wedding ceremony took place with the aid of a mullah. This was followed by festivities at which various ceremonial songs were sung and everyone was treated to kumys.

The bride departed from her own aul and set off for the groom's home accompanied by the groom and numerous relatives. When the bride approached the groom's home, she covered her face. Entering the house, she greeted the fire at the hearth. Those who gathered for the celebration, generally the groom's relatives, sang songs called *bet ashar* (uncovering the face). They also sang songs in which the obligations of the young wife were enumerated. Then one of the groom's young relatives raised the veil slightly from the bride's face with a small stick. At this time, those who gathered counted the gifts for the bride-inspection (*smotriny*).

In the wedding celebrations of the Kazakhs, many ceremonies bear a religio-magical character, for example the showering of the newlyweds with sweets and the "uniting" ceremonies—the drinking of water by the bride and groom from one cup, for instance.

The ceremonies associated with the wedding are generally preserved today, but sometimes, especially in the cities, so-called youth weddings are organized. At these the acquaintances and relatives simply gather with the bride and groom around a common table, and lavish refreshments are presented. In recent years, however, there has been a tendency toward returning to traditional wedding ceremonies.

Still rather widespread, especially in rural areas, is marriage through abduction. This is today only an imitation of abduction, however, since the girl, as a rule, willingly goes to the groom's home "surreptitiously." In such instances, the wedding is arranged immediately. The groom's parents ask forgiveness from the bride's parents, who give it. After the wedding the bride's dowry is brought.

Among the Kazakhs a young wife must behave very modestly; she does not have the right, especially at first, to call her husband's relatives by name, especially the older ones, or show them her face; she must make way for them, let them pass by, and do other acts of obeisance. These taboos, for the most part, are kept even today, just as the survival of clan exogamy up to the seventh generation continues.

Domestic Unit. Among nomadic Kazakhs the small, individual family predominated, consisting, as a rule, of a married couple, their unmarried children, and elderly parents. In accordance with custom, the oldest son was able to marry first, followed by the other sons in descending order of age. The father allotted livestock (*enshi*) to the married son and in this way created a new household (*otay*). According to the ancient customs of the *minorat*,

the youngest son was not allotted a household, even after marriage. He remained the heir to the ancestral hearth. Among the seminomadic and settled Kazakhs, there were extended families in which several closely related families lived in one household. Usually this was the family of the head of the household, as well as his married sons, and, after his death, the families of his married brothers. As a rule, however, after the death of the household master, the married brothers parted company. The daughters went to live with the families of their husbands after marriage.

Elements of patriarchal relations were preserved in certain ways, however. Married sons, even when they had their own individual households, did not break ties with the paternal household completely. Many labor-intensive tasks, such as pasturing of livestock, shearing of sheep, preparation of felt, and so on, were accomplished through the efforts of several households with close relations along paternal lines. This was especially important in defending livestock and pastures from the encroachment of others. Such a unification of families, the basis of kinship ties, is called in the literature a "family-kin" group. In Kazakh, these groupings are called *bir ata baralary* (children of one father). If a family-kin group was called Koshenbaralary, for example, then their ancestor was called Koshen, and the families of this group had heads who were grandsons and great-grandsons of Koshen. Among the Kazakhs, such family-kin groups formed communities. The heads of families were considered close relatives up to the fourth or fifth generation.

Socialization. The Kazakhs attach great significance to the birth and raising of children. A Kazakh family is not considered happy without children, especially sons—the continuers of the clan. There are many customs and ceremonies associated with birth and raising of children. These customs arose from centuries of experiences and from the Kazakh worldview. Thus, they protected a pregnant woman from the evil eye with the aid of amulets and did not allow her to leave the house alone at night; weapons, wolves' teeth, eagles' bills, and owl talons were forbidden wherever she lived. All this was necessary to protect her from impure forces. The pregnant woman herself had to observe a multitude of taboos. In order not to tangle the child's umbilical cord, for example, she could not step over the staff for raising the dome of the yurt (*bakan*), the device for catching horses (*kuruk*), rope (*arkan*), and many other items. She was also forbidden to eat camel meat because it was thought that, were she to do so, she would carry her child for twelve months, like a she-camel. Kazakhs protect pregnant women from heavy labor, especially in the later months.

Kazakhs carefully guard the woman and child during the actual birth and the first forty days thereafter, which are regarded as especially dangerous for the baby. Various rituals are followed—placing the child in the cradle on the seventh day, for example. The fortieth day after birth is seen as especially festive because the danger is deemed to have passed. Only women gather at this celebration.

Kazakhs accustom children to work from an early age. They teach a boy to ride a horse at age 3 and to tend it and other livestock at age 5 or 6. The shaving ceremony, strongly upheld in modern times, is conducted when a boy has reached age 3 to 10. Girls are taught to sew, embroider, and carry out other household activities. In the past, Kazakhs believed that at age 13 to 15 they were ready for independent life and could have their own family; at present girls marry at age 16 to 18.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs and Practices. The Kazakhs are Sunni Muslims. Islam began to appear in southern Kazakhstan in the eighth to ninth centuries, after the Arab conquest of Central Asia. After the foundation of the Kazakh khanate in the fifteenth century, Islam became the predominant religion among the Kazakh people. Its influence was especially strengthened after the Russian colonization of the Kazakhs in the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries because the czarist government attempted to solidify its position in Kazakhstan through Islam. During this period many mosques were constructed and *madrasahs* (Islamic secondary schools) opened. Pre-Islamic beliefs—the cults of the sky, of the ancestors, and of fire, for example—continued to a great extent to be preserved among the common people, however. The Kazakhs believed in the supernatural forces of good and evil spirits, of wood goblins and giants. To protect themselves from them, as well as from the evil eye, the Kazakhs wore protection beads and talismans. Shamanic beliefs were widely preserved among the Kazakhs, as well as belief in the strength of the bearers of this cult—the shamans, which the Kazakhs call *bakhsy*. In contradistinction to the Siberian shamans, who used drums during their rituals, the Kazakh shamans, who could also be men or women, played (with a bow) on a stringed instrument similar to a large violin.

At present both Islamic and pre-Islamic beliefs continue to be found among the Kazakhs, especially among the elderly. Following the severe Soviet persecutions, in which the mullahs were annihilated, there are few today who have received special religious training. For this reason, literate elderly people who know the prayers fulfill the role of mullahs in rural areas. Quite frequently these are school teachers on pension or other people with higher education.

Death and Afterlife. The Kazakhs observe funerary rites that are a mixture of Muslim customs with pre-Islamic beliefs. Mainly the relatives and neighbors of the deceased take part in the funeral ceremonies; they place the deceased, washed and wrapped in a white shroud, into a separate yurt specially put up for this event and do not leave him or her unattended for a single minute until the burial. Those who gather for the funeral pray under the guidance of a mullah. The women bemoan the deceased. The mourners bring the deceased to the cemetery on special stretchers; after further prayers, they lower the body into the grave and bury it. Among the Kazakhs, as among many other Eastern peoples, women are not allowed at the cemetery. After interment, ablutions are enacted at home and the clothing of the deceased is distributed to funeral participants; refreshments are prepared for all. Near the yurt of the deceased they set up a spear with a mourning flag, which is red if the deceased was a young person, black if middle-aged, and white if elderly. They do not remove this

spear throughout the entire period of mourning—that is, the whole year. Funeral banquets for the deceased are held on the third, seventh, and fortieth days. Kazakhs observe the first anniversary funerary feast especially solemnly, with as many people as possible coming together. For this day, they slaughter the favorite horse of the deceased, whose mane and tail they had shaved on the day of it's master's death. They also slaughter a good deal of other livestock for the feast.

This anniversary funeral banquet is celebrated quite ceremonially; many people gather—representatives come from various tribes and clans, sometimes several hundred people. For this reason, they set up many additional yurts and organize equestrian races, the victors receiving rich prizes. At present the Kazakhs are attempting to preserve all customs and ceremonies associated with the funerary rites.

The Kazakhs set up domed monuments on the graves, frequently mausoleums of stone, adobe bricks, and clay. The simpler grave constructs are clay or brick fences in a rectangular shape, or sometimes simply a pile of stones with a pole to which they attach bundles of horse hair. They also make sacrifices at the graves, laying bones of animals on them.

Art. Oral folk art is widely developed among the Kazakhs: songs, epic tales, folktales, heroic epics, and so forth. The Kazakhs greatly value their performers: the storytellers (*zhyrsy*) and improvisational poets (*akyn*). Several of these achieved great popularity, including Bukharzhyrau Kalmakanov (1693–1787) and the improvisational poet Makhambet Utemisov (1803–1846), who along with his friend Isatay Taymanov led the Kazakh uprising in the Bukeevsky Horde in 1836–1837.

The work of the eminent Kazakh educator and scholar Chokan Valikhanov (1835–1865), who painstakingly gathered and attentively studied the national poetic works of the Kazakhs, had great significance for the development of Kazakh literature. Kazakh written literature took shape under the influence of Russian literature in the second half of the nineteenth century. The renowned pedagogue Ibray Altynsarin (1841–1889) made a great contribution to the development of Kazakh literature as well. He created the first Kazakh chrestomathy for Russian/Kazakh schools and published his own works, those assembled by him from the national oral literature, and translations from Russian. Abay Kunabaev (1845–1904) was also a prominent figure of the Kazakh literary movement. From the beginning of the twentieth century a plethora of Kazakh poets and writers has produced works in Kazakhstan. Among them are the giants of Kazakh literature Mokhtar Auezov (1897–1961), Saken Seyfullin (1894–1939), Beymbet Maylin (1894–1939), and others. The modern Kazakh writers are successfully continuing the traditions of Kazakh national art and of the founders of Kazakh literature.

The folk music traditions are an inseparable part of the spiritual culture of the Kazakh people: the songs, the vocal accompaniment of the professional improvisational poets, the instrumental works, and so on. Popular musical instruments include the *dombra*, a "plucked" string instrument, and the *kobyz*—an instrument played with a bow. The favorite wind instrument is the *sybyzgy*, in the shape of an elongated flute; as for percussion instruments, the *dauylpaz*, a small drum, is favored. Since the second half of the nineteenth century, new musical instruments have appeared: the accordion and the violin. In the twentieth century professional musical arts have arisen and developed greatly among the Kazakhs. In 1934 the first musical performance took place, and in 1935 the Kazakh State Philharmonic opened. In 1937 the Abay State Academic Theater of opera and ballet opened.

Formerly there were no professional theatrical arts among the Kazakhs. Only in the beginning of the twentieth century and during the years of Soviet dominance did amateur forms of Kazakh theater begin to grow. The first Kazakh theater opened in 1926 in Orenburg (at that time the capital of the Kazakh Republic). At present, Kazakh drama and theatrical arts, as well as the national cinema, have achieved a great deal of success in a short period of time.

Until recently the decorative arts of the Kazakhs have focused mainly on the details of Kazakh dwellings, clothing, and other everyday objects. One can find original Kazakh ornamentation on teased and unteased carpets, strips, the yurt, and felt coverings. Kazakh women decorate their clothes and embroider.

Woodworking, leatherwork, and metalwork have occupied places of distinction within the Kazakh national arts, but a professional decorative arts industry developed only in the twentieth century. Moreover, the first professional artists in Kazakhstan were Russians. The openings of the Kazakh State Artists Gallery in 1935 and the Artistic-Theatrical Gallery in 1938 played a large role in the development of art in Kazakhstan. The communications media have greatly expanded, including print, radio, and, in recent times, television.

Academics have developed intensively in the course of the twentieth century; this includes the study of a variety of disciplines from mathematics and mechanics to various social sciences. In Kazakhstan today there are hundreds of scientific institutions where tens of thousands of scholars work. There is also a Kazakh Academy of Science.

See also Kazak in Part Two, China

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(Translated by Paul Friedrich and Gregory S. Anderson)

Ket

ETHNONYMS: Ostiak of the Yenisei, Yenisey Ostyak

Orientation

Identification. The Ket are a remnant population of hunters (of squirrels, moose, reindeer), fishermen, and gatherers currently inhabiting the Yenisei and its tributaries between 61° N and 68° N. They migrate annually between upstream hunting territories and main-river trading and administrative posts. Closely related to the Ket were the Kott-speaking peoples (Arin, Kott, Asan, Yastyn, and others) formerly of the upper Yenisei and now assimilated by Turkic peoples and Russians. The Yeniseian languages are isolated, although significant lexical analogues have been found in Tibetan.

Location. The Ket habitat is primarily boreal forest, predominantly spruce and pine in the west and larch in the east. Birches and aspens are rarer but economically important. South to north a transition from forest to forest-tundra occurs. The climate is severely continental but somewhat moderated by storms that bring heavy snows and lower summer heat. The variety and bioproductivity of the terrestrial biota are much reduced by permafrost. Important mammals include squirrels, hare, chipmunks, brown bears, moose, and reindeer, as well as wolves and ermines. Sables, once almost exterminated, have been partially restored. In the North, arctic foxes are significant. Migratory birds (geese, ducks, swans) and endemic ptarmigan and capercailzie also contribute to Ket food and materials supplies. The rivers, until their recent depletion, provided valuable fisheries, largely of Salmonidae (char, trout, whitefish, and grayling). Vegetal foods include nuts, berries, and wild roots, but raw fish and meat are needed as major protections against scurvy. The formerly Kott areas stretching to about 52° N are richer, so that cattle and horses as well as dogs and reindeer could be kept there.

Demography. The Ket population was relatively stable in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, notwithstanding periodic epidemics and chronic hunger. This was evidently true in the nineteenth century as well, when catastrophes were limited by government stores and some medical help. Between 1926 and 1959 the reported Ket population declined from 1,250 to 1,019. Assimilation, particularly of Ket women, by Russians, Selkup, and Evenki was probably the major process involved.

History and Cultural Relations

The Bökli mentioned as mourners in the memorial epigraph of the Türki prince Kül Tigin in A.D. 715 are unquestionably Buklintsy, a Kott-speaking people of seventeenth-century Russian accounts. They also appear to be the Bila of contemporary Chinese annals who "lived directly north of the Türki ... in the mountains ... where there was always snow.... They plowed with horse traction ... but did not ride horses although they drank mare's milk.... They often fought with the Khakas but spoke a different tongue. They tied logs ... and covered them with birchbark ... for their dwellings. Each community had its own chief independently of others" (Bichurin 1950, 350).

The next mentions are early in the seventeenth century, when the Russians advanced to the Yenisei from Mangazei in the north and the Keti River in the south. Tribute lists of this century indicate a total Yeniseian population of 5,630, almost three-fourths in the southern Kott groups.

Accounts from the 1770s relate that the Arin were living in birch-bark tipis in the summer and felt tents in the winter. They were traveling upstream twice a year by birch-bark canoe for pedestrian hunting and trapping. Ski-shod, they were killing moose, reindeer, and sables in their great February rounds. In the summer they primarily fished, but a few were small-scale farmers with horses and oxen. Accounts from 1790 report that the now-Christianized Yenisei Ket were migrating with portable birch-bark tipis for hunting and fishing, wearing Russian clothing in the summer and reindeer-hide articles in the winter, and traveling by canoe in summer and by dogsled in winter. Those living on the Keti River kept horses. Yenisei Ket betrothals included offerings of bride-gifts in Russian trade items, notably copper cauldrons. Betrothals, once agreed upon, were solemnized in church (all of the Ket are Christians). The Turukhansk area included 1,205 Ket (652 males, 553 females) out of a total population of 4,878. Some Ket lived near the town and others in remote camps, in harmony with each other and the Russians. They traded furs for grain and other needs, as well as to pay tribute.

After 1800 the Kott were largely assimilated; in the 1840s the linguist Castrén found only five Kott speakers. The Ket became commercial squirrel hunters or Russian-hired fishermen. They migrated extensively, especially up the Kureika, where they adopted reindeer nomadism and trapped arctic foxes. Migrations broke up localized patrilineal clans and attendant ceremonial centers, although exogamous moieties persisted. Christianization strengthened monogamy, widened marriage prohibitions, and reduced former age and descent-line distinctions in the kinship terminology. Elected elders replaced traditional leaders but shamanism continued.

Until the 1920s Ket life remained largely traditional. Humanitarian concerns and the importance of furs for Soviet foreign exchange motivated the establishment of marketing cooperatives, improvements in emergency stocks, and first steps in education and health services. But ethnographic research in 1926 reported the continuation of traditional, kin-negotiated marriages and influential shamans. In the 1930s collectivization and the establishment of base settlements were largely accomplished. Hunters were better

equipped, as were the fisheries. Reindeer breeding, hitherto very marginal, was modernized.

By 1966 Russian-type log cabins housed the Kets in their periodic visits to central settlements. These had a store, post office, club, and medical center. But most of the year the population was dispersed in hunting areas. Children went to boarding schools. Many boys became hunters without finishing even the eighth grade; girls, with largely urban opportunities, stayed in school longer. Almost all school children retained their native tongue. As late as 1971, community bear ceremonies were being practiced.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. Even in the 1960s the Ket depended on migratory foraging for game, fish, and vegetal materials in intimately known lands and waters. Extensive biological and geographic knowledge, as well as ritual, supported their efforts. Except for individually shot squirrels, and other fur bearing animals, and some fish, their yields came through family-lineage cooperation and were shared. Their thirteen-month folk calendar began with the month of Leaf Fall, a period of fish netting and spearing from aspen canoes and of bird snaring in thickets. Tipis 4 to 5 meters in diameter with hoop-reinforced seven-pole foundations and birch-bark mat coverings, provided shelter. Within each was a "clean" ritualized side to the east and an entrance to the west. There, household goods and family dogs had their places. The door had "eyes" represented so it might "see."

During the month of Ground Freeze the groups traveled by boat to deeper forest and then moved into semi-subterranean dwellings designed like the tipis but holding entire lineages. At this time, too, many Ket recaptured draft reindeer released over the summer. Then came the Small Walk, in which men traveled by skis or reindeer sleds to hunting areas, later separating to their own lines. Dogs helped in the hunt, as well as in pulling sleds or toboggans. The men spent nights in pits in the snow, covered sometimes by rough wigwams. The women remained behind, gathering firewood, fishing under ice, trapping capercailzie and hare, and making clothes and footgear.

During the Short Days, darkness and intense cold precluded most movement. Stored supplies and food from Russian villages supported life. Summer-born people now told stories to promote warmer weather. With the brighter Long Days, entire camps left for hunting grounds, men breaking trails, and women, helped by reindeer or dogs, hauling baggage sleds. Men made side trips to hunt moose, reindeer, and small game during Moose and Eagle months. In Chipmunk month, a difficult and hungry time, the Ket were back in base camps, where they freed reindeer, repaired canoes and large vessels, and began fishing. Pike Spawning, Taxes and Fairs, Small Duck Molting, and Large Bird Molting marked the less stressful warmer months.

Industrial Arts and Trade. Until recently the Ket made most of their equipment, including knives, axes, arrows, fishhooks, and shamanistic ornaments of iron, copper, and tin. They sewed their clothing and footgear, using Russian cloth for summer articles. Through shaping, joining, and gluing, they made vessels, skis, and a variety of containers, especially of birch bark. They used nettle twine for small fish nets; the larger nets—like cauldrons, tea kettles, dishes, guns, and ammunition—came from the Russians. The Ket built their own tipis and houses, including log cabins of the Russian type. They foraged for animal foods, fish, and lily bulbs; eating loons, eagles, swans, and mushrooms was prohibited. Flour, sugar, tea, and tobacco were imported.

Division of Labor. Men related by blood or marriage formed the basic Ket work groups. In hunting moose, reindeer, or bears, the discoverer of the game would notify others by loudly hitting a ski with a staff. A pursuit group would form, with the leader following the game closely; he would discard all unneeded articles along the way, and the others would pick up his things as they prepared to join in the killing and butchering. Large-scale netting and winter house building also were communal tasks. In contrast to furs, food was shared; the hungry could take food from caches. There was a basic division between men's and women's work. It was rationalized by fear of menstrual blood and applied even to activities such as cooking and handicrafts. Yet, despite such restrictions, women hunted small game and fished.

Kinship, Marriage, and Family

Prolonged Russification and migration have profoundly modified Ket society. In the past it was apparently comprised of localized patrilineal clans grouped into exogamous phratries. Each clan had defined sacred places and cemeteries; shamans and elders provided leadership. Property marks defined clan lands and goods. Inheritance, strictly patrilineal, usually ultimogenous, was symbolized by family fetishes (*alalt*). Summer households were usually nuclear families; winter households were extended.

Kinship. Today there are primary terms (mother, father, brother, sister), descriptive terms (mother's brother, etc.), and classificatory terms (persons of grandparental generation without distinction for gender or line of descent, etc.). Within generations, relatives older than Ego are upgraded; those younger are downgraded. Nevertheless, neither levirate nor sororate occur, in line with Russian Orthodox prohibitions. Marriage is strictly monogamous and, until the Russian Revolution, was indissoluble. The mother's brother prepared a boy's first real bow, gave his nephews and nieces presents, and adopted them if they were orphaned.

Marriage. Until recently the father of a proposed bridegroom would send an older kinswoman as go-between to the proposed bride's kin. She would bring, in silence, a cauldron with cloth or a dress as a present. Later the groom's kinspeople would come seeking approval from the bride and her family. This was usually refused several times until the groom's kinsmen promised to treat her well and not beat her. The key gift would be fifty squirrels killed by the groom and his father and brought by the groom's older-women relatives. The wedding was begun by washing the bride's hair, a task of three of the groom's older female relatives. In the ceremony, the bride and groom sat together in the overall assembly, which was divided by phratry. A shaman and his assistant officiated, albeit with-

out costume or tambourine—with only his drumstick for divination. After the feasting, the bride and groom returned to their parents for three days; until then they could not speak to each other. Nonvirgin brides lost one-third of their bride-price.

Religion and Expressive Cultures

Religious Beliefs and Practices. In traditional Ket cosmology, natural phenomena and even objects were animate. Fetishes, ladles, sleds, and tipi doors all "saw" when decorated with eyes and thus animated. Propitiated through "feeding" and the observance of taboos, they helped humankind. There were also earth, stone, and heavenly spirits, good and bad. Particularly important were the Masters who controlled respectively the forests and game animals, water and fish, the mountains, and day and night. Kaygus, Master of Game Animals, was the son of a bear and a woman who offered animals, including himself, to kindly, ritual-observing men. This mystical unity was intensified by beliefs in the transmigration of souls, especially between people and bears. Khotsadam, Mother of the Sea, denizen of the cold north, ruler of day and night, and devourer of souls, was malevolent. Tomyam, the beautiful provider of migratory birds, who lived in the south, was entirely good. The sky god Es resided in the uppermost heaven, benign but remote from all but shamans. He battled against evil, aided by culture heroes, especially Alyba, and immortal shamans, particularly Doh.

The architecture of the universe remains unclear. The Ket shamanistic staff symbolizing the Universe Tree suggests a common Siberian model of many integrated levels through which shamans traveled in search of lost souls. East and south signified life; west and north, death.

Because animals understood human speech and were sensitive to women's smell, the Ket observed various taboos. In particular, hunting gear over which women had stepped had to be purified by fumigation. Forest spirits embodied in old larches protected lineages. The trees were marked with designs of faces, surrounded by anthropomorphic figures, and presented with gifts. Family fires, inherited patrilineally but cared for by women, protected each household. These Fire Mothers were "fed," protected from abuse (e.g., trash or sharp sticks), and maintained as long as possible. Fires could be shared only with kin. Family fires could foresee events and issue warnings by means of suitable crackles. Alalt, kept in "clean" areas, were decorated anthropomorphic figures, also patrilineally inherited but cared for by women. Fed and periodically reclothed, they aided family welfare. More closely allied to hunting luck were the images of deceased relatives of note (*dangols*), prepared by shamans and also kept in the clean area. They purportedly led hunters to game.

Religious Practitioners. Shamanism was a calling inherited alternately by men and women in one lineage. It was actuated by a call (vision or dream), ensuing psychic illness, and curing under a shaman's care. Normalcy, a song, curing power, and a succession of ritual acquisitions—drumstick, moccasins, mittens, tambourine, staff, and finally, coat and coronet—marked progress to the shaman's full role. At this time he or she gained an assistant. Shamans were curers by means of soul recovery in séances. Their power derived from spirits, dead shamans and heroes, accessories for flight, the places visited, phallic symbols, and human bones. Whereas most shamans had primarily bird spirits and power from upper worlds, bear shamans were of the lower world. In shamanistic acting, beating on the right calf signified very fast travel. The staff was a weapon. If the shaman fell unconscious, he was believed to have flown away. Séances could be held in "dark tents" and involved animal noises, tent shaking, and other marvels.

Apart from séances, shamans could call upon alalt, reinforce family rituals, divine events, resolve disputes, and counteract enemy shamans and wizards (*bangos*). Wizards and witches were primarily magical practitioners who cured with amulets and medications. Their protector was the Earth Devil.

Death and Afterlife. People and bears have seven souls; other animals, one; fish, none. Death comes from loss of the *ulyvei* (shadow) soul, usually through Khotsadam's malevolence. After death the ulyvei stays in the dwelling seven days, later spending time in the underworld and finally being reincarnated, particularly as a bear. Because souls of the dead could capture living kinsfolk in dreams, funerary rites were conducted by members of other clans. They included bathing the body, clothing it in reversed manner, covering the face, placing the body facing the dwelling entrance and the west, and burial in the ground or in a tree bole. Personal articles were left broken here. Although there were no cemetaries, burials took place in distant sacred places. Crosses often marked graves.

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DEMITRI SHIMKIN

Khakas

ETHNONYMS: Abaka Tatars, Tadar, Yenisei Kirghiz (Soviet transliteration; Kirgiz in Chinese transliteration; Kyrgyz is the pre- and post-Soviet form)

Orientation

Identification. The Khakas ethnic group in the narrow sense is comprised of that particular Turkic-speaking population that is officially referred to as the "Khakas." This population may be more exactly termed the Khakas proper. In a historical, linguistic, and to some extent even cultural sense, the Khakas also comprise three other ethnic groups—the northern division of the Shor, the Chulym Turks, and the Manchurian Kirgiz. The latter three groups may be considered the descendants of small dislocated fragments of essentially the same parent population of which the Khakas proper represent the principal surviving part.

During the initial period of czarist colonization (the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries), the Khakas were known to the Russians as the "Yenisei Kirghiz." This appellation was obviously based on the autonym of the contemporary Khakas, or at least of a considerable part of them. Today the old ethnonym is still retained by the Manchurian Kirgiz, who continue to call themselves "Kirgïs." The Russian colonial administration referred to the Khakas as the "Minusinsk" or "Abaka Tatars," implying a linguistic relationship with the Tatars proper, as well as with other groups regarded as varieties of the Tatars. At the same time, the Shors were referred to as the "Kuznetsk Tatars," whereas the Chulym Turks were known as the "Meletsk Tatars." This colonial terminology was also adopted by the Khakas, who started to call themselves "Tadar" (plural, Tadarlar), an ethnonym still used by older generation of the Khakas. The current official appellation, "Khakas" (plural, Khakastar), was introduced around the time of the October Revolution. Historically, this is a manufactured term, based on a false reading of an ethnonym that occurs in ancient Chinese documents and actually refers to the Kirgiz. For this reason, there is a continuing discussion among the Khakas about the necessity of finding a more genuine native name. As yet, no generally acceptable alternatives seem to be available.

Location. The core territory of the Khakas proper is located on the upper course of the Yenisei in a region known as the Minusinsk Basin. This is a roughly circular area with a diameter of some 200 to 250 kilometers, divided by the Yenisei into a Western and an Eastern half. The western half is further divided by the Abakan River, whose confluence with the Yenisei marks the center of the area (approximately 92° E, 54° N). The eastern half also contains several locally important tributaries of the Yenisei. Except at the point where the Yenisei flows out toward the north, the Minusinsk Basin is surrounded on all sides by mountains of varying elevation. In the west there rise the ranges of Abakanskii Khrebet and Kuznetskii Alatau (generally less than 2,000 meters high), whereas the southern and eastern sides are guarded by the massive Western and Eastern Sayans (up to 3,000 meters). The basin in the middle lies generally much lower (up to 500 meters above sea level). Behind the Abakanskii Khrebet in the west there lie the sources of the Tom River, the native territory of the Shors. Farther toward the north, the middle course of the Chulym River is inhabited by the Chulym Turks. Whereas the surrounding mountains are mainly covered by extensive mixed and coniferous forests belonging to the realm of the Siberian taiga, the Minusinsk Basin forms a small local grassland, vegetationally reminiscent of the Central Eurasian steppes. The climate of the region, which is occasionally referred to as the "Siberian Italy," is relatively mild. The mean temperatures of the coldest and warmest months (January and July) are roughly −20° C and +20° C respectively. Daily variations, however, as well as local differences connected with elevational factors, are great. The levels of precipitation also vary locally but remain low especially during the winter, rarely allowing the snow cover in the steppe to exceed 20 centimeters in depth. Prevailing winds are from the south and southwest.

Demography. With some 81,500 individuals (1989), the Khakas rank fourth in population among the indigenous peoples of Siberia. During the past few decades the population has been growing steadily (about 22 percent from 1970 to 1989). Nevertheless, the Khakas are increasingly becoming a minority population in their territory because of the growing immigration of Russians. Large immigrant centers and rural communities were established in the Minusinsk Basin during czarist times, but the Soviet regime greatly increased their number (and their adverse effects). Several huge construction projects have been started in the region, with the goal of transforming the Minusinsk Basin into a massive industrial region termed the Sayan Territorial Economic Complex. As a result, the total population of Khakassia (508,000 in 1981) is today many times greater than the number of Khakas. Moreover, the development has also forced the Khakas to be increasingly widely scattered all over the former Soviet Union, so that today only 63,000 (some 77 percent) of them live within Khakassia. Industrialization has been even more devastating in the native territory of the Shors, today known as the Kuzbass industrial region. Rapid extinction is also threatening the few thousand surviving Chulym Turks and the few hundred Manchurian Kirgiz far away in China.

Linguistic Affiliation. Together with the idioms spoken by the northern division of the Shors, the Chulym Turks, and the Manchurian Kirgiz, the Khakas language forms a special branch of Turkic, distinguishable from the neighboring Turkic idioms, notably the languages of the Tuva and the Altai Turks. Nevertheless, there exists a certain linguistic continuum between the Khakas and the Altai Turks (through the Shors), as well as between the Khakas and the Siberian Tatars (through the Chulym Turks). The language of the Khakas proper is conventionally divided into a number of local dialects, corresponding to the historical tribes. The dialectal differences are small, however, and all the dialects are today served by a unified literary language. The Khakas language is little used in the urban and industrial centers, where the Khakas form a tiny minority. Although the language still survives in many rural communities, the proportion of native-language speakers

among the Khakas has already sunk as low as 76 percent. The rest of the Khakas have adopted Russian as their first language. Bilingualism in Russian is, of course, widespread even among those Khakas who still know their own language, but few Russian immigrants learn the local language.

History and Cultural Relations

The relatively favorable climatic conditions of the Minusinsk Basin and the protection provided by the surrounding mountains have attracted human populations to this region since Paleolithic times. During the last several thousand years, in particular, the Minusinsk Basin has been continuously inhabited by a succession of populations whose cultures provide the single most spectacular archaeological continuum in all of North Asia. Starting with the late Neolithic (and still controversial) Tazmin culture (approximately 2000 to 2500 B.C.) through the subsequent Afanas'evo, Okunevo, Andronovo, and Karasuk cultures, the Minusinsk Basin seems to have been inhabited by semisedentary agriculturalists and cattle breeders with an increasingly strong steppe-nomadic orientation. This development culminated in the late Bronze-Age Tagar culture (700 to 200 B.C.), connected with the Scythian epoch of Central Eurasian history. According to paleoanthropological data, the Tagar people and most of their local predecessors seem to have had a predominantly Europoid complex of physical features. There then followed the Tashtyk culture (200 B.C. to A.D. 200), which corresponds to the Hunnic period in Central Eurasia and represents a major intrusion of a new Mongoloid population into the Minusinsk Basin. This may be considered the beginning of the formation of the modern Khakas population, although it is obvious that all of the previous periods have also left their genetic and cultural traces on the Khakas.

It is not known which language the Tashtyk people spoke, but evidence from comparative linguistics suggests that an early Turkic idiom may have been involved. In any case, a few centuries later the population of the Minusinsk Basin had become largely Turkic-speaking, as evidenced by the written documents in runic Turkic that have been found in the region. From these earliest Siberian inscriptions, as well as from other historical sources, it is known that the Minusinsk Basin belonged to the sphere of the medieval Turkic nomadic empires (sixth to eighth centuries). Power was subsequently seized by the Kyrgyz tribal union, which for several centuries (ninth to thirteenth) maintained an important Turkic-speaking state centered on the Minusinsk Basin. This state, occasionally called the medieval Khakas Empire, seems to have had a fairly large local population (by some estimates up to 1 million people), some of whom were certainly engaged in settled agriculture. The Khakas Empire finally perished during the turmoils connected with the Mongol expansion under Chinggis (Genghis) Khan, and a considerable part of the local population seems to have moved away from the Minusinsk Basin. It is generally assumed that this wave of Kyrgyz emigrants ultimately contributed to the origination of the modern Tianshan Kirghiz of Central Asia. In a very similar way, when the Russians conquered the Minusinsk Basin they forced part of the local population to move away to neighboring Dzungaria. These emigrants were probably largely absorbed by the Turkic and Mongolic inhabitants of Dzungaria, but a small group was transferred (around the middle of the eighteenth century) by the Manchu government of China to Manchuria, where this group still survives as the modern Manchurian Kirgiz. The latter may thus be considered a diaspora group of the Khakas.

In addition to the ancient Turks and their linguistic heirs in the Minusinsk Basin, the region until recently also had indigenous groups of other ethnolinguistic affiliations. In fact, it seems that the Turkic language never attained a permanent foothold in the eastern half of the Minusinsk Basin. This used to be the realm of southern Yeniseic idioms related to the language of the Ket, whereas the Sayan Mountains supported small Samoyed-speaking populations, linguistic relatives of the Nenets. All of these indigenous ethnolinguistic groups have subsequently disappeared owing to assimilation by both the Khakas and the Russians. Their influence on the modern Khakas is still evident, however, from tribal names and toponyms.

The czarist administrators used to view the Khakas as a conglomeration of feudal units or tribes, each of which had a territory and leadership of its own. Such tribes included, in the first place, the Kacha in the central part of the Khakas territory, the Kyzyl in the northwest, the Sagai and the Beltir in the southwest, and the Koibal in the southeast. The historical background of these tribes is complex, and just how they were classified and named is somewhat artificial (reflecting, for instance, administrative convenience). The same principle of tribal division was applied all over southern Siberia, which ultimately led to the separation of the Chulym Turks in the north and the Shors in the west from the Khakas proper. The tribes later became purely territorial units, for a time known as "steppe dumas." Finally the Soviet government established a single administrative unit for the Khakas, initially called the Khakas Uyezd (1923), then the Khakas Okrug (1925), and subsequently the Khakas Autonomous Oblast (1930). The Khakas Autonomous Oblast, or Khakassia, which has an area of 61,900 square kilometers, comprises the western half of the Minusinsk Basin and corresponds to the historical main territory of the Khakas proper.

Settlements

The medieval Yenisei Kyrgyz had several large fortified settlements that appear to have been abandoned long before the arrival of the Russians. The traditional dwelling of at least the cattle-breeding Khakas was the movable yurt of the Central Asian type. The Khakas yurt was covered by felt or birch bark. Under the influence of Russian culture, the movable yurt was abandoned and replaced first by the immovable log yurt and later by the Russian peasant house. Similar developments took place among some of the neighboring ethnic groups, notably the Altai Turks and the western Buriat. Also under Russian influence, houses started to be grouped to form villages, now the prevailing type of settlement across rural Khakassia. These Khakas villages tend to be comparatively monoethnic Khakas-speaking units. The Khakassian countryside is also populated by other nationalities, however, including Chuvash

and Germans. A similar multiethnic composition under Russian dominance is characteristic of the modern cities of Khakassia. The capital, Abakan (with a total population of 136,000 in 1981), for instance, has only a few percent of Khakas among its inhabitants, whereas the number of Khakas in new industrial centers such as Sayanogorsk is even less.

Economy

The traditional economy of the Khakas was based on a combination of cattle breeding with hunting and fishing. There were, however, marked territorial differences that also corresponded to the administrative division of the population into tribes. Thus, the Kacha had access to fertile grasslands and were typically engaged in intensive cattle breeding. Not surprisingly, they were considered the richest group among the Khakas. By contrast, the Sagai lived near forests and were mainly poor hunters and fishermen. The Sagai economy was similar to those of the Beltir and the Shors, although these two groups had as their members some of the best blacksmiths in the region. The original economic system of the Kyzyl and the Koibal is difficult to reconstruct, for these were the first Khakas groups to yield to Russian influence. The other tribes followed suit later, and today most rural Khakas live a life similar to that of any Siberian Russian peasant. Gardening, small-scale agriculture, and cattle breeding are the main occupations.

Kinship and Sociopolitical Organization

It used to be claimed by Soviet scholars that the Yenisei Kirghiz whom the early Russians forced out of the Minusinsk Basin were a local feudal aristocracy, and today's Khakas population is descended from the "exploited" classes of the old society. Whether or not this is true, by the October Revolution of 1917 Khakas society was once more characterized by considerable economic and social distinctions. There were the hereditary rich (often Kacha) cattle breeders with large herds and extensive land-use rights, but also the poor (often Sagai) hunters and fishers with little capital and low social standing. Nevertheless, all the Khakas were ultimately bound together by a complicated network of patriarchal kinship ties, and it was common for the better-off individuals and families to provide assistance to their poorer relatives. The wealthier, pre-Revolutionary Khakas produced an incipient native intelligentsia, something that only two other indigenous peoples in Siberia, the Yakut and the Buriats, also had. During the Soviet period, this early intelligentsia and its descendants were destroyed and a new type of "proletarian" intellectual was created.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs and Practices. The Khakas used to be adherents of shamanism in its southern Siberian form. The last active shamans are reported to have survived only until the Stalin period; shamanist traditions have been more resistant. The Khakas have conceived of a pantheon of helping spirits (*tös*), each of which had a canonic representation in the form of a small idol. These idols were supposed to protect their owners in case of illness and other problems, and beliefs connected with them have existed until recent times. The significance of shamanist beliefs was gradually undermined by the influence of Orthodox Christianity, which was actively propagated among the Khakas during the last decades of czarist rule. By the October Revolution all Khakas had officially adopted Christianity, although the mixing of Christian conceptions with shamanist beliefs frequently resulted in syncretic ideas. The Soviet regime subsequently tried to extinguish both shamanism and Christianity among the Khakas, but these efforts were not totally successful. The period of Stalinist terror was followed by revived interest in Christianity, and even Protestant sects, notably Baptists, have gained some foothold among the Khakas. The details of these developments are still uninvestigated.

Arts. The cultural heritage of the Khakas involves a rare combination of southern (Central Asian) and northern (Siberian) elements, built upon an exceptionally rich and ancient local foundation. In many cases the Khakas seem to occupy an intermediate position between the two regions, and in several particulars display their idiosyncracies. The Khakas traditional ornament, with its curved lines and flowery patterns, is one such feature. Another may be found in the Khakas musical patterns, which differ markedly from those of the neighboring peoples. Of course, there are also examples of a profound areal affinity between the cultures of the Khakas and those of the neighboring peoples of the Sayan-Altai region. For instance, the Khakas share with the Tuvans and the western Mongols a tradition of overtone singing. Both overtone and normal singing are accompanied by a traditional string instrument (*chatkhan*) that is similar to instruments used by Tuvans and Mongols. Also, the Khakas folkloric traditions are characterized by the same basic types of heroic poems, tales, and proverbs as those of neighboring peoples.

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JUHA JANHUNEN

Khanty

ETHNONYMS: As-iakh, Hante, Ostyak; local names include Beriozov, Irtysh Khanty, Lariak, Obdorsk, and Vasiugan.

Orientation

Identification. The Khanty were called "Ostyak" by Russians until the 1930s, when their name was changed officially to reflect their self-designation. They are closely related, culturally and politically, to their nearest neighbors, the Mansi, historically called "Voguls," with whom they share the Khanty-Mansiisk Autonomous District (*okrug*) in western Siberia. The district was called a "national" area until the 1970s. An area of intense energy development, the Khanty homeland, once larger than its current boundaries, has been inundated by temporary workers, most of them Slavs. Other native minorities in the district include the Nenets and Selkup (Samoyed groups) and the Komi (historically, Zyrian). Khanty also live outside their district, mostly in nearby regions of western Siberia. They are one of twenty-six "Peoples of the North," designated as a special legal category.

Location. The Khanty-Mansiisk District of the Tiumen Oblast is bordered by the Yamalo-Nenets District and the Komi Autonomous Republic to the northwest and the Sverdlovsk, Omsk, Tomsk, and Krasnoyarsk regions to the southwest and east. It stretches from 58° to 62° N and 60° to 85° E. Khanty live as far north as the Arctic Circle and the Gulf of Ob, and as far south as the Irtysh-Tavda confluence, although they are concentrated in the Samarovsk, Surgut, Lariak, Beriozovo, Vasiugan, and Kondinsk areas of the greater Ob River Basin. Their territory, inside and outside the Khanty-Mansiisk District, includes tundra and taiga, with foothills of the Ural Mountains and lowlands of the Ob River. Forests of cedar, pine, and larch abound along its multiple rivers. When the thick snow cover melts each summer, extensive flooding occurs, turning the lowlands into swamps of moss, peat, and marsh pine. The extreme continental climate is characterized by temperatures as low as −50° C and as high as +20° C.

Demography. The 1989 Soviet census recorded a population of 147,386,000 for the Russian Republic, 187,083 for the Peoples of the North, and 22,500 for the Khanty. The Khanty-Mansiisk District had a population of 1,282,396 in 1989. Thus, the Khanty are a tiny minority within their district and within western Siberia. Their numbers have increased only slightly from the 20,934 recorded in 1979 and the 17,800 recorded in 1926. Although industrialization and urbanization have escalated around them in the last twenty years, most Khanty have remained in collectives away from large towns. Their infant mortality rates are high, and their life expectancy rates, especially for males, are low. The average northern native 1980s life expectancy was 45 for men and 55 for women. Interethnic marriage is common with other Siberian minorities, and, to a lesser extent, with Russians.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Khanty speak an Ob-Ugrian language of the Finno-Ugric Family of Uralic. The Khanty, Mansi, and Hungarian languages comprise the Ugrian linguistic category. Khanty linguists divide the language into four dialects, roughly corresponding to the cardinal directions, with emphasis on northwestern and eastern distinctions. These reflect cultural and linguistic differences that developed among the Shurikarsk (or Obdorsk), Kazym, Irtysh, Surgut, and Vakh Khanty. In the nineteenth century Russian Orthodox missionaries made a few attempts to create a written Khanty language, but a standardized form was difficult to derive from the dialects. In the 1930s a Latin script was introduced, and then quickly changed to a modified Cyrillic system by 1940. Russian has become the dominant language in most Khanty schools.

History and Cultural Relations

The first documents to refer to the Khanty indicate they had relations with Novgorodian traders in the eleventh century. Linguistic, archaeological, and folkloric evidence indicate that nomadic ancestors of the Ob Ugrians, possibly fleeing Christianization, had come north by the ninth century from steppes farther south. Crossing the Urals, they mixed and fought with indigenous populations and may have developed their dual phratry (or moiety) social system at that time. Conflicts with ancestors of the Mansi, Komi, and Nenets resulted in captives, who were made wives, slaves, or sacrificial victims. The Khanty paid tribute to the Tatar Khanate of Sibir from the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries.

In 1582 some Khanty decided to side with the famous Cossack Ermak against the Tatar Khan Kuchum. To the Cossack's joy, a delegation of Khanty elders bearing furs and wearing jewels and silk arrived in the Cossack camp. Ermak assumed that these elders were princes with greater authority than they actually had, but the alliance lasted long enough to defeat Kuchum. Both before and after, trade relations proceeded with mutual benefit and, sometimes, misunderstandings. Khanty paid what Muscovites and Novgorodians considered a fur tax, *iasak,* in return for gifts and trinkets that the Slavic traders saw as insignificant. Colonization followed Kuchum's defeat, although a few Khanty uprisings persisted into the seventeenth century. Some rebellions against Moscovite rule involved coalitions of Tatars, Samoyeds, and Ob Ugrians. In 1604 the Khanty attacked Berezovo, a Cossack outpost built where a Khanty sacred grove had stood. They were led by disillusioned members of the elite Alachev family, earlier favored by Moscow and even christened before the czar. Christian proselytizing took place soon after conquest; Khanty children taken hostage were among the first to be converted. Tax incentives were offered for Khanty to become Orthodox, and sacred ancestor images were burned.

Russian settlers at first focused on the southern parts of Khanty territory, displacing some Khanty northward. By the nineteenth century Russians had moved to riverside villages throughout the region and a few had intermarried with the Khanty. Concern for Siberian natives was reflected in the liberal reforms of 1822 initiated by Count Speranskii and in periodic campaigns to curtail the sale of alcohol to natives by unscrupulous traders. Some Khanty joined a native revolt led by the Nenets Vauli Piettomin in the 1840s. By the twentieth century officials were alarmed

at reports of disease, poverty, and population decline, especially among Khanty living in more southern areas.

In the north the Soviet era began as a rumor. Stories reached the Khanty of a Russian war, the czar's death, and "Lenin's new road." Most Khanty were not directly involved in the wave of destruction that swept Siberia during the civil war, as Red (Bolshevik) forces fought the Whites of Kolchak. The Khanty were worried, however, about village burnings on the Irtysh and supply shortages. A few Khanty revolutionaries, such as Ernov and Druzhinin, exposed traditional Komi enemies as Whites and eventually helped organize Soviet collectives. Native councils were formed with the guidance of the Moscow-based Committee of the North in 1924. The Ostyak-Vogul District, established in 1931, became the Khanty-Mansiisk District in the 1940s.

Collectivization involved a process of settlement, sometimes forced, of Khanty nomadic reindeer breeders, hunters, and fishers. Culture bases, *kul'tbazy*, established at Kazym and Lariak, were model collective centers, with schools, medical points, and stores. But the Khanty identified *kul'* with a word for "evil spirit." A 1933 revolt in Kazym resulted in Khanty taking Russian officials hostage, fleeing to the tundra, and eventually being arrested. Collectivization was not consolidated until the 1950s, when many people were again moved into larger villages.

Settlements

By the twentieth century the Khanty lived in various camps and villages, as well as on the outskirts of a few towns. Seminomadic Khanty lived in a transhumant pattern with summer and winter camps, moving with their reindeer to the same family territories each season. Their winter homes were small semisubterranean yurts, with only a few (three to ten) grouped together. In 1914 at the peak fall-winter season, population density along the Kazym River, for example, was only 3.2 per square mile. In the summer families were even more dispersed, with members living in skin tents (Russian: *chum*) that were sturdy yet easily portable. In the northeastern parts of Khanty territory, Khanty outnumbered Russian settlers until the 1930s, but near the towns of Obdorsk (Soviet Salekhard), Berezovo, Surgut, and Tobolsk, Russians predominated. Separate Khanty villages of shacks and cabins grew near Russian villages along the main rivers, where Khanty sometimes lived in relatively settled, Russified style. On the Irtysh, a few villages mixed Khanty and Russian styles, with log cabins lining dirt streets that fanned out from a riverbank.

With collectivization came the decline of nomadic reindeer breeding, so that by the 1950s reindeer breeders' families often lived in Russian-style villages while the men herded the animals on long shifts. A few women lived with their husbands as part of work brigades, but each family had a permanent log home or barrack apartment in a village. Collectives centered on fishing, hunting, and fur farming grew much larger than traditional settlements, averaging 1,000 or more people. Ethnic enclaves of Russians and Khanty were typical of such collectives in the 1970s. The capital of the district, Khanty-Mansiisk, has a diverse ethnic population in enclaves; it had fewer than 100,000 inhabitants in the 1980s. Towns with increasing numbers of Khanty residents include Surgut, Beriozovo, and Salekhard.

Economy

The Khanty traditionally supplemented seminomadic reindeer breeding with hunting and fishing. Reindeer herds ranged from several hundred animals for a rich breeder to fewer than ten for a poor one. The richest breeders had assistants, often impoverished members of their extended families but sometimes nonkin. Members of extended families usually included reindeer breeders and fishers, enabling mixed economic options to buffer dependence on local conditions. Fishers were sometimes those who had lost their reindeer or who had herds small enough to be merged with those of a brother in the summer. Families using nets or weirs on rivers were expected to take only as many sturgeon, salmon, pike, and trout as needed. Fish traps and weirs were made by the Khanty for local use, as were boats and sleds. Hunting was both for subsistence and the fur trade—furs were the medium of exchange during most of the pre-Soviet period. When valued furs such as sable and mink were depleted, Khanty turned to beaver, hare, muskrat, and squirrel. Wild reindeer, elks, bears, and foxes were hunted for their pelts, meat, and sinews and innards that could be turned into bags.

Winter trade fairs were annual events in the pastoral calendar, when families or their representatives traveled to towns such as Obdorsk or Surgut to pay the czarist fur tax and stock up on iron, cloth, flour, and other staples. Trade with Russians allowed firearms to replace bows and arrows. Khanty also hunted with self-triggering traps and, rarely, in groups that drove animals toward fences or pits. They used dogs, reindeer sleds, and horses during some hunts and to haul game home.

In the 1980s hunters used snowmobiles and motorboats to reach remote hunting territories and then tracked their animals in silence on foot. Workers receive small salaries or separate ruble payments for meeting fur and fish delivery quotas. Village workers also herd cows and horses and tend "fur farms" of caged silver foxes. The number of young Khanty choosing the strenuous life of reindeer breeding is declining, in part because it is hard to be a reindeer breeder with a family.

Division of Labor. Gender divisions were strict in the traditional Khanty household, with men obtaining furs for women to soften, men fishing as women processed previous catches, men killing animals in ritual sacrifices, and women gathering berries and tubers. Since women were believed "impure," they needed to observe many taboos, including not stepping over weapons and not preparing food during menstruation. At other times they prepared food, tended children and domestic animals, set up tents, and organized the family for travel. Men were often away on long hunting, fishing, and trading trips during which women had to be self-reliant.

Soviet economic life thrust a few women into hunting and fishing; others became fish canners, milkmaids, fur-farm attendants, nurses, accountants, librarians, and schoolteachers. Many still work at home or spend long hours standing in line at local stores. Men remain hunters,

fishers, and reindeer breeders. They also work in lumbering and in the unstable energy industry, where high salaries sweeten barracks living and dangerous conditions. Some Khanty have careers in government; others are academics or writers.

Kinship

Khanty kinship is based on a patrilineal descent system, with aspects of cognatic (nonunilineal) descent pragmatically recognized and reflected in kin terms. Each person traditionally had a tribe, through kinship and regional affiliation, although sources vary on its definition. Tribes were centered around the Kazym, Vasiugan, Vakh, Irtysh, and northern Ob river systems. Ob peoples were Asiakh, from which "Ostyak" may have derived. Exogamous patrilineages (*puch* or *poch*) had totemic identities and traced descent to a founding male ancestor. Larger social categories, *syr*, also provided a basis for identifying marriage partners. These exogamous phratries, sometimes termed moieties, crosscut Khanty, Mansi, and even Selkup divisions. Two main groups, Por and Mos, dominated the Ob River Basin. Most Khanty still know these identities, and some follow marriage rules associated with them.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Principles of patriarchy and patrilocality guided traditional marriages. Flexible households also allowed matrilocality, bride-service, and even bride-capture. Wealthy non-Orthodox Khanty could in principle have multiple wives (sisters were preferred), but in practice polygamy was rare. Despite widespread poverty, gifts to a bride's family of reindeer, furs, meat, crafts, and, by the twentieth century, rubles, were common, as were dowries. Traditional Khanty wives considered both the gifts and dowry insurance against mistreatment in their husband's families, for if they ran home, payments had to be returned. This attitude was not shared by Soviet Khanty, who claimed that the payments and arranged marriages made women slaves. As late as the 1930s weddings featured bloody sheets displayed and torn to pieces by the bride's mother, after which the new bride sat behind a curtain in her husband's family home while others caroused nearby. She emerged to work but was forbidden to show her face to her male in-laws.

Inheritance. Patrilineages traditionally regulated territory usufruct and male inheritance of animals. They controlled dowry size and allowed female inheritance of animals only when there was no logical male heir. Sale of land was rare, but when it occurred an entire lineage shared the proceeds. Collectivization made lineage territories obsolete.

Socialization. Participating in male hunting and fishing trips, young boys were trained in survival skills. They tended reindeer and, at puberty, were initiated into kin-group lore, rituals, and responsibilities. Girls were brought up reserved, obedient, and constantly working. They left home as brides as young as 12 years old. Soviet boarding schools changed these traditions, without fully instilling values of "young pioneer" Socialist training.

Sociopolitical Organization

Patrilineage elders formed the core of traditional community control. They enforced the return of poached spoils from lineage lands, guided blood revenge, and decided issues of war and peace. Their consensus-based authority was undermined but not destroyed by czarist officials, who designated some elder "princes" tax collectors and native judges. A few women from wealthy families were called "princesses": one, christened "Anna," helped lead an early Khanty revolt against Russians.

Soviet rule deposed most "noble" families; since they were often the richest reindeer breeders, they were punished as class enemies. Native councils, *tuzriki*, were established in the 1920s, but their leaders sometimes personalized their power, claiming "I am the *tuzrik*." With education, increased literacy, and politicization during World War II, new Khanty leaders became more effective spokesmen for Soviet rule. Soviet affirmative-action laws gave natives special rights in schooling, medical care, and taxation. The laws were unevenly enforced, however, and leaders were powerless when Communist central authorities decided to consolidate villages and collectives, causing hardship for those who wanted to stay in traditional territories.

Radically different politics developed in the 1980s, with Khanty leaders protesting governmental paternalism, economic exploitation, ecological destruction by the energy industry, and invasion of their region by uncaring, prejudiced outsiders. In a rallying cry for northern native unity and greater control over local resources, Khanty writer E. Aipin described widespread destitution and alcoholism. Popular responses to such cries resulted in the halting of a development project in Yamal and in proposals to make part of western Siberia an ecological preserve for native use. Two Khanty were elected to the country's Supreme Soviet. In 1990 Khanty joined other Siberian natives in the first Congress of Northern Peoples held in sixty years. Other forums for political action include the Association of Northern Minorities and the Association for the Salvation of the Ungrians.

Religion and Expressive Cultures

Religious Beliefs. The ecology movement illustrates ideological changes for new generations of Khanty struggling to reconcile or adapt ancient beliefs without entirely rejecting their traditions as "primitive." Khanty religion traditionally included reverence for spirit masters of animals, forests, and rivers. The chief intermediaries with such spirits, and with an elaborate hierarchy of gods, were shamans, religious and medical practitioners who often served as sensitive community leaders. Other Khanty could also communicate with the spirits by making appropriate reindeer or horse sacrifices. Sacrifices were performed in sacred groves that served as ecological preserves where no animals could be hunted. Kin groups, whose identities were linked with specific trees, presided over these groves. The groves featured ancestral male and female spirit images, called "idols" by Russians who held them in contempt. One of these grove-based groups was disbanded in the 1960s by Communist party leaders (who had previously thought such groups extinct).

The cosmology of the spirit world was multilayered, including eastern sky gods, earth spirits, and an underworld sometimes associated with the North. Some of the earth spirits were believed to be deceased ancestors, especially shamans. Kin identity was mirrored in spirit organization: each lineage and phratry had "totemic" animal associations. Thus the Por people, linked with the sacred bear, were forbidden to hunt or eat bear except at Por ceremonies. Most people held hares sacred. The binding of kinship with ancestors meant that spirits as well as elders became enforcers of morality and taboos. This idea, plus a belief in reincarnation, is maintained by some Khanty. Aspects of Russian Orthodoxy (Christ as the main sky god, Numi-Torm) are also merged with ancient Turkic concepts (eastern sky gods).

Ceremonies. The translation of beliefs into action became problematic in the Soviet period, when the major ritual leaders—shamans—were persecuted and all religion was discouraged as superstition; a "last" bear ceremony to serve as an initiation was recorded in the 1930s. Secularization of traditional bear ceremonies was reflected in rituals filmed in the 1970s, although many Khanty still consider the bear sacred, with all-seeing powers. In addition to the feasting and dancing that accompany appeals to the bear spirit, there were satirical plays and buffoonery, sometimes mocking Russians. Bear festivals can therefore be seen as "rituals of reversal," and are enjoying a dramatic revival. Sacrificial rituals are performed in sacred groves, but more common are small tokens of respect for spirits, such as coins, flowers, and cloth, left in the groves. Some of the groves are sites for women's worship of female fire and fertility deities. Rituals for major events in the life cycle, such as births and weddings, have declined and sometimes have been supplanted by secular rituals. Yet divination to discover a child's identity as a reincarnated ancestor is still performed very frequently. A major Ob River holiday is the midsummer Day of Fisherman, a time for drinking and carousing.

Arts. Historically, the greatest performances were part of phratry ceremonies, including dramatic masked dancers emerging from the forest and transvestite men imitating bride-capture. Shamanic séances held participants enthralled with drumming, zither playing, dancing, ventriloquism, and sleight-of-hand stunts. Folktale and legend chanting took up many winter nights; some elders still know the chants. Owned lineage songs include geographical and kinship lore that were once part of the education of young men. Women's crafts include intricate appliqué fur designs symbolizing animals and kin affiliations, on clothing and bags. Men's wood and ivory carving is both commercial and religious.

Medicine. Various shamans ministered to ill Khanty, depending on the nature of the illness and the shaman's reputation. Powerful shamans believed capable of trance during séances (*elta*) to recover lost souls were *isyl'ta-ku* (men) or *isyl'ta-ni* (women). Shamans specializing in dream interpretation to diagnose illness, *ulom-verta-ni*, were often women, whereas "legend-singers," *arekhta-ku*, were men. Séances featured journeys by shamans or helper spirits to upper and lower cosmological worlds. Helpers ranged from mosquitoes to sacred bears or even Saint Nicholas. Once intense group-oriented cathartic performances of astonishing virtuosity, shamanic séances became private and covert. Western medicine, administered in clinics and hospitals, is chosen for many illness and births. A few shamans are revered and feared by those who believe in the dangers of soul loss and offending ancestral spirits.

Death and Afterlife. Belief in multiple souls (as many as four for women and five for men) means that special precautions must be taken for their well-being during burials and memorial feasts. Whereas one of the souls, *lil*, can reside in ancestral images and eventually be reincarnated, others may travel skyward or become birds and evil soul-stealing spirits. The Khanty concept of heaven, adapted from Russian Orthodoxy, envisions Khanty spirits living a normal reindeer-breeding existence in one area, with Russians living in another.

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MARJORIE MANDELSTAM BALZER

Khevsur

ETHNONYMS: Self-designation: Qevsur; Literary Georgian: Khevsuri.

Orientation

Identification and Location. The Khevsur are one of the ethnic subdivisions of the Georgian people. They dwell in a mountainous region in northeastern Georgia. Their territory lies on both sides of the main range of the Caucasus, which serves as a natural border dividing Khevsureti (the name of the province) into northern and southern halves. This province is now part of the Dusheti region. The Khevsur have as neighbors the Christian Tushetians and Pshavs (both Georgian groups) and the Moslem Kistis (related to the Chechens). Because of their secluded location, the Khevsur have preserved many ancient customs and traditions that distinguish their culture from those of neighboring Georgian communities.

Demography. At present the population of Khevsureti is a mere 800, compared to 5,000 in the previous century. There are many reasons for this decrease. In recent decades there has been migration from rural areas to the large cities as people search for an improved standard of living. Even today many Khevsur villages lack electricity and good access roads. In addition, under Stalin's regime, many people were deported from Khevsureti to increase the urban labor force.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Khevsur speak a dialect of Georgian, the most widely spoken of the South Caucasian (Kartvelian) languages. Not surprisingly, given the remoteness of the province, the local dialect resembles medieval Georgian in several respects. Certain speech sounds and morphological and syntactical features are retained in Khevsurian that have been absent from the literary language for many centuries.

History and Cultural Relations

In fifteenth-century sources, Khevsureti, together with certain of its neighboring mountain provinces, was referred to as Pkhovi (which may derive from a Georgian root meaning "brave, valiant"). The word "Khevsur" itself comes from Georgian *qev-/khev-* (gorge, ravine); the Khevsur are therefore "dwellers in ravines." Little is known about the origins of this ethnic group, and there is no reliable historical documentation concerning their original territory or the factors that induced them to migrate into such a harsh region of Georgia. The Khevsur themselves tell the following legend about their ancestor, Gudaneli. Gudaneli originally dwelt in Kakheti, a lowland province to the southeast of Khevsureti. He fled from his feudal overlord and took refuge among the Pshavs, where he found the wherewithal to settle and establish a family. His three children, Araba, Gogona, and Ch'inch'ara, cleared new land for settlement, which came to be the territory of the Khevsur. This legend may in fact be an indication that the first Khevsur fled or were driven into the mountains. The oldest family names are Gogojuri, Ch'inch'arauli, and Arabuli; other clans arrived at a later date. The chief village of Khevsureti is Gudani; other important villages are Ardot'i, Arkhot'i, Blo, Mutso, and Shat'ili (the last of these is noted for its striking architecture, the stone houses and towers built stepwise on the mountain slope). All of these places are at an elevation of 2,000 meters or more above sea level, and the winters last up to half the year. Many villages have been abandoned and left to ruin.

Settlements

The Khevsur build houses from sheets of slate, which are set together without mortar. Three principal types of buildings are recognized: dwellings, defense structures, and agricultural buildings. At some distance from the homesteads are the *khat'i* (shrines with altars, erected in a sacred grove) and the menstruation and childbirth huts. The usual house has one story with one or two rooms, though dwellings of up to three stories are known. Most often houses are set along the slope of a ravine so that the roof of one house serves as a terrace for the house above it. These mountain dwellings are windowless, and the walls and roofs are made of compressed clay. In multistory buildings the bottom floor serves as a stall for livestock, and the floor above is used as a common room. In the middle of this room is the fireplace, over which a cooking pot is suspended from a hook. The walls of the interior rooms are usually black with soot because of the lack of ventilation. Rhododendron wood or dried dung is used as fuel. Around the hearth are placed benches, small tables, and chairs, according to a precise seating arrangement. Niches, shelves, and racks on the walls serve for storage of household articles. Many of the latter are fashioned from wood or horn. Large and small chests with decorative carvings are set by the walls for the storage of food and clothing. In some locations, for example New Shat'ili, modern houses with electricity, water, gas, and sanitary facilities have been constructed.

In the older mountain villages one can still see the four-story defense towers, 10 to 20 meters high. These too are constructed without the use of mortar. They are of conical shape with cupolalike roofs, and on each side of the top floor are embrasures, narrow windows through which those inside could shoot at their attackers. In case of attack, all of the villagers could take shelter within the tower and defend themselves. Each village also had a cemetery, several small huts—within which, up to the beginning of this century, childbearing or menstruating women secluded themselves—and a sacred grove with altars and shrines. The cemeteries and groves were surrounded by low walls, beyond which women and outsiders could not set foot. The groves contained ancient trees, mostly beech, oak, and ash, to which protective and sacred powers were attributed. Only the *dast'uri* (see "Religious Beliefs and Practices") of the shrine was allowed to gather wood or cut down a tree within the sacred grove; anyone else might be put to death for doing so. The wood thus obtained could be used only to brew beer for ritual use. Within the sacred groves stand the shrines, constructed, like the houses, out of slate. Atop the shrine are affixed the horns of the Caucasian ibex and a bell. The huts for menstruating women, which used to be found in each village, are called *samrelo.*

Women would stay there about two to three days, during which time they were considered unclean. Throughout this period they primarily ate bread and herbs.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. The Khevsur occupy a territory of approximately 1,600 square kilometers. The often steep and nearly inaccessible land surfaces of this mountainous region are exploited to the utmost as crop- and pasturelands. Animal husbandry is especially important. Specially developed farming techniques are needed to produce a sufficient amount of food in the brief summer. The harsh climate and meager soil require great effort to maximize the harvest yield. One particular difficulty is that at this elevation, the only cereal crop that can be grown profitably is barley. The valley slopes are divided vertically according to the use to which they are put. The lowest parts are for cultivation of crops. In addition to barley, potatoes and maize are also grown; the fields are apportioned among the families of the community so that none is disadvantaged. Cattle are pastured at middle elevations, where the meadows are rich enough for the livestock to restore themselves after a long winter. The higher elevations are exploited for hay fields. Cows and sheep graze in the sharply delimited high summer pastures. The Khevsur cow, which has almost died out, is a well-adapted animal, giving rich milk even when the grazing is meager.

Clothing. The Khevsur costume (*t'alavari*) is unique in the Caucasus for its colorful and rich embroidery and profusion of decorative borders, beads, metal buttons, and disks. Sheep's wool is spun into yarn, dyed, and woven into fabric. Until the middle of this century, locally produced natural colors were used to dye cloth. In earlier times three kinds of fabric were produced, which were destined for different segments of the garment. The male costume was especially lavishly ornamented. European fabrics, silver coins and disks, and brightly colored glass beads and buttons from the markets of Kakheti were used in fashioning its borders and adornments. The traditional male apparel comprised the *chokha* (cloak), *p'erangi* (shirt), *nipkhavi* (trousers), and *mest'ebi* (leggings). Of these, the shirt was the most finely and extravagantly fashioned. Its basic color is reddish-brown, blue, or black, against which are displayed numerous adornments of various colors. The traditional ornamentation consisted of finely embroidered crosses, borders, parallel bands, triangles, and the like. The cloak (usually dyed blue) is decorated with similar motifs, although not as lavishly. It is worn open in front, fastened with a belt on which weapons are carried. The embroidery, glass beads, and other adornments are arranged for good contrast of colors. The trousers are of plain black material, and the lower pant legs are bound by tight-fitting embroidered leggings. Until recently each Khevsur man possessed a full set of weaponry and would not go out of his house unarmed. The reason for this practice was the threat of attack by enemies, brigands, or avengers in blood feuds. The armor was comprised of an iron chain-mail shirt, a helmet, and protection for the arms and hands. A fully armed Khevsur bore a shield, sword, curved saber, rifle, and a thumb ring with sharp metal points for hand-to-hand combat. Before firearms were introduced to Khevsureti, the bow and arrow was used.

Women, as well, wear the chokha and p'erangi, the latter being an ankle-length frock not as richly adorned as the man's shirt. Women's garments are ornamented with embroidery, glass beads, silver trinkets, and buttons. The frock is made of blue wool; it is flat in front and folded at the back. The chokha resembles the one worn by men and is tied with a belt. Women also wear a headpiece known as a *mandili*, which has special cultural significance. Should a woman throw her mandili between two quarreling men, they must immediately stop fighting. If a man pulls the mandili from a woman's head, he is in effect accusing her of indecency. This headdress consists of a turbanlike cloth wrapped around the head, with two bands hanging from the ends. The lower, narrower band is used to fasten the "false tresses," and the upper, wider one is embroidered in bright colors. Additional feminine adornments are earrings and necklaces. Among the apparel common to both genders are knitted wool stockings and mittens, likewise decorated with coins and beads. In summer the mittens serve as pouches for carrying provisions.

Food. Barley is ground into a coarse meal from which flat cakes are baked. This grain is also used in the production of vodka and beer. The principal foods are the previously mentioned flat breads, milk, cheese, greens, herbs, and the meat of domestic or wild animals. Food is preserved by smoking or drying.

Division of Labor. Social life is governed by systematic conventions, and work is divided along gender lines. Women are responsible for housekeeping, care of cattle, and manufacture of clothing. Heavy labor, such as plowing or hay mowing, is reserved for men. Children must begin to help with the work while still quite young. By the age of 8 to 10 they are already fully entrusted with adult tasks. In earlier times young boys were instructed in fencing, the use of weapons, and rhetoric. It was considered desirable for even the youngest to participate in discussions at festivals and gatherings, so as to develop their verbal skills.

Marriage and Family

Premarital Relations. The Khevsur retain a type of premarital relation between young people, called *sts'orproba*, that resembles practices observed among other peoples of the Caucasus (e.g., the *ts'ats'loba* of the neighboring Pshavs). The relation can range from a purely platonic, brother-sister bond to a sexual union. The two partners must be of opposite sex, and the relationship must not result in pregnancy. The Khevsur observe exogamy, and likewise sts'orproba is all but unknown between relatives. In cases of violation, the couple is liable to sanctions imposed by the villagers. Any form of adultery is avoided.

Sts'orproba seems to have a long history: it is believed to have been introduced into Khevsureti two to three centuries ago, during a period of political and economic turmoil in Georgia subsequent to the collapse of centralized feudal authority. Northern Caucasian mountaineers (Kistis and Lezgians) took advantage of the situation to conduct raids in Georgia, and the Khevsur were forced to arm themselves and maintain continual vigilance. One aspect of this state of alert was that men and women took to

sleeping close together for mutual security. This, according to tradition, was the origin of sts'orproba. In practice, sts'orproba draws on the close relationships formed among young children who have been brought up together and also the custom of one woman serving as wet nurse for another woman's child. Two children who have fed at the same breast have a special bond.

The forming of sts'orproba begins with two people who share a mutual attraction but do not yet know each other well. To draw a woman into sts'orproba, the young man must woo her with charm and attentiveness. Khevsur women are generally attracted to temperamental, bold, and courageous men. The young woman acts discreetly, usually going to the man at night, a bottle of vodka (*araq'i*) in her hand. (In the neighboring Georgian district of Pshavi, it is the man who goes to the woman.) They meet in a remote part of the homestead, usually the stable. During the early stages the lovers (*sts'orperni*) are rather touchy and misunderstandings are common. They sense some shame at first, until their affection grows stronger and deeper. At first the lovers lie together, with caressing restricted to the area above the breast. According to tradition, the couple exchanges small gifts at the beginning of sts'orproba, with the "sister" fashioning ornamented items for her "brother," who reciprocates with a gift. When it is time to sleep the woman nestles herself against the man and thus they pass the night together. A significant point in the relation is reached when the young woman "undoes the collar" on her garment—as portrayed in Khevsur poetry, the woman feels great anxiety as she performs this act. In general the sts'orproba proceeds harmoniously, but should the reciprocal affections cool, the relation is gradually broken off. In such cases the woman, out of pride, does not let on to others what is occurring. Because marital agreements can be contracted between quite young children, sts'orproba can come to an abrupt end. Should one or the other of the sts'orperni be promised in marriage to another, they might withdraw for a while to mourn and overcome their distress. In earlier times it was very rare for sts'orproba to culminate in marriage between the sts'orperni, but this has become more common in recent years.

As mentioned earlier, pregnancy is to be avoided at all costs. The bearing of a child conceived in sts'orproba is considered tantamount to incest, and the guilty parties can be exiled from the community. To avoid such consequences, the couple resorts to coitus interruptus or limits sexual relations to the woman's infertile period. During menstruation Khevsur women must spend two or three days in the samrelo; a woman engaged in sts'orproba will extend this stay to up to ten days, during which she and her partner can unite sexually without much risk of pregnancy. Should a woman be caught in a "dishonorable" sts'orproba, it is she and her relatives—and not her lover—who are liable to ostracism. In many such cases the woman has chosen suicide.

The practice of sts'orproba is known to all members of the village community, and one can often identify those involved in it. Young men will boast of their activities, claiming that it is the sexual act that has transformed them from boys into men. Some might fall into melancholy from unhappy love, in which case the entire community will lend emotional support. Rivalries can ensue when one woman or man attracts the attention of several suitors at once. This may lead to exchanges of insults and curses, but in accordance with the avoidance of envy and jealousy in Khevsur society, these disputes are resolved amicably. It is permitted for a woman to have two lovers, though one must be platonic and the other physical. Two lovers of the same type are not allowed. Should the woman be obligated to choose among rivals, she will attempt to do so without unduly hurting anyone. Young lovers do not disguise their sts'orproba from their elders, but this does not change anything with respect to previously made marital agreements or the rights of the elders to forbid a relationship.

Once sts'orproba has been dissolved, for whatever reason, the sts'orperni continue to honor each other for the rest of their lives. They will never forget the wonderful times they spent together in their youth. Since almost everyone has experienced sts'orproba, a former lover is always hospitably received by his or her former sts'orperi's family, and no one would jealously hinder them from recalling their happy memories.

Marriage. Marital agreements were sometimes contracted by parents on behalf of children still in the cradle. Because the land could not support a large population, measures were taken to control the birth rate. A woman could not marry before the age of 20 and could not bear a child in the first four years of marriage. After each birth she was to wait at least three years before having another child. Premarital pregnancy was considered so shameful that many women faced with it have resorted to suicide.

Even though marital alliances might be contracted while the principals were still children, there is up to the present day a practice of symbolic abduction. The young man, bringing gifts and escorted by his friends, visits the home of the woman's parents, where a banquet is held. The young woman, feigning resistance, accompanies the young man to his parents' house; she remains there for a while, although without any intimate contact with the groom, and then returns home. The actual wedding takes place five or six days later, presided over by the *khutsesi* (see "Religious Beliefs and Practices" and "Death and Afterlife"). The community gathers in the groom's home, and the couple pledge their troth by the hearth. They are symbolically joined by a thread placed around their shoulders. After the wedding the marital relationship proceeds with considerable restraint. The couple spends three days together, then the wife returns to her parents' home once again, where the man must go to visit her, for a certain period of time. Only subsequently does the couple live together in the husband's house. Once established in her husband's home, the wife is expected to subordinate herself to the *diasakhlisi*, the senior woman of the household, and perform the tasks she assigns. Should the extended family become too large, the husband can request his appropriate portion of the property from his father and establish a separate household. The bride brings a dowry, consisting of clothing, fabric, and livestock. Any increase arising from the dowry belongs to the husband; in case of loss he must make up the difference. Should the marriage be dissolved, the woman returns to her ancestral home; she can subsequently remarry. If it is the wife who leaves the husband—which rarely happens—she must render com-

pensation. Any children from the union remain in the husband's household.

Inheritance. The property of a man is inherited equally by his sons; his widow receives nothing. The sons are therefore responsible for her well-being. A mother's possessions are divided among the children, with clothing and fabrics going to her daughters.

Socialization. Traditionally, a pregnant woman and her family would be excluded from community events. When it was time to give birth she had to leave the village and repair to a shabby childbirth hut (*sachekhi*). Only in case of a difficult delivery could she have others to assist (relatives would attend her). All objects used by her were considered unclean and could not be used within the household. The birth of a son was welcomed more than that of a daughter. The father of a baby boy might entertain guests with beer and vodka for an entire week. In the nineteenth century a woman might have been confined to the hut for a month after the birth of a child and would come out only after a thorough purification, after which the hut was burned down. The birth was then announced to the community, and all invited guests would bring gifts and attend a banquet. Should a newborn die within seven weeks of birth, traditional practice dictated that the body be smeared with a mixture of ashes and water and then buried. Only after seven weeks would a child be given a Christian baptism. Despite the fact that much time was devoted to the raising of children, public displays of affection toward children were avoided and coddling only took place within the home.

Sociopolitical Organization

Juridical matters were in most cases settled within the village community. The village elders functioned as judges and the *qevisberi* ("monk/priest of the ravine") as arbitrator. Any infraction could be completely indemnified, and an established canon of laws specified the offenses and their punishments. Up through the nineteenth century blood feuds were common among the Khevsur, hence the bearing of arms and armor. A person who was targeted for revenge could never feel entirely secure until the offense was expiated. At times feuds continued for generations, with grave consequences: entire clans or villages became embroiled in enmity. After killing an enemy, a man would cut off the dead foe's right hand and nail it to his house. Such trophies could be seen in Khevsureti up to the middle of this century.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs and Practices. Khevsur religion is an amalgam of several interwined traditions. Although they consider themselves Christian (Georgian Orthodox), their religious system comprises pagan, Old Testament, Christian, and Moslem elements. The chief authority in religious affairs is the *dek'anosi* (deacon) or qevisberi. A man can become a qevisberi only on the basis of a vision of God or one of the saints (who function as minor deities), supplemented by the recommendation of another priest. Only priests can ordain a man into the priesthood and assign him his duties. The qevisberi presides at the altar, offers sacrifices, supervises the brewing of ritual beer, heals illnesses, performs blessings, and intercedes with the patron saint of the shrine. Among the ritual functionaries subordinate to him are the khutsesi, dast'uri, *mekhat'e*, *medroshe*, and *mezare*. The khutsesi presides at weddings, burials, and funerals, and performs certain blessings (e.g., after childbirth). The dast'uri serves for a one-year term, with the election taking place at the New Year. He is responsible for brewing the sacred beer, distilling vodka, baking bread, and cooking the meat of sacrificed animals. Those serving in this office are expected to live ascetic and abstemious lives. The mekhat'e bears the holy icon in processions, and the medroshe carries the flag. The mezare is the guardian of the treasure entrusted to the shrine. This consists of the silver bowls and chalices used in ritual ceremonies and the flag of the shrine (*drosha*), which is regarded with great reverence by the people.

The function of communicating with the supernatural world is divided among several practitioners. The *kadage* is a shamanlike prophet; he pronounces his prophecies while in a trance, during which he might engage in self-flagellation. Women and girls can also perform this office, in which case their function is to establish the causes of illnesses, misfortune, and casualties in battle. The *mesultane* can see into the world of the dead and communicate with the souls of the departed. In return for gifts she will establish contact with departed souls and ask about their well-being, their needs, or if there is the threat of evil. The *mkitkhave* is another type of intermediary. She inquires about the causes of illnesses and the possibility of healing. For example, the afflicted person might have to be taken to a particular altar, where a sacrifice is to be offered. While performing certain rituals and prayers, the qevisberi slaughters a sheep and collects its blood in a bowl. He makes the sign of the cross upon the sick person and sprinkles him or her with the blood, after which the animal is prepared for eating. The qevisberi, possessed by the demon driven out by the blood of the sacrificed animal, must then heal himself. This ritual is performed at the women's festival grounds. Wounds and minor illnesses are treated with medicinal herbs and other natural means.

The Khevsur observe a cycle of feast days, which are accompanied by traditional rites. A Khevsur must undergo a ritual cleansing before approaching the shrine on the occasion of a festival. The summer festivals take place in June and July, with the date reckoned from Easter. Easter and Christmas are clearly Christian feast days, and both are preceded by periods of fasting. The high point is Holy Week, the week preceding Easter. The first of the summer festivals is the feast of Qaqmat'is-jvari, one of the most solemn in Khevsureti. The festival usually lasts four to five days and is celebrated at the most sacred altar in Khevsureti, consecrated to Saint George. Of particular significance to these ceremonies are the silver chalices and bowls, decorated with engravings and precious objects—each vessel has a particular function and is consecrated to a particular deity. Another important feast day is Atangena, celebrated between 13 and 27 July. There are also many festivals that are only observed in individual villages. Khevsur festivals, like those elsewhere in Georgia, are marked by music, dancing, and singing.

Certain animals have specific functions and attributes

according to Khevsur belief. The cat is considered an unclean animal. Should a member of the community be convicted of thievery, a dead cat would be hung by his house as a sign of shame. In the event that the accused person did not admit to the crime, a dog would be killed in his name—an especially severe insult. Migratory birds were watched for because they were believed to bring diseases; when the birds arrived, specified practices were to be followed.

Death and Afterlife. Funerary rituals and the cult of the dead are an important part of Khevsur culture. As is the case elsewhere in the Caucasus, elaborate funeral rituals and banquets are held in commemoration of departed family members. Should a person be on the verge of dying, he or she is brought out of doors, since dead bodies render the house unclean. The body is prepared by *narevebi* (body washers) and dressed in the person's best holiday clothing. Since they have been polluted by contact with a corpse, the narevebi must remain secluded and undergo a weeklong series of purification rites. Most often young men assume this function. For three to four days the deceased lies in state before the house, and keening women lament in loud voices. Some women are engaged expressly for this purpose, for which they are compensated with food. Meanwhile the relatives are seated in the house with the khutsesi, who offers prayers for the deceased. On the day of burial the dead person is publicly mourned by all of the villagers, who punctuate their laments by beating on their breasts and knees. Before the introduction of interment at the beginning of the twentieth century, the dead were placed in mausoleums (*ak'ldama*), which are still to be seen in Anat'ori or Mutso. These are small houselike structures with stone benches inside, on which the dead were placed in a seated position. The survivors would provide them pouches containing provisions, a pipe, and tobacco. In the case of burial, the body is laid in a family grave lined with sheets of slate, in which all family members, including relatives who bear the same name, are buried. All adornments are removed from the body, and it is laid to rest on its back. The soul is sent on its long journey to the afterworld with provisions of bread, apples, nuts, a comb, a mirror, and weapons. A Khevsur horse must also be present during the burial. It is specially decked out with finery and led to the grave site. After the ceremony a horse race is conducted in honor of the deceased.

A commemorative feast is held forty days after interment. The principal commemoration takes place a year after death and lasts for three days. All relatives are invited, and it is considered dishonorable not to attend (the offense is punishable by expulsion from the community). Each guest must supply a portion of the food and beverage for the banquet. Eulogies are pronounced; a deceased man's courage, articulateness, and skill with weapons in battle and in hunting are recalled with praise. The Khevsur regard the soul as pure; in order for it to reach the land of the dead, it must cross a bridge made from a single hair. At the other end of the hair bridge is the judge of the dead, who pronounces sentence. Sinners are condemned to swim in a river of tar, liars are doused with hot water, and traitors must stand in hot water. After thus expiating their sins, the souls can enter paradise, which is conceived of as a many-storied white building. The more virtuous a soul is, the higher its place in the building; the purest souls, such as those of children, are assigned to the top story. Over the course of time a soul can ascend to higher floors. Hell, by contrast, is believed to be a dark four-cornered room.

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ACHIM SCHYBOLL

Khinalughs

ETHNONYMS: Khinalugh is the Azerbaijani name for the people and the village they inhabit. Their self-designations are: (1) Kätish, Kätsh khalk (the "people of Ketsh"); (2) Kättid (the "inhabitants of Ketsh"). "Ketsh" is the Khinalugh name for the village Khinalugh.

Orientation

Identification and Location. The Khinalughs live in the remote village of Khinalugh (also called Khïnalïk) in the Kuba District of the Azerbaijan Republic. Located in a mountainous area more than 2,300 meters in elevation in the eastern spur of the Great Caucasus chain, above the

river Kudial-chay, Khinalugh is surrounded by mountain peaks (including Shakhdag and Trfan) that separate it from neighboring villages inhabited by Azerbaijanis, Lezgins, and Kryz (a small ethnic community speaking a language of the Lezgin group). The climate in Khinalugh, in comparison with that in lowland villages, is by no means harsh: the winters are sunny and snow seldom falls.

Demography. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the population claiming Khinalugh nationality has been steadily decreasing as a result of their assimilation by the Azerbaijanis. The Khinalugh population was 2,300 in 1859 and 1,400 in 1926, of which only 105 described themselves as Khinalughs. The rest were listed in the census as "Turks" speaking Khinalugh as their native language. In addition, some Khinalughs considered themselves Azerbaijanis. Since that time the Khinalughs have not been counted separately in the Soviet censuses. In the early 1950s about 800 Khinalughs dwelt in the village; however, many others had resettled in villages in the lowland parts of the Kuba, Kutkashen, and Ismail regions of Azerbaijan.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Khinalugh language belongs to the Daghestanian Group of the Northeast Caucasian (Nakh-Daghestanian) Language Family. Some linguists (e.g., R. M. Shaumian) associate it with the Lezgin Language Group; others (e.g., A. N. Genko) consider it to be closer to the Udi language; yet others (e.g., Yu. D. Desheriev) regard Khinalugh as a descendant of an ancient group of Caucasian languages, within which it occupies a distinct place. The language is not written; throughout the Soviet period the Khinalughs used the Azerbaijani language for writing and also for communication with their neighbors in Azerbaijan and southern Daghestan. Russian is taught in the schools from the first grade, but the only Khinalughs who know it well are those who have served in the army or gone elsewhere for work (especially to the petroleum plants in Baku).

History and Cultural Relations

The Khinalughs are descendants of one of the tribes of ancient Caucasian Albania, which, in the early Christian era, flourished in what is now northern Azerbaijan and southern Daghestan. It is believed that the population of Caucasian Albania spoke languages of the Northeast Caucasian Family, among them the precursors of the Udi, Lezgin, Khinalugh, Budukh, and Kryz languages. Earlier, Khinalugh was part of the Shemakha Khanate, of which Azerbaijanis formed the majority population. After incorporation in the Russian Empire in 1828, Khinalugh found itself in the Kuba Uezd (district) of Baku Province (Bakinskaia Guberniia).

Settlements

Khinalugh, like many mountain settlements, is densely packed, with narrow sinuous streets and a terraced layout, in which the roof of one house serves as a courtyard for the house above.

The Khinalugh house (*ts'wa*) is built from unfinished stones and clay mortar, and is plastered in the interior. The house has two stories; cattle are kept on the lower floor (*tsuga*) and the living quarters are on the upper floor (*otag*). The otag includes a separate room for entertaining the husband's guests. The number of rooms in a traditional house varied according to the size and structure of the family. An extended family unit might have one large room of 40 square meters or more, or perhaps separate sleeping quarters for each of the married sons and his nuclear family. In either case, there was always a common room with hearth. The roof was flat and covered with a thick layer of packed earth; it was supported by wooden beams propped by one or more pillars (*kheche*). The beams and pillars were decorated with carvings. In earlier times the floor was covered with clay; more recently this has been supplanted by wood floors, although in most respects the house has preserved its traditional form. Smallish holes in the walls once served as windows; some light was also admitted through the smoke hole (*murog*) in the roof. Since the late nineteenth century well-to-do Khinalughs have built galleries (*eyvan*) onto the upper floor, reached by an outside stone staircase. The inside walls contained niches for blankets, cushions, and clothing. Grain and flour were kept in large wooden coffers. The inhabitants slept on wide benches. The Khinalughs have traditionally sat on cushions on the floor, which was covered with thick felt and napless woolen carpets. In recent decades "European" furniture has been introduced: tables, chairs, beds, and so on. Nonetheless, the Khinalughs still prefer to sit on the floor and keep their modern furnishings in the guest room for show. The traditional Khinalugh home is heated by hearths of three types: the *tunor* (for baking unleavened bread); the *bukhar* (a fireplace set against the wall); and, in the courtyard, an open stone hearth (*ojakh*) at which meals are prepared. The tunor and bukhar are inside the house. In winter, for additional heat, a wooden stool is placed over a hot brazier (*kürsü*). The stool is then covered with carpets, under which the family members lay their legs to get warm. Since the 1950s metal stoves have been used in Khinalugh.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. The traditional Khinalugh economy was based on animal husbandry: primarily sheep, but also cows, oxen, horses, and mules. The summer alpine pastures were located around Khinalugh, and the winter pastures—along with winter livestock shelters and dug-out dwellings for the shepherds—were at Müshkür in the lowlands of the Kuba District. The livestock remained in the mountains near Khinalugh from June to September, at which point they were driven to the lowlands. Several owners, usually relatives, would combine their sheep herds under the supervision of a person chosen from among the most respected villagers. He was responsible for the pasturing and maintenance of the livestock and their exploitation for products. Well-to-do owners hired workers to herd their stock; poorer peasants did the herding themselves. The animals provided an important part of the diet (cheese, butter, milk, meat), as well as wool for homespun cloth and multicolored stockings, some of which were traded. Uncolored wool was made into felt (*keche*) to cover the dirt floors in homes. In Müshkür felt was traded to lowlanders in exchange for

wheat. The Khinalughs also sold wool carpets woven by the womenfolk.

Agriculture played only a secondary role. The severe climate (a warm season of only three months) and lack of arable land were not conducive to the development of agriculture in Khinalugh. Barley and a local variety of bean were cultivated. Because of the insufficiency of the yield, wheat was obtained by trade in the lowland villages or by people going there to work at harvest time. On the less steep areas of the slopes around Khinalugh, terraced fields were plowed in which the villagers planted a mixture of winter rye (*sïlk*) and wheat. This yielded a dark-colored flour of inferior quality. Spring barley (*maqa*) was also planted, and a smaller amount of lentils. The fields were worked with wooden mountain plows (*ïngaz*) pulled by yoked oxen; these plows broke the surface without overturning the soil. The crops were harvested in mid-August: the grain was reaped with sickles and bundled into sheaves. The grain and hay were transported by mountain sledges or packed onto horses; the absence of roads precluded the use of oxcarts. As elsewhere in the Caucasus, grain is threshed on a special threshing board, on the surface of which chips of flint are embedded. Up to the 1960s terrace agriculture without irrigation was the predominant form in Khinalugh. Garden farming of cabbage and potatoes (which had earlier been brought from Kuba) began in the 1930s. With the establishment of a Soviet sheep-raising farm (sovkhoz) in the 1960s, all private landholdings, which had been converted into pastures or gardens, were eliminated. The necessary supply of flour is now delivered to the village, and potatoes are also sold.

Clothing. Traditional Khinalugh apparel resembled that of the Azerbaijanis, consisting of an undershirt, trousers, and outer clothing. For men this would included a *chokha* (frock), an *arkhalug* (shirt), outer cloth trousers, a sheepskin coat, the Caucasian woolen hat (*papakha*), and rawhide boots (*charïkh*) worn with woolen gaiters and knit stockings (*jorab*). A Khinalugh woman would wear a wide dress with gathers; an apron tied high on the waist, almost at the armpits; wide long trousers; shoes similar to the men's charïkh; and jorab stockings. The woman's headdress was made of several small kerchiefs, tied on in a particular way. There were five layers of clothing: the small white *lachak*, then a red *ketwa*, over which three *kalagays* (silk, then wool) were worn. In winter women wore a sheepskin coat (*kholu*) with the fur on the inside, and wealthier individuals sometimes added a velvet overcoat. The kholu reached to the knees and had short sleeves. Older women had a somewhat different wardrobe: a short arkhalug and long narrow trousers, all of red color. The clothing was primarily made from homespun fabrics, although materials such as calico, silk, satin, and velvet could be purchased. At the present time urban wear is preferred. Elderly women continue to wear the traditional costume, and Caucasian headgear (papakha and kerchiefs) and stockings are still in use.

Food. The basis of the Khinalugh cuisine is bread—generally made from barley flour, less often from wheat purchased in the lowlands—cheese, curds, milk (usually fermented), eggs, beans, and rice (also purchased in the lowlands). Mutton is served on feast days or when entertaining guests. Thursday evenings (the eve of the day of worship) a rice and bean pilaf is prepared. The beans (a local variety) are boiled for a long time and the water is repeatedly poured off to subdue their bitter taste. Barley flour is ground with hand mills and used to make porridge. Since the 1940s the Khinalughs have planted potatoes, which they serve with meat. The traditional beverages are *sherbet* (honey in water) and tea steeped from wild alpine herbs. Since the 1930s black tea, which has become very popular among the Khinalughs, has been available through trade. Like the Azerbaijanis, the Khinalughs drink tea before dining. Wine is only drunk by those who have lived in cities. Nowadays wine might be enjoyed by men attending a wedding, but they will not drink it if elderly men are present. Khinalughs continue to prepare their traditional dishes, and the quantity of food available has increased. Pilaf is now made from regular beans, and bread and porridge from wheat flour. Bread is still baked as it was before: thin flat cakes (*ükha pïshä*) are baked in the fireplace on thin metal sheets, and thick flat cakes (*bzo pïshä*) are baked in the tunor. In recent decades many Azerbaijani dishes have been adopted—dolma; pilaf with meat, raisins, and persimmons; meat dumplings; and soup with yogurt, rice, and herbs. Shish kebab is served more frequently than before. As in the past, fragrant wild herbs are gathered, dried, and used throughout the year to flavor dishes, including such newly introduced foods as borscht and potatoes.

Industrial Arts. Most of the production of traditional Khinalugh cottage industry was intended for local consumption, with a portion for sale to lowlanders. Woolen cloth (*shal*), used for clothing and gaiters, was woven on horizontal looms. Only men worked at the looms. Up to the 1930s the majority of weavers were still men; at present this practice has died out. Previously the women knitted woolen stockings, wove carpets on vertical looms, and fulled felt. They made cord from goat's wool, which was used to bind hay for winter. All traditional forms of female industry are practiced to the present day.

Trade. Despite the geographic isolation of their village and the earlier lack of roads passable by wheeled vehicles, the Khinalughs have maintained continuous economic contact with other regions of Azerbaijan and southern Daghestan. They brought a variety of products down to the lowlands on pack horses: cheese, melted butter, wool, and woolen products; they also drove sheep to market. In Kuba, Shemakha, Baku, Akhtï, Ispik (near Kuba), and Lagich, they obtained materials such as copper and ceramic vessels, cloth, wheat, fruit, grapes, and potatoes. Only a few Khinalughs have gone to work in the petroleum plants for five to six years to earn money for the bride-price (*kalïm*), after which they returned home. Until the 1930s there were migrant laborers from the Kutkashen and Kuba regions who came to Khinalugh to help with the harvest. Tinsmiths from Daghestan selling copper utensils came frequently up through the 1940s; since then copper vessels have all but disappeared and today they visit at most once a year.

Division of Labor. As elsewhere there was a division of labor according to age and gender. Men were entrusted with animal husbandry, agriculture, construction, and

weaving; women were responsible for housework, the care of children and the aged, carpet making, and the production of felt and stockings.

Land Tenure. The feudal system of land ownership never existed in Khinalugh. Pastures were the common property of the village community (*jamaat*), whereas arable fields and hay meadows belonged to individual homesteads. The summer pastures were apportioned according to the neighborhoods (see "Kinship Groups") in Khinalugh; winter pastures belonged to the community and were apportioned by its administration. Other lands were leased in common by a group of homesteads. After collectivization in the 1930s all land became the property of the collective farms.

Kinship

Kinship Groups. The Khinalugh community divided into four major kinship groups or clans: the Malīkla, Gämk'i, K'ämk'i, and Gadakkhi, which earlier formed the basis of neighborhoods within the settlement. These neighborhoods were originally organized strictly on a kinship basis. Each clan had its particular *pir* (shrine), cemetery, and council of elders. The clan exercised the right to take in newcomers. At the beginning of the twentieth century the community apportioned the summer pastures by neighborhoods, which once corresponded to the clan groupings (*mekhelle*). In the course of time the neighborhoods have grown and been divided into smaller groups (*kəbələ*). The kinship groups Nishani, Mameydarar, and Kkharyagdin split off from the Gämk'i; the Jampashali from the K'ämk'i; and the Yalqavan and Mirigi from the Gadakkhi. Each of these groups consists of people related to a greater or lesser degree, tracing their descent from a single mythical or real ancestor. In the nineteenth century, before the kəbələ groupings came into being, their function as economic and ideological entities was performed by the extended family, the members of which were blood relatives. The extended family had the right to admit outsiders into its midst.

Kinship Terminology. The Khinalugh terms for near kin are similar to those of other Lezgin peoples (Lezgins, Budukhs, Kryzes): *bïy* (father), *dädä* or *jä* (mother), *tstsa* or *tssa* (brother), *rïtsï* (sister), *shə* or *shi* (son), *rishə* or *rishəl* (daughter)—from *rishi* (girl), *aba* (grandfather), *äzhä* (grandmother), *khïdïal* (grandson or granddaughter), *ts'nas* (bride—young wife of son or brother), *ləgəld* (husband), and *mïsïsts'* (husband's brother). Some kin terms have been borrowed from Azerbaijani: *ämä* (paternal uncle—also used by children to address any older man) and khola (maternal uncle).

Marriage and Family

Marriage. The Khinalugh community was strictly endogamous, with marriage between cousins preferred. In earlier times, betrothals were arranged between very young children, practically in the cradle. Before the Soviet Revolution the marriageable age was 14 to 15 for girls and 20 to 21 for boys. Marriages were ordinarily arranged by the relatives of the couple; abductions and elopements were rare. The girl and boy themselves were not asked for their consent. If older relatives took a liking to a girl, they would place a scarf on her, as a way of announcing their claim to her. The negotiations for marriage were undertaken by the suitor's father's brother and a more distant senior relative, who went to the young woman's home. Her mother's consent was considered decisive. (Should the mother refuse, the suitor might try to abduct the woman from her home—with or without the woman's consent.)

Once agreement had been reached between the two families, the betrothal would take place a few days later. The young man's relatives (among whom the paternal uncle had to be present) went to the young woman's home, bearing gifts for her: clothing, two or three pieces of soap, sweets (halvah, raisins, or, more recently, candy). The gifts were carried on five or six wooden trays. They also brought three rams, which became the property of the bride's father. The fiancée received a ring of plain metal from the groom-to-be. On each festival day between the betrothal and the wedding, the young man's relatives would go to the fiancée's home, bringing gifts from him: pilaf, sweets, and clothing. During this period as well, respected senior members of the groom-to-be's family visited their counterparts in the young woman's household to negotiate the bride-price. This was paid in livestock (sheep), rice, and, far more rarely, money. In the 1930s a typical bride-price included twenty rams and a sack of sugar. Some Khinalugh suitors would work in the Baku oilfields for several years to earn the necessary sum to pay the bride-price. The young man could not visit the woman's family prior to the wedding and took measures to avoid encounters with her and her parents. The young woman, once engaged, had to cover the lower part of her face with a kerchief. During this time she was busy preparing her dowry, largely consisting of woolen goods made by her own hands: five or six carpets, up to fifteen *khurjins* (carrying sacks for fruit and other objects), fifty to sixty pairs of knit stockings, one large sack and several smaller ones, a soft suitcase (*mafrash*), and men's gaiters (white and black). The dowry also included up to 60 meters of homespun woolen cloth, prepared by weavers at the family's expense, and numerous other items, including silk thread, goat's-wool cord, copper utensils, colored curtains, cushions, and bed linens. From purchased silk the bride-to-be sewed small pouches and purses to be given as gifts to her husband's relatives.

The wedding took place over two or three days. At this time the groom stayed at the home of his maternal uncle. Starting at noon of the first day, guests were entertained there. They brought gifts of cloth, shirts, and tobacco pouches; there was dancing and music. The bride meanwhile went to the home of her maternal uncle. There, in the evening, the groom's father officially presented the bride-price. The bride, riding a horse led by her uncle or brother, was then escorted from her uncle's home to that of the groom. She was accompanied by her and her husband's brothers and her friends. Traditionally the bride was covered by a large red woolen cloth, and her face was veiled by several small red kerchiefs. She was greeted at the threshold of the groom's home by his mother, who gave her honey or sugar to eat and wished her a happy life. The groom's father or brother thereupon slaughtered a ram, across which the bride stepped, after which she had to tread upon a copper tray placed on the threshold. The

bride was led to a special room where she remained standing for two or more hours. The groom's father brought presents to her, after which she might sit down on a cushion. She was accompanied by her close friends (only women were allowed in this room). Meanwhile the male guests were served pilaf in another room. During this time the groom remained in the home of his maternal uncle, and only at midnight was he escorted home by his friends to be with his bride. The next morning he left again. Throughout the wedding there was much dancing, wrestling matches accompanied by the music of the *zurna* (a clarinetlike instrument), and horse racing. The winner of the horse race received a tray of sweets and a ram.

On the third day the bride went to her husband's parents, the mother-in-law lifted the veil from her face, and the young woman was put to work in the household. Relatives and neighbors were entertained throughout the day. After a month the bride went with a jug to fetch water, this being her first opportunity to leave the house after her marriage. Upon her return she was given a tray of sweets, and sugar was sprinkled over her. Two or three months later her parents invited her and her husband to pay a visit.

For a period of time after her arrival in her husband's home, the bride practiced various avoidance customs: for as long as two to three years she did not speak to her father-in-law (that period has now been reduced to a year); likewise she did not speak to her husband's brother or paternal uncle (for two to three months at present). She refrained from speaking to her mother-in-law for three to four days. Khinalugh women did not wear the Islamic veil, although married women of all ages covered the lower part of their faces with a kerchief (*yashmag*).

Domestic Unit. The basic domestic unit was the nuclear family, although extended families were present up into the nineteenth century. It was not rare for four or five brothers, each with his nuclear family, to live under the same roof. Each married son has his own room in addition to the large common room with hearth (*tonur*). The home occupied by an extended family was called *tsoy* and the head of the family *tsoychïkhidu*. The father, or in his absence the elder son, served as head of the household, and as such oversaw the domestic economy and apportioned the property in case the family split up. Everyone shared in the work. One part of the household (a son and his nuclear family) would drive the livestock out to the summer pastures. Another son and his family would do so the following year. All produce was considered common property.

Socialization. Both mother and father participated in the raising of children. At age 5 or 6 children began to share in the work: girls learned domestic tasks, sewing, and knitting; boys learned to work with livestock and to ride horses. Moral instruction and the teaching of local traditions concerning family and social life were equally important.

Sociopolitical Organization

Until the beginning of the nineteenth century Khinalugh and the nearby Kryz and Azerbaijani villages formed a local community that was part of the Shemakha, and later the Kuba khanates; with the incorporation of Azerbaijan into the Russian Empire in the 1820s, Khinalug became part of the Kuba District of Baku Province. The chief institution of local government was the council of household chiefs (earlier it consisted of all adult males in Khinalugh). The council selected an elder (*ketkhuda*), two assistants, and a judge. The village government and the clergy oversaw the administration of various civil, criminal, and matrimonial proceedings, according to traditional (*adat*) and Islamic (Sharia) law. The population of Khinalugh consists entirely of free peasants. At the time of the Shemakha Khanate they did not pay any sort of tax or provide services. The only obligation of the residents of Khinalugh was military service in the khan's army. Subsequently, up to the beginning of the nineteenth century, Khinalugh was obligated to pay a tax in kind for each household (barley, melted butter, sheep, cheese). As part of the Russian Empire, Khinalugh paid a monetary tax and performed other services (e.g., the maintenance of the Kuba post road).

Mutual assistance was common within the community, for example, in the construction of a house. There was also the custom of sworn brotherhood (*ergardash*)

Conflict. In cases of murder the guilty party, at the command of the village elder, donned a white shroud and went to the home of the victim for reconciliation. At the victim's house he bowed, kissed the hands of the senior men, then, attended by the mullah, the killer went to the grave of the victim in the cemetery and knelt upon it. The mullah read a prayer. The village elder set the blood-price, which the killer's family paid to that of the victim. The recompense for the killing of a man was thirty to forty rams and ten beehives. Traditional law made no provision for recompense for the killing of a woman, and a blood feud was likely to result.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs and Practices. The Khinalughs are Sunni Muslims. They observe the custom of worshiping at pirs (the grave sites of holy people believed to have lived in Khinalugh in the distant past); among these are Jabarbabe pir, Pirajomerd pir, and Shikhshalbarazbabe pir. Alongside traditional Moslem holidays the Khinalughs have retained many pre-Islamic observances: rituals for bringing rain and sunshine, and a fire cult. There were various popular beliefs, including the following: during heavy rainfall young people made dolls of boards (*guzhul*), which they dressed in women's clothing and carried throughout the village while singing an Azerbaijani-language song to the effect that "tomorrow the sun will shine." The villagers gave them gifts of eggs and sweets.

Arts. Industrial arts include the ornamentation of carpets and the carving of designs in wood. Little has been preserved of Khinalugh folklore. There are proverbs in the Khinalugh language, but songs are sung in Azerbaijani, and the dances and music are likewise Azerbaijanian.

Medicine. Because of the absence of professional medical care, there was a high rate of mortality among the Khinalughs in pre-Revolutionary times, especially for women in childbirth. Herbal medicine was practiced, and births were assisted by midwives.

Death and Afterlife. Burials are performed according to Muslim practice and usually take place on the day of death. The body is wrapped in a shroud and carried to the cemetery on a stretcher by men, with the women following at some distance (women did not enter the cemetery). The relatives give assistance to the family of the deceased in the form of food (rice, sugar) and money. During the three days after death the villagers come by the home of the bereaved family to offer condolences. Seven days after burial women gather in the home of the deceased to mourn—these are residents of the village specially invited for this purpose. Visitors to the home are served pilaf if the deceased was of advanced age, only tea if he or she was young. The funeral banquet on the day of burial is not a large affair, and only those participating in the burial are invited. The principal funeral banquet is held on the third day after burial. The relatives go to the cemetery, bringing sweets to set on the grave. There is also a memorial on the first Thursday after death, at which relatives and fellow villagers are present. Subsequent memorials are held on the seventh and fifty-second day and the anniversary. Mourning attire is worn by all women of the village for three to seven days and for a longer period by relatives. Men let their beards grow out, and women wear black kerchiefs.

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(Translated by Kevin Tuite)

Komi

ETHNONYMS: Syrjäne, Ziryene, Zyrian, Zyryan

Orientation

Identification. The Komi live west of the Ural Mountains in the northeastern half of the European portion of the Komi Republic and the Komi-Permyak Autonomous Area (AA). The inhabitants of the former administrative territory are today called "Komi-Ziryenes," those living in the latter territory "Komi-Permyaks." In addition, smaller groups of Komi can still be found on the Kola Peninsula and in western Siberia.

"Komi" is the ethnonym used by the Komi themselves. It is with this name that the autochthonous people of the Komi Republic and the Komi-Permyak AA designate themselves. The original meaning of "Komi" was probably "human being" and can possibly be connected with the following words of Uralic (Finno-Ugric) languages: Hungarian, *hîm* (male), Vogul, *um* (man, human being), or Samoyed Selkup, *qum* (human being). According to another explanation, the word is etymologically derived from *kom,* the Komi (-Ziryene) designation of the Kama River, or *Kom-mu,* "the Kama region" (*mu,* "land, country"). By outsiders, the Komi are called "Zyrian" or "Ziryene"; in English they are known as "Zyryan" and in German as "Syrjäne." These are derived from the Russian form, "Zirjan(in)," spread into the languages of the world via scholarly literature. The Russian word is itself an Ob-Ugric loanword (Vogul, *saran*; Ostyak, *sarăn*), which in turn is possibly of Iranian origin (from Ancient Iranian, *zraya,* to Old Iranian, **zraya,* "sea" + *an,* adjectival derivational suffix). The original meaning of the word **zrayan,* formed in this way, probably meant "seacoast dweller."

Location and Demography. The territory of the Komi covers 415,900 square kilometers, the number of its inhabitants being 1,067,000 in 1979. Of these, 326,700 are Komi and the rest are Russians, Ukrainians, and others. In the northernmost tundra area live several thousand Yurak-Samoyeds, also speaking Uralic languages. The republic is bordered on the east by the northern Urals, on the north by the Yurak (Nyenyets) National Region, on the west by the Archangel Territory, and on the south by the Kirov and Perm Territories (including the Komi-Permyak AA). The capital of the Komi Republic is Syktyvkar (about 180,000 inhabitants). The second largest city of the territory is Vorkuta, an important industrial center with coal mines, natural gas, and oil wells. Other urban centers are Zeleznodorozny, Uchta, Pečora, and Inta. The northern portion of the Komi Republic lies within the tundra zone. There is an intermediary zone, the forest tundra, south of which lies the forest zone covering the greater part of the territory. The forest is largely coniferous with only a smaller percentage of deciduous trees (birch). The forests are traversed by large rivers usually surrounded by swamps (12 to 15 percent of the republic is covered by swampy areas). The climate is moderately continental. In summer the average temperature is 11.7 to 16.6° C; in January the temperature averages from −15.1° C to −20.4° C. The an-

nual amount of precipitation is 60 to 70 centimeters. To the south of the Komi Republic lies the Komi-Permyak AA, covering 22,000 square kilometers with 250,000 inhabitants in 1979. Of these 150,000 are Komi, most of the rest being Russians. The capital of the region is Kudymkar.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Komi language is classified in the Finno-Permic Group of the Finno-Ugrian Branch of the Uralic Language Family. Together with their closest linguistic relations, the Udmurt, they form the Permian Subgroup of the Finno-Permian Group. Among speakers of related languages, are Finns, Estonians, Mordvinians, and Hungarians. Komi-Russian bilingualism—above all in the male population—is very widespread. In 1979, 83.7 percent of the Komi-Ziryenes and 76.5 percent of the Komi-Permyaks listed Komi as their mother tongue. The process of Russification—as a result of the gradual atrophy of secondary-school instruction in Komi as well as of the influence of the media (press, radio, television)—has accelerated, especially in the cities and larger settlements. In both the Komi Republic and the Komi-Permyak AA Russian is the official language.

History and Cultural Relations

During the period of the Proto-Permian language (2000 B.C. to A.D. 900–1000) the ancestors of the Komi and the Udmurt lived in the valley of the Vjatka and lower Kama rivers near Iranian peoples. In the sixth to seventh centuries A.D. they came into contact with the Volga Bulgarians pressing northeast. Reminders of these contacts are the Bulgarian words borrowed into Proto-Permian, as well as the latter words borrowed only into Udmurt from Chuvash (Bulgarian). As a result of the Bulgarian invasion the ancestors of the Komi separated from their closest kin, the Udmurt, in about the tenth century A.D. The Komi, who probably earlier formed the northern group of the Ancient Permians, gradually drifted to the north and occupied their modern area. The last territories to be populated—at the end of the seventeenth century—were those in the north and the east, in the region of the Višera, Ižma, Pečora, and upper Vyčegda rivers. The specific ethnic characteristics of the Komi developed in the north in the region of the Mezeń-Vaška, Vyčegda, and Vym rivers (Komi-Ziryenes) and in the south in the upper Kama region (Komi-Permyaks). The northern Komi had trade connections with the Russians (Novgorod principality) as early as the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries.

In the fourteenth century the Komi region came under Russian rule. In the sixteenth century the power of the Novgorod principality was succeeded by that of Moscow. The conquest by the Russians was accompanied by the spread of Christianity to the Komi. The Komi conversion to the Christian faith was the work of Saint Stephen of Perm (Stepan Chrap). Stepan Chrap was either a full or half Komi. He was the first bishop of Ust'-Vym, founded in 1383 (the former name of which was Old Perm, Staraya Perm). In the fourteenth century, by modifying Cyrillic and Greek letters, Saint Stephen of Perm created a specific alphabet for the Komi and thereby Komi literacy. In the beginning, Komi was, therefore, the language of the church. Surviving written remnants of fourteenth-to sixteenth-century Komi are found as icon inscriptions, liturgical text fragments, and glossaries. The initiative of Saint Stephen of Perm was abandoned after the sixteenth century, and the language of the Orthodox church in the Komi areas became the Russian variant of Old Church Slavonic. The territory of the Komi-Permyaks, the region of the upper Kama, was presented in the sixteenth century by Ivan IV (Ivan the Terrible) to the aristocratic family of the Stroganovs. Thus, the Komi-Permyaks became the serfs of the Stroganov dynasty. After the Russian Revolution, the Komi Autonomous Territory was formed in 1921 and then in 1936 the Komi Republic. The Komi-Permyak NR came into being in 1925.

The ecclesiastical Komi literacy of the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries disappeared in the following centuries. The first works of Komi literacy beginning in the eighteenth century and based on the Cyrillic alphabet were also of a religious nature. In the first half of the nineteenth century primarily grammars and glossaries were written. Great achievements in the creation of the Komi literary language were reached by G. S. Lytkin (1855–1906) and the first classic writer of Komi poetry, I. A. Kuratov (1839–1875). In 1918 Komi was made the language of school instruction. After the Revolution two literary languages were brought into being for the Komi: the Komi-Ziryene literary language, based on the dialect of the Syktvykar region, and the Komi-Permyak literary language, based on the dialect of the Kudymkar-Ińva region. In 1918 Cyrillic orthography became binding, replaced in 1934 by an orthography based on the Latin alphabet. In 1939 the Cyrillic alphabet was restored in the Komi Republic and the Komi-Permyak NR—just as in the other small republics of the USSR—as a crowning point of the purges connected with Stalin. The Cyrillic alphabet is still used today in both Komi administrative regions. The system of education is of the Soviet type: in the Komi Republic about 500 seven-class general schools and 50 ten-class general and secondary schools are in operation. Starting in the 1950s instruction in the Komi language declined. Today instruction is given in Komi only in the lower school classes; in the upper classes the language of instruction is Russian and Komi is used only in the study of Komi language and literature. Certain signs point out, though, that beginning in 1988 to 1989 the Komi language has started to play a larger role. Since 1949 a branch of the Soviet Academy of Sciences has operated in the republic; in addition, there is a teachers' college and a university, the latter founded in 1972. Komi radio and television also transmit several hours a day in the Komi language.

Settlements

Komi villages, consisting for the most part of wooden houses, are usually situated on the banks of rivers; some of these are of a scattered nature, others have regular streets. In the north, the reindeer herders lead a nomadic way of life. The urban population is mostly Russian and Ukrainian. Today there are also a large number of Komi living in the cities, who, owing to altered living circumstances (industrial work) and the influence of the Russians, are slowly being assimilated by the latter.

Economy

The basis of economic life for the Komi-Ziryenes and the Komi-Permyaks is agriculture. Agriculture is also undertaken north of the Vyčegda, although hunting is of greater importance there. For hunting, traps and snares are used in addition to modern firearms. Fishing and forestry are important occupations in the entire area populated by the Komi. In the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries mercantile professions began to develop. In the course of the nineteenth century, itinerant merchants built up a far-reaching trade network (in western, southern, and central Siberia as far as Lake Baikal). This active mercantile life came to a complete stop after World War I.

Kinship, Marriage, and Family

In contrast to their linguistic relatives, the Udmurt, the Komi did not preserve the traditional tribal society. Family and kin ties are reckoned patrilinearally, although traces of matrilineality can still be noted. Because of Orthodox Christian influence the Komi kinship system and marriage institutions are similar to those of the Russians.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs and Practices. Although the Komi accepted Christianity in the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries, numerous traces of their ancient animistic religious beliefs remained as superstitions. One of the characteristic features of Komi mythology is the belief in the guardian spirits, the shadow souls; there is also belief in water spirits, forest spirits, etc. Memories of shamanism are preserved in words such as *tun* (soothsayers) and *čikedis* (evil magician). The Orthodox (Pravoslav) variant of Christianity was one that spread among the Komi. After the Russian Revolution, church activities were severely curtailed, the practice of religion being restricted to families. In the 1960s and 1970s the Baptist church gained importance in parts of the Komi territories.

Arts. Wood carving has had a great tradition in Komi folk art. In the south, the Komi-Permyaks have developed a specific church sculpture containing many pre-Christian motifs. Komi folk art has been subjected to a strong Russian influence. The most original Komi art genres are the bridal songs and mourning laments, epic songs, and children's verses. Komi folklore, likewise, has been much influenced by Russian folktales. As already mentioned, the work of I. A. Kuratov and G. S. Lytkin was of great merit in the creation of the Komi-Ziryene literary language. Some important figures of Komi-Ziryene literature are Michael Lebedev, poet (1877–1951) and Nyobdinsa Vittor, poet and dramatist (1898–1922). Ilja Vas (V. I. Lytkin), poet (1895–1981), also achieved world fame as a Fionno-Ugrian linguist. Of today's poets and writers the names of Albert Vaneyev, Ivan Toropov, and Gennady Yuškov can be mentioned. The most prominent representatives of the Komi-Permyak literature are Andrei Zubov (nom de plume Piťu önö, 1889–1945), Stepan Karavayev, and Valerian Batalov.

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KÁROLY RÉDEI

Koreans

ETHNONYM: Koryo

Orientation

Identification. Koreans living in the former Soviet Union have traditionally identified themselves either as Koryo Saram (people who came during the Koryo dynasty, A.D. 932–1392) or as Chosun Saram (people from Chosun, an ancient name for Korea meaning "Land of the Morning Calm"). But the name "Sovetskii Koreets" (a Soviet Korean) has become widely used since the 1960s. This identification allows for a distinction to be made between the Koreans of the czarist and Soviet eras.

Location. Worldwide, approximately five million Koreans live outside Korea today. The largest number, 1,800,000, live in China; 700,000 live in Japan; 1,000,000 in the United States, and 500,000 in the former Soviet Union. Unlike Koreans in China, however, the Koreans in the Soviet Union never formed an autonomous regional political unit. Two-thirds of Soviet Koreans are settled in Kazakhstan and the other Central Asian republics of Turkemenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikstan, and Kyrgyzstan. The whole area stretches north to south from the Aral-Irtysh watershed to the Soviet-Iranian and Soviet-Afghan borders, and west to east, from the Caspian Sea to the Sino-Soviet frontier. The largest numbers of Koreans are concentrated in Uzbekistan, living on kolkhozy and sovkhozy with other nationalities. The climate of Central Asia is characterized by extremely hot summers and freezing winters but is pleasant during spring and fall.

Demography. In the 1989 Soviet census Koreans are listed as one of nine ethnic groups numbering more than 400,000. The Soviet Koreans numbered 439,000, ranking 28th in population of the 130 enumerated ethnic minorities of the USSR. In 1959 Koreans in Central Asia numbered 213,000 and in 1970 the numbers had increased to 250,568.

Linguistic Affiliation. Soviet Koreans speak the Korean language. Its affiliation with other languages is a subject of linguistic dispute. The 1989 census data show that 49.4

percent listed the Korean language as their native language. Nearly half of the total Korean population in the former USSR speaks Russian as their second language.

History and Cultural Relations

The history of the Korean immigrants can be divided into two distinct periods involving two very different locales: Koreans in the Far East Region (South Ussuri Maritime Province) from the 1860s until the time of the mass relocation, and Koreans in Kazakhstan and Central Asia from 1937 to the present.

In 1860, during the czarist era, the Russian Empire acquired the virtually uninhabited lands of the Far East Region—910,000 square kilometers of territory with only about 15,000 inhabitants—from China under the terms of the Treaty of Peking. The newly secured boundary placed Russia at the back door of Korea. Koreans provided cheap labor for this sparsely inhabited land, working as tenants, lessees, and farm laborers. Those without any means of support were sent by the local Russian administration to various parts of the region. The first large Korean village, Blagoslovennoe, was formed in 1872 as a result of such relocation.

In 1888 Russia made an agreement with Korea that gave Russian citizenship to Koreans who had crossed the border before 25 June 1884. This accounted for about 20 to 30 percent of all Koreans in Russia, most of whom later became merchants or contractors. In 1893 the regional governor general, Dukhovskoi, began accepting Koreans as citizens, allocating some land for them in order to colonize sparsely settled areas. After the annexation of Korea by Japan in 1910 and the unsuccessful uprising of 1 March 1919, Koreans fled to Russia for political reasons. The last major wave of immigration occurred between 1917 and 1923, with the majority of these new arrivals settling in the Maritime Province. The 1923 census counted 34,559 Koreans as Russian subjects and 72,258 as noncitizen residents.

Acceptance of Russian Orthodox Christianity was a prerequisite for naturalization, and citizenship was required to gain the right to receive an allotment of land. But this attempt to assimilate Koreans into the Russian social order did not succeed. Instead, the continuing flow of Koreans and the clustering of new arrivals brought about the formation of Korean villages, as those who came first paved the way for relatives and friends. This growth served to reinforce Korean culture and values within the Korean community.

The October Revolution was welcomed by many landless Koreans as an opportunity to make progress on or settle the land question. In 1900 Korean workers had joined Russians in a strike in the Amur region and later participated in the Revolution of 1905–1907. In October 1917 Korean peasants formed Red Army detachments and actively participated in partisan activities, fighting alongside Russian units. The Revolution did not immediately improve their lot, however. It was only after 1923 that the new Soviet regime began to regulate the distribution of land among the peasants. By 1926, in Vladivostok alone, 10,007 Korean families had acquired property, whereas before the Revolution the number of households with land had totaled only 2,290. In fact, by 1926 a majority of the Koreans who had settled in the Soviet Far East had received Soviet citizenship. The hard work and effort by the early Korean settlers went unrewarded, however, when in 1937, under Joseph Stalin, all 182,000 Koreans in the area were ordered to relocate to Central Asia. Stalin reportedly did not trust the Koreans living near the border area and believed they would be used as agents for espionage by the Japanese after Japan's invasion of Manchuria.

It took three months, from September to December 1937, to relocate Korean families on freight trains from the Far East to Central Asia. Thousands perished on the way, but some survived the ordeal of being forcibly transplanted thousands of miles from their original homeland to a territory totally alien to them. They became the pioneers of this virgin land and once again had to begin cultivating undeveloped territory. A number of exemplary collective and state farms were organized and run by Koreans. Many of them also participated in and perished during World War II in the defense against Nazi Germany.

Today's Soviet Koreans, many of whom are doctors, professors, lawyers, agronomists, and other professionals, are the descendants of these "punished, silent" people who have survived.

Settlements

The first thirteen Korean families came to the South Ussuri region in 1863 and settled along the Tizinkhe River in search of work. In 1869 the first mass immigration took place as 4,500 Koreans moved into the region as a result of a poor harvest and the famine that followed in Korea's northern province of Ham Kyung. Korean immigration to the Soviet Union is characterized by the multiplication pattern that produces "chain settlements."

Those who survived the mass relocation lived in compact groups in an enclosed boundary for nearly two decades, mostly in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan. In addition, there are a substantial number of Korean residents in the Caucasus and Ukraine. They organized collective farms: in the Tashkent region, Politotdel under Kim Suk Bon (1890–1969); Poliarnaia Zvezda under Kim Byung Wha (1905–1974); Pravda and Leninskii Put' in the Kzyl-Orda region; the IIIrd International and Avangard, headed by Choi Kwon Hak, in the Tselinograd region; and 18 let Kazakhstana under Kang Tae Han. In 1957 the first state farm, Raushan, was established in the Kungradsk region of Uzbekistan. It was modeled on the Korean collective farms. Only since the time of Khrushchev have Koreans enjoyed freedom of mobility and been able to leave the area of forced settlement. In 1959 more than 70 percent of the Koreans in Soviet Central Asia lived in rural areas, but by 1970 the census data show that 59.5 percent lived in cities. In 1970, 58 percent of the Koreans in Uzbekistan lived in cities, in contrast to 20 percent in 1959. City dwellers accounted for 64 percent in Kirghizia, 89 percent in Tajikistan, and 71 percent in Turkmenia.

Economy

The Soviet Koreans have managed to establish themselves economically in spite of the obstacles they have encountered. Initially, Korean immigrants consisted mostly of

peasants and laborers who performed cheap farm labor. Koreans in the Far East region engaged in various types of hard labor including cultivating different kinds of crops, fishing, silkworm breeding, and mining. Rice was sown for the first time in 1917 in the Maritime Province by Koreans who had brought the seeds from Korea. Koreans were successful rice growers and rice production grew rapidly. A sizable settlement of Koreans in the 1930s made an important contribution to agricultural development in the Russian Far East Region (Ussuri-Khanka plain) by struggling on lands previously thought to be unsuitable for farming.

Koreans victimized by Stalin had to rebuild their lives with their bare hands once again. They transformed the virgin soil into *tsvetusushchii gorodok* (a blossoming city), and many were awarded the title Hero of Socialist Labor, including Kim Byung Wha and Kim Man Sam, for their efficiency and productivity on collective farms. On these collective farms Koreans engaged in cultivating rice on previously barren land as well as growing cotton, maize, sugar beets, vegetables, and fiber crops. They also acquired a knowledge of animal husbandry from the local inhabitants.

In Uzbekistan there are more than 100 ethnic Korean farmers who have been honored as heroes of Socialist labor. The hard labor of Koreans systematically increased the income for the collective fund, which made possible the establishment of schools, hospitals, restaurants, libraries, sport teams, and cultural activities within their community.

Kinship, Marriage, and Family

The Koreans living in the villages rarely marry non-Koreans; in the cities mixed marriages among the educated younger generation occur more frequently. Most often, a Korean man marries a Russian woman. The Koreans living in the villages are still endogamous, and the Korean custom of prohibiting marriage between two persons from the same clan is also strictly observed. Marriage is monogamous; couples traditionally had numerous children, usually three to nine, although recently the younger Soviet Koreans limit their offspring to one or two.

As in Korea, family names often precede given names, and many women keep their maiden names even after marriage. Third-and fourth-generation Koreans, however, now follow the Russian practice of taking the father's name as a middle name.

The Confucian worldview, emphasizing respect for the hierarchal order determined by patriarchy, is maintained at home, especially among the older generation.

Sociopolitical Organization

As members of the Soviet republic, Koreans chose to join the Pioneer group, Komsomol (the Young Community party), and the party organization to gain access into the Soviet society. The Soviet Korean intellectuals were active participants in the Communist party apparatus. A higher level of education, fluency in the Russian language, and greater representation in nonagricultural occupations allowed Soviet Koreans to become eligible for party membership. It was reported that nearly 30 percent of Koreans living in the Tashkent region belonged to the party. The high ratio of party membership is indicative of their efforts to participate in the Soviet political system. Yet actual political representation for Koreans was relatively low compared with other ethnic minorities. Only one ethnic Korean served on the Supreme Soviet and two as people's deputies.

The sweeping changes of *perestroika* and *glasnost* influenced all aspects of life in the Soviet Union. Korean cultural centers have been newly established in various cities where Koreans live in large numbers: Tashkent and Samarkand in Uzbekistan, Kharkov in Ukraine, Nalchigo in Georgia, and Chimkent and Alma-Ata in Kazakhstan. In May 1990 the National Korean Cultural Association of Soviet Koreans was formed with attendance of 300 Soviet Koreans from all parts of the USSR. Its newly elected chair, Professor Mikhail Pak of Moscow State University, considers the revival of Korean culture to be its highest-priority task.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs and Practices. Koreans who settled in the Soviet Far East and were later deported to Central Asia came at the end of the Cho-Sun dynasty, with a 500-year history guided by Confucianism. During the czarist period a number of Koreans accepted Orthodox Christianity. The majority of "landless" Koreans, on the other hand, hailed the October Revolution, denouncing Orthodoxy. Most Koreans in Central Asia are atheists.

Korean shamanism is mixed with Confucian and Buddhist beliefs; superstitions are common in rural areas. Among elderly people some elements of shamanism and Confucian traditions of ancestor worship still remain. In celebration of Hwan-Gap, one's 60th birthday, young people bow to their parents, wishing them long life. On Han-Sik day, rites for the ancestors are observed—the whole family visits the tombs of its ancestors to pay them respect. Funeral services were traditionally performed with complex rituals, but now they have been simplified and have lost any religious significance except for respect for the elders. There is an old custom in celebration of a child's first birthday, called *dol*. At the party the child is seated before a table, on which are displayed objects such as a book, a pair of scissors, thread, or money. The child's fate will be determined by what she or he picks. For example, the child who picks up a book will become a scholar. On the table at a wedding ceremony is placed a cock cooked with a red pepper inserted in its beak as a token of love and decorated with blue or red threads as symbols of long life. Korean cultural traditions and customs are being preserved through the efforts of older Soviet Korean intellectuals, who are concerned about their gradual disappearance in the course of urbanization and modernization.

Arts. *Lenin Kichi* (the Banner of Lenin), a newspaper in Korean published in Alma-Ata, Kazakhstan, is the most important source of information on the changing aspects of Soviet Korean cultural life. The historic Korean Theater, which was formed in Vladivostok in 1932, is being operated in Alma-Ata with performances of such Korean classical plays as *Chun Hyang Jun* and *Shim Chyng Jyn*. The founding of the Korean Theater contributed to the wide use of the Korean literary language and to the promotion of Korean traditional culture. Korean-language radio broad-

casts are aired three times a week in Alma-Ata. About fifty Soviet Korean writers and poets, some of whom are members of the Soviet Writers' Union, write in Korean and are being printed in Tashkent, Alma-Ata, Kzyl-Orda, and Sakhalin. The Zhazushy publishing house in Alma-Ata published annually one book in Korean: *Haibaragy* (The Sunflower, 1982), *Hangboky Norai* (The Song of Happiness, 1983 by Yon Song-Yong), *Soom* (The Breath, 1985 by Kim Joom), *Ssak* (The Sprout, 1986 by Kim Kwang Hyun), and a novel by Kim Chul. Many Soviet Korean writers manage to publish their work in the literary section of *Lenin Kichi*. Anatoly Kim, a third-generation Soviet Korean and the popular author of the novel *Squirrel* and other works, writes in Russian. He can be characterized as a symbolic representative of successful Soviet Korean descendants after half a century of suffering and endurance as he strives in search of an image of a future human being, an embodiment of human goodness.

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CHEY YOUN-CHA SHIN

Koryaks and Kerek

ETHNONYMS: Chavchuvens, Nymylan

Orientation

Identification. The Koryaks are the main aboriginal population of the Koryak Autonomous District (*okrug*, the center of which is Palana), a part of Kamchatka Oblast in Russia. A small number of Koryaks live in the Chukotsk Autonomous District and North-Evenk Territory: both are parts of the Magadan Province of Russia. In the past Koryaks did not have a general name for themselves. They are divided into two groups distinguished by economic activity: Chavchuvens (nomadic reindeer herders) and Nymylan (settled fishermen and sea hunters). The largest tribal groups of Koryaks are Al'utor (inhabiting the area of Korfa Bay, east coast of Kamchatka), the Palan (west coast of Kamchatka), and the Karagin (Litke Strait, east coast of Kamchatka). A small number of Kereks who live on Chukotka Peninsula in the Beringov Territory of Magadan Province (on the coast of the Bering Sea) are not considered by all experts to be related to the Koryaks. The material culture of the Kereks is similar to that of the Nymylans.

Location. The territory occupied by the Koryaks (including the Kereks) stretches from the Gizhiga River to the east, including the basins of the Paren' and Penzhina rivers (both of which flow into the Sea of Okhotsk), up to the coast of the Bering Sea (the area of Cape Navarin). In the south Koryaks are spread across Kamchatka to the middle of the peninsula, where the administrative boundary of Koryak Autonomous District lies. The modern neighbors of the Koryaks are Yukagir, Even, and Chukchee to the west and north and Itelmen to the south. The environment is tundra, plateau, and, on Kamchatka, mountainous. The climate is oceanic on Kamchatka, and continental in the mainland areas in the north and northwest, where the average annual temperature is below 0° C.

Demography. The aboriginal population of the Koryak Autonomous District (Koryaks, Itelmen, Even, and Chukchee) is a little more than 20 percent of the entire population of the district. The total number of Koryaks is about 8,000. According to estimates in the 1960s, about 90 percent of the Koryak population could speak their native language. This number is much lower today and it is constantly decreasing. During the last decades some of the less populous ethnic groups, like the Itkan and Apukin, have been combined with the larger groups of Koryaks. Kereks have been assimilated by the Chukchee. In 1990 there were only three men who could speak the Kerek language. The entire Koryak population is rural.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Koryak language is classified as belonging to the Chukotko-Koryak Group of the Paleoasian languages. The Paleoasian languages are not historically related. For example, the Itelmen language is classified with the Chukotko-Koryak languages but is historically isolated, whereas the historical connection between the Chukchee and Koryak languages is unquestionable. The Koryak language has four distinct dialects: the language of the nomadic reindeer herders (Chavchuven), the language of the Nymylan of the western coast of Kamchatka (Palan), the language of the Nymylan of the eastern coast (Al'utor), and the language of the Karagin (Nymylano-Itelmen contact zone). The language of the Kereks, who are separated geographically from other Koryaks, is also distinct. The written Koryak language was introduced in 1931. It was based on the Chavchuven dialect. First the Roman alphabet was used, and then, from 1937 on, the Cyrillic alphabet.

History and Cultural Relations

The Koryaks and the Chukchee are related to the Arctic peoples whose culture developed in northeastern Siberia. Their material and symbolic culture was influenced significantly by Eskimos. These influences are evident mainly among Kereks and other groups of settled Koryaks. For nomadic Koryaks the primary traditional economic activity was reindeer herding; for settled Koryaks it was fishing, sea-mammal hunting, and the fur trade. There were exchange relations between nomadic and settled Koryaks.

Reindeer production was conducted in accord with ancient and, for the Koryaks, unchallenged traditions. It helped to preserve existing social structures.

In the past the nomadic movements of Koryak reindeer herders extended beyond current administrative boundaries. Before the arrival of the Even on the northern coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, Koryaks were in contact with the northern groups of Nivkh, as evidenced by the similarity of their material cultures and languages (lexical similarities). Koryak contact with the Even began later, a fact recorded in legends and historical documents. The Koryaks came into contact with Yukagir during their migration from the source of the Gizhiga River to the headwaters of the Omolon and Korkodon rivers. Christianization began with the arrival of Russians in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and affected mostly settled Koryaks. The nomadic reindeer herders as well as Kereks were Christianized "on paper." For the most part they have kept their own, non-Russian names.

Until the beginning of the twentieth century, elements of a primitive communal system were preserved among the Koryaks. Nevertheless, the reindeer herding and crafts of settled Koryaks were gradually drawn into the market, and the role of private property increased. Soviet control of Kamchatka and Chukotka was established in the 1920s. The collectivization of reindeer herders was accompanied by the inescapable deculturation that brought passive Koryak resistance. They attempted to leave, to "dissolve" into the expanses of the tundra. In December 1930 the Koryakskii National (now Autonomous) District was founded. All Koryaks were brought together in fishery collectives, reindeer farms, and agricultural collectives. The reindeer herders were converted to the settled way of life. In the postwar period, a policy of enlargement of the villages took place. It harmed traditional craft production and promoted the "lumpenization" of part of the population. In 1954 teaching of the Koryak language was prohibited. The prohibition lasted for twenty years, and its consequences have yet to be completely overcome. Estimates in 1988 listed only thirteen schools in the district that were teaching the Koryak language. The development of democratization in Russia, following *perestroika*, encouraged Koryaks to act independently in the struggle to maintain their identity.

Settlements

The traditional dwellings of nomadic Koryak reindeer herders were portable frame houses that were covered by a tarp of reindeer hides, with internal compartments used as sleeping chambers. The settled Koryaks lived in semiunderground huts with an upper entrance. They had the same type of construction in both Chukotka and Kamchatka. Koryak summer dwellings were huts on stilts. In the nineteenth century settled Koryaks started to build Russian-type frame houses.

In the largest settlements of the Koryak Autonomous District (including the district center, Palana), Koryaks are a minority. They predominate in villages that are connected with reindeer herding, such as Sedanka, Lesnaiia (the western coast), Aianka (the northern, continental part of the district), or in the less noteworthy (from the point of view of new arrivals) Tymlat (the eastern coast). All Koryak villages have electricity and radio (television is spreading), but they do not have running water or sewer systems.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. The traditional productive activities of the Koryaks, reindeer herding by the nomadic Koryaks and fishing and hunting of sea and furbearing animals by settled Koryaks, continued to develop in the Soviet period. In the seventeenth century, metal objects came to the Koryaks through Russians. In the eighteenth century there was a well-known Koryak forge in Paren' (a village on the coast of Penzhinsk Bay), where they even made metallic armor. Since the nineteenth century, dairy farming and horticulture have been developing in the regions where settled Koryaks live.

The Koryaks had reindeer and sledge dogs as means of transport. For travel along rivers, Koryaks used boats that were hollowed from the whole trunk of a tree. On the sea they used single-seat and multiseat kayaks (*matew*) that were covered with sealskin. Modern means of transport include planes and helicopters and Caterpillar tread vehicles.

Industrial Arts. The majority of Koryaks are occupied in traditional spheres of production. There are currently a number of Koryaks with higher and secondary education who are administrators, teachers, doctors, veterinarians, mechanics, etc. In the district center, Palana, there is a vocational training school that prepares specialists in reindeer breeding, cattle breeding, and raising of animals for furs. There are also pedagogical and music schools.

Trade. The exchange of products between Koryaks, especially between nomadic and settled Koryaks, as well as with neighboring peoples, was rather intensive. Today Koryaks who are working as hired and office workers purchase goods from state stores.

Division of Labor. Men's tasks were traditionally reindeer herding, fishing, and hunting. Women's tasks were making clothes, housekeeping, and gathering, the latter of which was replaced by gardening in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Land Tenure. The concept of land ownership has always been alien to Koryaks.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. The basis of Koryak social organization was the patriarchal family community. But unlike, for example, the Even, who carried the names of genealogical clans, Koryaks were named mainly after the place of residence, usually by the name of a river. Ancestor cults were widespread. All ethnic groups of Koryaks had special sites for sacrifices. Settled Koryaks had these sites near their villages. Nomadic Koryaks located such sites in the places where their ancestors and relatives had been cremated.

Kinship Terminology. The fixed system of kinship terms seems at first glance not to show any special deviations from the system that, for example, Russians have. Yet, for example, there is preserved the term "family"

(Chavchuv: *yaicyin*, or Nymylan: *rair?in*) and the term "large family"—that is, evidently, "community" (*vaiat* or *varat*), which is interpreted in modern usage as "people."

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Traditional marriages were endogamous. Among almost all groups of Koryaks, not only were marriages between cousins possible, but also marriages between siblings. The distinguishing feature of marriage was working for one's future wife in her father's home. The period of work was indefinite and could last from several weeks to several years. The wedding ceremony included the "grabbing of a bride," in which the bridegroom had to touch the bride's genitals while she and her relatives attempted in every possible way to prevent him from doing so. Mixed marriages (with members of neighboring groups such as Even, Yukagir, etc.) were not prohibited, especially among the reindeer herders, but settled Koryaks and Kereks were more conservative in this regard. Today civil marriages are performed according to the laws of Russia, and mixed marriages are not condemned.

Domestic Unit. The main unit of traditional economic life was the community. It consisted of parents, their children, grandchildren, and other relatives. A community of settled Koryaks lived in one semiunderground hut; its members hunted together at sea in a single boat; the catch was communal property. The patriarchal community of reindeer herders also lived in a single dwelling. The bases of its existence were a reindeer herd, the products of gathering, and supplemental activities. The communities were led by elders who directed all economic and social life, represented the community in interethnic relations, and performed religious-cult functions. There were several families in a community. By the second half of the eighteenth century these communities had started to disintegrate, especially among settled Koryaks. This brought about the economic isolation of the family. Nowadays all Koryaks live in families no different in organization from those of the Russian population.

Inheritance. Koryaks did not own land. The main form of property of reindeer-nomads were reindeer herds that were inherited in the male line. In the Soviet period the problem of inheritance lost its significance.

Socialization. Infidelity was the transgression that, above all others, merited a social reaction in the community. It was punished by execution or exile. Respect for elders was secured by the ancestor cult, which was preserved until the Soviet period.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. If the whole multilevel administrative system of Russia is taken into consideration, Koryaks have autonomy at the lowest level. Even this 0autonomy is more nominal than real, however, because Koryaks are a minority in their autonomous district and cannot influence political and economic life in it.

Political Organization. There were Koryaks who were members of the Communist party of Russia, party activists, and administrative workers. One or two Koryaks were permanent representatives in the Supreme Council of Russia.

Conflict. The history of the Koryaks, especially those who were nomadic, is filled with conflicts with neighboring peoples—Even, Yukagir, Chukchee, and Itelmen. The word "war" (*tan'nicetyijnin*) is etymologically related to the word "stranger" (*tan'nitan*). The Koryaks were usually defeated by the Even, but they pressed the Yukagir rather mercilessly. In the first half of the eighteenth century, fighting between Koryaks and Chukchee, who continually seized reindeer herds and captives from Koryaks, had a bitter character. Reconciliation with the Chukchee took place in the second half of the eighteenth century. Hostilities with the Even were resolved at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The Koryaks sought help from the Russian administration, and it played an active role in all these events. Nevertheless, the Koryaks carried out separate revolts against Russians and attacks on Russian strongholds (Russian: *ostrozhki*). In the first third of the nineteenth century the location of Koryaks who were pressured by Even and Chukchee was stabilized within the modern northern boundary of the Koryak Autonomous District.

On the southern boundary, Koryak reindeer herders penetrated with their herds down to Cape Lopatka (the southern extremity of Kamchatka). This penetration brought resistance from the Itelmen who were, however, not able to force the Koryaks out of Kamchatka. The situation stabilized after the arrival of Russians. The smallpox epidemic that descended on Kamchatka in 1768–1769 did not spare Koryaks. The modern southern boundary of the Koryak Autonomous District includes the territories that are inhabited by remaining Itelmen of the western coast.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. The cult of the Raven (Qujgin'n'aqu or Qutqin'n'aqu in Kerek-Qukki), a demiurge and creator of life on earth, was present among Koryaks, as among other northeastern Paleoasian peoples. Sacrifices were made to kind as well as evil spirits, with the goal of propitiating them. Among the kind spirits were the ancestors, who were worshiped at special sites. Settled Koryaks had guardian spirits for their villages. A dog was considered the most pleasing sacrifice for the spirits, especially because it would be reborn in another world and serve the ancestors. Koryak religious ideas and sacrificial practices were preserved among nomad reindeer herders (and Kereks) and survived until the establishment of Soviet rule, and in fact into the 1950s.

Religious Practitioners. Koryaks carried out sacrifices themselves, but when they could not overcome the machinations of vicious spirits, they resorted to the assistance of shamans. The shaman, either a man or a woman, was a curer and seer; the shamanic gift was inherited. The tambourine (*iaiai* or *iaiar*) was indispensable to the shaman. Kerek shamans apparently did not use tambourines.

Ceremonies. Traditional Koryak holidays have remained in the people's memory. One example is the autumn thanksgiving holiday, Hololo, which lasted several weeks and consisted of a great number of successive ceremonies. The Koryak-Karaginets still celebrated this holiday in the 1960s and 1970s. Today a yearning for the reconstruction of ethnic self-identity is strengthening.

Arts. Koryak folklore is represented in legends, tales, songs, and dances. The State Koryak Ensemble of Folk Singing and Dancing, "Mengo," is well known not only in the former Soviet Union, but in other countries as well.

Medicine. Originally the curer was the shaman, and this practice continued until the 1920s–1930s. Today Koryaks are included in the public health system of the district.

Death and Afterlife. Koryaks had several methods of burial: cremation, burial in the ground or at sea, and concealment of the dead in rock clefts. Some groups of settled Koryaks differentiated the method of burial according to the nature of the death. Those who died a natural death were cremated; stillborn infants were buried in the ground; those who committed suicide were left without burial. Kereks had a custom of throwing the dead into the sea. Reindeer herders preferred cremation. All the utensils and objects that the deceased would need in the other world were placed on the funeral pyre. Accompanying reindeer were intentionally harnessed incorrectly—the Koryaks believed that in the next world all things had a form diametrically opposite to things in our world. Contemporary Koryaks bury their deceased in the Russian manner, whereas reindeer herders still cremate the dead.

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INNOKENTII C. VDOVIN AND ALEXANDR P. VOLODIN
(Translated by Ann Kremer and David C. Koester)

Kriashen Tatars

ETHNONYMS: Kräshenlär, Kreshchenye Tatary, Starokreshchenye Tatary

Orientation

Identification. The Kriashens are an ethnic group inhabiting the middle Volga region in the extreme eastern part of European Russia. Because they ceased being recognized as a distinct nationality by the Soviet authorities after 1930, there is no administratively defined Kriashen ethnic territory.

Location. The Kriashen settlements are located in the Kama Basin of the Tatar Republic, in the Bashkir and Chuvash republics, and in the Cheliabinsk and Kuibyshev oblasts of the Russian Republic. Kriashen villages have tended to be in the forest-steppe zone or in the steppe zone itself. The climate in the Kriashen ethnic territory is continental, with long cold winters and hot dry summers. The growing season is from late April or early May until mid-September.

Demography. In 1910 the Kriashens numbered 122,000. No demographic information on the Kriashens has been published since the Soviet census of 1926, according to which they numbered nearly 100,000. Bennigsen and Wimbush (1986, 234) estimate the current Kriashen population to be at most 250,000. The Kriashens fall into three culturally distinct subgroups. The largest of these is the Kama Basin subgroup, which chiefly inhabits the Tatar and Bashkir republics. The second is the Nagaibak subgroup, which inhabits Cheliabinsk Oblast and which numbered approximately 6,000 at the end of the nineteenth century. The third subgroup, the Molkeevsk Kriashens, inhabit the Chuvash Republic. They speak a Mishär Tatar dialect and are integrated into Chuvash society. At the end of the nineteenth century the Kriashens were 98 percent rural dwellers, inhabiting their own Kriashen villages. Information on the contemporary degree of urbanization of Kriashens is not available.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Kriashens speak differing dialects of the Volga Tatar language, which is part of the Kipchak Branch of the Turkic Language Family. These dialects differ considerably from one another but are all mutually intelligible and are distinguished mainly by phonetic and lexical peculiarities. The languages most closely related to Volga Tatar are Bashkir and West Siberian Tatar. The Kriashens use the Kazan dialect of Volga Tatar and Russian as their literary languages. Before 1930, however, there were attempts to create and employ a Kriashen literary language. At the very end of the nineteenth century various religious texts were published by the Russian Orthodox church in a modified Cyrillic script. From 1927 until 1929 a Kriashen newspaper was published in Kazan.

History and Cultural Relations. The history of the Kriashens as such begins with Ivan IV of Muscovy's conquest of the Islamic Kazan Khanate in 1552. The incorporation of large non-Orthodox populations into the Muscovite state resulted in the attempt by that state and

ecclesiastical authorities to Christianize the Muslim and animist communities of the former Kazan Khanate. Throughout the second half of the sixteenth century, employing financial and more coercive incentives, the Muscovites managed to effect nominal conversions of Islamic Tatars and various animist Chuvash and Finnic groups. Indeed, Nagaibak tradition tells of their forced conversion by Ivan IV. Presumably, the level of Islamicization in these Tatar communities was quite low. These converts formed the basis of the first Kriashen communities and are referred to in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Russian sources as "Novokreshchenye" (new converts). These communities considered themselves distinct from the Islamic Tatars; the Kriashens gradually became known in Russian sources as "Starokreshchenye" (old converts). Those Tatars who converted after 1740 failed either to integrate into Kriashen society or to form their own communities; as a result, these Novokreshchenye became Russified or apostatized. Before the early eighteenth century the Kriashens were listed in Russian tax registers as *iasachnye liudi* (payers of *iasak*, "tribute"). The imposition of enserfment, which immobilized the Kriashen peasantry and imposed taxation upon them, resulted in the flight of Kriashen and other peasants to the Bashkir and Kazakh steppes, where state control was more tenuous. The Kriashen serfs were emancipated in 1861, as were all serfs in the Russian Empire. There is little information on the Kriashen peasantry during the Soviet period. After 1930 the Soviet authorities tended to determine nationality according to linguistic, rather than religious, affiliation.

The very existence of a distinct Kriashen culture has been predicated on their separateness from Islamic Tatar culture at large. In the middle Volga region religious practices have been the criteria for communal distinctions, not only among the Tatars, but among the region's Finnic and Chuvash populations as well, even to the present. Furthermore, in the nineteenth century some Kriashen communities used religious practices as the basis for distinguishing their community from other Kriashen settlements. As a result of the isolation of Kriashen communities from one another, Kriashens maintained close relations with neighboring villages and marriages between Kriashens and Chuvash were especially common. Islamic mullahs or Russian priests were also frequently invited to officiate at Kriashen religious rituals.

Settlements

There are very few sources that discuss the nature of Kriashen villages, and even their precise locations are unclear. Kriashens appear to have traditionally located themselves near streams or springs, building one-or two-story houses along narrow, straight streets. Their houses were for the most part wooden and had elaborately carved facades. In front of the houses were carved picket fences and low gates.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. Before 1930 the Kriashens tended to rely on a wooden plow (*saban*); iron plows were slowly being introduced by that time. Until 1930 the Kriashens practiced subsistence-level agriculture, which consisted primarily of rye and wheat cultivation. This cultivation was supplemented by vegetable and fruit growing and by raising sheep, pigs, cattle, horses, and poultry. Agriculture was marginally supplemented by fishing and gathering, and, to a smaller degree, by hunting. The collectivization of the Kriashen villages in the early 1930s undoubtedly had a detrimental effect on overall food production in these villages. The Kriashen diet consisted chiefly of bread supplemented by vegetables and of meat consumed during festivals involving sacrifices. It appears that dairy products were important in the Kriashen diet. Certain dishes, such as porridge (*butga*) and fish pies, had an important ritual significance.

Industrial Arts. The material for the manufacture of most utensils, furniture, and tools was wood. As with the Islamic Tatars, many Kriashens were accomplished leatherworkers. Clothes and rugs were woven by the villagers.

Trade. Until 1930 money was not the main medium of exchange in Kriashen villages. Consequently, trade was not a major facet of the Kriashen economy. Nonetheless, it seems that there were markets in the Kriashen villages, and incomes were supplemented by the sale of surplus handicrafts and agricultural produce.

Division of Labor. In traditional Kriashen society much of the outdoor agricultural work such as plowing, certain crafts, metalworking, and fishing and hunting was done by men. Food preparation, weaving, gathering, and much of the harvesting was done by women. Daughters-in-law living with their husband's family performed a disproportionately large share of the household chores. The first sowing of the year was usually done by the senior member of the family.

Land Tenure. Little is known regarding Kriashen land tenure before their enserfment in the eighteenth century, except that Russian tax registers seem to indicate that plots, to some extent, were owned communally. After the emancipation of 1861 land was owned by the village commune and was periodically redistributed among the villagers. From 1905 until collectivization in 1930 land was under private ownership.

Kinship, Marriage, and Family

Kinship. Although the tribal kinship system among the Volga Tatars had atrophied well before the Russian conquest, the Kama Basin Kriashens maintained festivals that were collectively observed by a number of genealogically related villages, usually from four to ten. Kinship is not shared with Islamic Tatar villages, although they have a similar institution of a multivillage festival. Both the Kriashen and Islamic Tatars refer to the institution as *jïyïn*. The main kinship group was traditionally the extended family descending from a grandfather.

Kinship Terminology. The kinship terms of the Kama Basin Kriashens differ from those of Tatars in general. The terms for all maternal relatives were prefixed with *jïraq*, meaning "far." Thus, the paternal grandfather was called *babay*; the maternal grandfather was called *jïraq babay*, and so forth.

Marriage. Traditional marriages were usually arranged between the respective families, although elopement was also common, as was bride-abduction. An arranged marriage required the payment of a bride-price (*galīm*) to the bride's family. Residence was patrilocal. Christian prohibitions of divorce were usually disregarded before the Revolution.

Domestic Unit. The traditional domestic unit was the extended family, which could number as few as twelve or as many as forty members. The extended family would usually reside in a single dwelling, but sometimes would inhabit two or more neighboring buildings.

Inheritance. Very little is known about Kriashen inheritance. Property was controlled by the senior male in the extended family, and the property appears to have remained in the household as long as the household was intact. When an extended family fragmented, the departing members had a right to take with them only the property necessary to establish their new household. This traditional system ended with the privatization of the economy in the early twentieth century and was replaced with direct inheritance.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. The basic social unit above the family level was the village council, which was comprised of the *aqsaqallar* (the senior male members of the community). The most senior member of the council was called *abīz*. Traditionally, this council, which corresponded to the Russian mir, arbitrated disputes, periodically redistributed land, and organized communal religious rituals, such as animal sacrifices. After the Bolshevik Revolution the village council was supplanted by the village or collective-farm soviet. This transition presumably reduced the authority of the village elders.

Political Organization. Kriashen villages were integrated into the czarist, then the Soviet political structure. In the czarist period political institutions in the Kriashen regions were dominated by the Russian nobility, and in the early twentieth century by Russian and Islamic Tatar political organizations. Kriashens were subject to the same tax and military obligations as other peasants in the former Russian Empire. The fact that Kriashen nationhood was not recognized in the Soviet period has deprived the Kriashens of those political institutions afforded the other nationalities of the middle Volga region.

Social Control. Traditionally, social control was exercised by communal opinion, in more extreme cases by the village council or local courts. In the Soviet period social control was exercised by judicial and law-enforcement authorities.

Conflict. The Kriashens participated in all of the major uprisings against czarist authority in the middle Volga region, most notably the Stenka Razin Revolt in the seventeenth century and the Pugachev Uprising of the eighteenth century. Little is known of agrarian unrest in the Kriashen villages during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religions. Although the Kriashens were members of the Russian Orthodox church, it was not until the end of the nineteenth century that church authorities made any effort to introduce Christian dogmas into Kriashen practices. The few resident Russian priests in Kriashen villages rarely commanded the local languages. Traditional Kriashen religion was characterized by agricultural rites, ancestor worship, the cult of heroes (Kirămătlăr), and animal sacrifices. Kriashen communities that resisted Christian and Islamic influence in their practices referred to themselves as "Chey Krăshenlăr" (real, or pure, Kriashens). The community, both living and dead, was the focal point of religious life; the most important rituals involving the entire village were held in the fields, cemeteries, or sacred groves. Religious specialists (*kürăză*) consisted of seers and healers. The former would practice divination and recover lost articles. Village elders, in some communities including women, officiated at the major sacrifices. Kriashens would frequently enlist the aid of powerful religious specialists from neighboring, non-Kriashen, villages. There were also important ancestor-worship ceremonies at the family level. Important festivals were Nardughan (New Year's), Olī Kŏn ("Big Day," Easter), and Sabantuy (the summer plow festival). These practices were retained well into the 1930s, and some certainly continue to exist to some degree.

The chief deity, corresponding to the Christian god, was called Koday. The spirit world was quite populous; spirits existed for all natural phenomena. The most important of these were spirits of the house, fields, forest, and water. Adults were considered to have at least two separate and distinct souls.

Arts. Very little Kriashen folklore has been recorded, except for wedding songs and certain other folk melodies. Kriashens have a tradition of intricate carving and embroidery. Kriashen embroideries contain many Finno-Ugric and Turkic elements, which are not evident in those of the Islamic Tatars.

Medicine. Traditional medical techniques consisted of spells and incantations, since it was believed that most illnesses were caused by spirits or spirit possession. Modern empirical medicine was probably not consistently available in the Soviet period, and, consequently, traditional techniques remain in use.

Death and Afterlife. The community was traditionally believed to consist of both the living and the dead, and great care was taken to see to the needs of the latter. Death and burial rituals were complex and carefully followed. Funeral repasts, at which the soul of the deceased participated, were held on the third, seventh, ninth, and fortieth days after burial. Annual memorial feasts were also held in both the house and in the cemetery for family and village ancestors. The Kriashens had no concept of heaven; they believed spirits resided in the spirit world and yet could interact with the living.

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ALLEN J. FRANK

Krymchaks

ETHNONYMS: Crimean Jews, Tatar Jews

Orientation

Identification. The Krymchaks are a Jewish ethnic group located on the Crimean Peninsula on the northern Black Sea shores who spoke vernacular Crimean Tatar. Before the Russian conquest of the Crimea in 1783, the entire Jewish population there was identified, including by the Krymchaks themselves, by the Tatar word "Yakhudiler." During the nineteenth century and possibly earlier, the Krymchaks at times also called themselves "Sral Ballary" (the sons of Israel). Among various references to the Krymchaks in Russian documents from the first half of the nineteenth century are "Karasubazar Jews," "Crimean Jews," "Tatar Jews," and "Turkish Jews." In the second half of the nineteenth century the name "Krymchaks" became dominant. The Krymchaks themselves began to use this name as their ethnonym at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries.

Until the 1950s the Krymchaks always considered themselves a Jewish group, although different from other Jewish groups like the Ashkenazim, and they were perceived as such by other Jewish and non-Jewish groups and by the Russian and Soviet authorities. After World War II, the shaky status of the Jews in the Soviet Union prompted the informal leaders of the Krymchak community to insist on a different origin for themselves as compared to the rest of Jewry. An ethnic myth was created and propagandized: that the 8Krymchaks were descended from those groups of the ancient Crimean peoples, such as the Tavrians, Scythians, Sarmatians, and others, who converted to Judaism. For purely political reasons this claim was accepted by the Soviet authorities, who recognized the Krymchaks as a separate and distinct ethnic group who had nothing in common with other Jews, except religion. Nevertheless, this shift in the Krymchak ethnic self-identification is still incomplete. Although the majority of Krymchaks now reveal much ethnic conformity and prefer to point out their alleged non-Jewish origin when dealing with the authorities, they do recognize their affiliation with the rest of Jewry and in specific situations reveal an awareness of their Jewish identity.

Location. The historical center for the Krymchaks was the town of Karasubazar in the piedmont part of the Crimea. During the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries a majority migrated to Crimean cities on the Black Sea shores, or to Simferopol', an administrative center of the Crimea in the steppe zone. At present, the majority live in the major Crimean cities. They also live in Sukhumi and Novorossiisk on the Caucasian side of the Black Sea shores and in small numbers in Moscow, Leningrad, and Central Asia. Krymchaks also live in Israel and the United States.

Demography. According to the 1989 census, the number of Krymchaks in the Soviet Union was 1,559; it is expected that their number will continue to decrease because of their assimilation into other ethnic groups. The Krymchaks never constituted a numerous group, however. On the eve of World War II their number was estimated as 8,000, but about 70 percent perished during the Holocaust.

Linguistic Affiliation. In the past the Krymchaks spoke an ethnolect of the Crimean Tatar language that belongs to the Kipchak (Qïpchaq) Group of the Turkic Branch of the Altaic Language Family. Minor differences with the Crimean Tatar vernacular are found mostly in pronunciation and vocabulary. The pronunciation differences occur because the Krymchak ethnolect was based not on the dialects of the southern coastal area but on the northern steppe dialects of the Crimean Tatar language. Differences in vocabulary stem mainly from the existence of a relatively large number (about 5 percent of the total vocabulary) of Hebrew words in the Krymchak ethnolect.

The mass transition of the Krymchaks to the Russian language began after the Bolshevik Revolution and intensified in the 1930s. At present, only a few elders use Crimean Tatar as their vernacular. A significant number of people of the intermediate generation demonstrate some knowledge of it, although they use it only from time to time and do not consider it their mother tongue. The youth have no knowledge of it.

Unlike the Crimean Tatars who used the Arabic script, the Krymchaks had always used the Hebrew one until 1936, when they were ordered to substitute the Russian script.

History and Cultural Relations

The history of the Krymchaks is inseparably linked with the history of the Jewish communities in the Crimea who had settled there no later than the last centuries B.C. The formation of the Krymchaks as a separate Jewish ethnic group, however, goes back only to the Middle Ages. Although the process intensified between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, it was completed only in the nineteenth century. Between the fourteenth and eighteenth

centuries, the Jewish population in the Crimea was replenished with a rather significant number of immigrants from the Mediterranean countries, eastern Europe, and also from the Caucasus and Persia, who were incorporated into the already existing Jewish communities. One of the most important steps in the formation of the Krymchaks was their transition to the Crimean Tatar language, which apparently took place between the ends of the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. Another important step in the formation of the new Jewish group was the religious and cultural consolidation of Crimean Jewry that took place at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. To a large extent it was connected with activities of Rabbi Moshe ben Yaakov (Moshe ha-Gola; 1448–1520). The third and final crucial step in the Krymchak ethnogenesis was the formation of the Karasubazar community, which probably took place between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (perhaps even a little earlier). Presumably, between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries this community began to see itself as a separate group, especially in regard to Jewish newcomers who continued to immigrate to the Crimea. After the Russian conquest of the Crimea in 1783 the Krymchaks and all other Jews were affected by the Russian Empire's discriminatory legislation, which was abolished only after the February Revolution of 1917. In the period between the two world wars, the acculturation of the Krymchaks and their linguistic Russification had already been in progress. The Krymchaks' schools and other cultural and religious institutions were closed by the Soviet authorities in the beginning of the 1930s. During the German occupation of the Crimea, the Krymchaks were killed, one and all, except for those who served at the front in the Red Army or had been evacuated to nonoccupied territories. The trauma of the Holocaust and the growing state and public anti-Semitism in the postwar Soviet Union resulted in further intensification of the processes of acculturation and assimilation.

Before the Revolution of 1917 the Krymchaks always considered themselves true Orthodox Jews, although different from the Ashkenazim, and they were also seen as such by other Jewish communities. Up to the period before World War I, the Sephardim of Turkey served the Krymchaks as a reference group of higher status and provided an authoritative religious tradition. The Krymchak attitude toward the Ashkenazim settling in the Crimea was more ambivalent. In daily life, the Krymchaks sometimes had negative attitudes toward them; however, they admitted that the Ashkenazi Jews were more cultured and educated. In the past many Krymchaks knew Yiddish, and even now one meets some Krymchak elders who understand it or even speak it. In the cities where the Krymchaks lacked communities of their own, they joined communities of the Ashkenazi Jews and attended their synagogues. Intermarriage with Ashkenazim, although not very frequent before the Revolution or even before World War II, nevertheless did occur. On the other hand, before the Russian conquest of the Crimea, and also during the nineteenth and the first decades of the twentieth centuries, the material culture of the Krymchaks was similar to that of the Crimean Tatars. The Tatar influence appreciably affected Krymchak housing patterns, interior decoration and appointments, garments, cuisine, and many other elements of their culture. At present their culture differs little from the cultures of the peoples among whom they live, especially the Russians.

Settlements

The Krymchaks were always a predominantly urban population. Traditionally, they preferred to settle in close proximity to each other, on the same streets or in the same neighborhoods, although by now this practice has fallen into total disuse, with most Krymchaks living in modern apartment buildings. Traditional Krymchak houses were predominantly of the Tatar type, with windows facing the courtyard and earthen floors covered from wall to wall with felt and carpets, with mattresses and pillows strewn along the walls. The usual dwelling consisted of a kitchen, an anteroom, and one or two rooms.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. At present a majority of Krymchaks are involved in intellectual professions or in industry and service. Traditional occupations included various handicrafts and, to a lesser extent, petty trade. The restrictive policy of the czarist governments prohibited their participation in agriculture, except for a short period during the reign of Nicholas I. In the 1920s and 1930s the Soviet authorities forced some Krymchaks to settle on the newly organized collective farms (kolkhozy); however, this program soon failed.

Industrial Arts. Until the Revolution it was considered necessary for a Krymchak youth to learn a trade. In 1913, 55.3 percent of the gainfully employed Krymchaks were craftspeople, 28.8 percent of them having been shoemakers (this profession remained widespread among them until World War II). Apart from shoemakers, there were many hatters, tinsmiths, blanket makers, and harness makers; fewer in number were watchmakers, tailors, joiners, metalsmiths, glass cutters, and house painters. During the 1930s craftspeople were forced by the Soviet government to enter factories and workshops as wage laborers.

Trade. In 1913, 34.7 percent of the gainfully employed Krymchaks were involved in trade and commerce; however, many of them lacked capital of their own and worked as shop assistants and salespeople. After the Revolution the Krymchaks' involvement in trade drastically diminished.

Division of Labor. At present, division of labor among the Krymchaks does not differ much from the general pattern existing in the European part of the former USSR, with most of the women working as wage laborers and at the same time performing most household tasks. In the past, provision of a livelihood for a family was considered a man's job, whereas domestic duties were assigned to women.

Land Tenure. The right to own land in the rural areas was denied the Krymchaks, just as it was to other Jews, by the czarist government. Under the Soviet system, no land was held privately.

Kinship, Marriage, and Family

Kinship and Descent. No fixed kin groups, apart from the family, existed among the Krymchaks. Descent was bilateral. Ties with immediate relatives are still quite firm.

Marriage and Family. One of the early sources mentions that the Krymchaks practiced polygynous marriage, but in the nineteenth century marriage was strictly monogamous. In the past, marriages were arranged by parents, relatives, or tutors, although cases of forced marriages were quite rare. The families tried to marry off their daughters early, with their dowry prepared starting from the moment they were born. Issues related to dowries served as a topic for lengthy negotiations. From one or two to four months lay between betrothal and marriage. The marriage ceremony itself lasted for a few days at least. The marriage took place according to the Jewish religious ritual, which included a *ketuba* (marriage contract). This contract specified, among other things, the bride's dowry, which the husband was obligated to return to the wife in case of divorce, adding 10 percent of its total value as a reward for her virginity. In fact, families were very tightly knit and divorces uncommon. Postmarital residence was patrilocal, and the independent nuclear family household established after the marriage was the ideal pattern. Under the pressure of Soviet authorities, religious marriage fell into disuse as early as the 1920s and early 1930s. At present marriages are arranged without intermediaries, by both parties, by free choice. Nuclear families constitute the overwhelming majority, but family ties are still quite strong, even in cases of relatives residing in different cities.

Inheritance. Usually, property was divided equally among sons.

Socialization. Infants and children were raised by parents and siblings. Emphasis was placed on respect for parents, relatives, adults, and the aged in general and on conformity to family and community goals. Much attention was devoted to a boy's religious education and his participation in synagogue services. Corporal punishment was rarely used as a disciplinary measure.

Sociopolitical Organization

By virtue of being a small minority, first in the Crimean Khanate, later in the Russian Empire, and finally in the former USSR, the Krymchaks never had a distinct political structure.

Social Organization. In the past, the main element of the Krymchak social organization was the community centered on the synagogue. Class differences within the community were not hereditary or rigidly fixed, but the greatest influence was enjoyed by rabbis, the well-to-do, and the educated. Practices of mutual assistance and social charity have undergone considerable development. Following the Revolution and the shutting down of Krymchak synagogues, social life was temporarily focused on Krymchak clubs, but even those ceased to exist by the outbreak of World War II. At present any social autonomy for the Krymchaks is out of the question, although in a number of cities they are still striving to maintain informal ties with each other.

Social Control and Conflict. In the common value system, the forces of public opinion and tradition were sufficient to ensure a high degree of conformity. As a weak minority often facing discrimination, the Krymchaks have been conditioned to a life of conformity, and they strive at all costs to avoid any conflicts with authorities and other ethnic groups.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs and Practices. In the past all Krymchaks practiced Orthodox Judaism, which was a central and unifying force in the community. Their prayer book (*Makhor Minhag Kafa*) was based on a combination of several Jewish traditions. Their synagogue service, religious practices, and Hebrew pronunciation were also somewhat different from those of the Ashkenazi Jews. Thus, in the synagogue the Krymchaks prayed sitting on carpets spread on the floor. To discuss everyday business in the synagogue was forbidden; so as not to occasion secular discourse, Krymchaks entered and exited the synagogue as a single group. After the shutting down of Krymchak synagogues, and especially in the wake of World War II, the extent of religious worship sharply declined. The observance of the rules of kashruth ceased altogether. In the early 1980s only a handful of elders attended the Ashkenazi synagogue in Simferopol', and even then only during the High Holidays.

In the past, various folk beliefs and superstitions, especially the fear of the evil eye, were widespread among the Krymchaks.

Arts. Krymchak secular literature consisted mainly of recorded folklore in the Krymchak vernacular language. Handwritten collections of songs, tales, riddles, and proverbs were carefully recorded, supplemented, and kept from generation to generation. Musical folklore was widespread as well. No family feast or celebration would be complete without a round of folk songs. New songs continued to be composed even after World War II; most of these were inspired by the Holocaust.

Medicine. Whereas at the present time the Krymchaks avail themselves exclusively of the services provided by modern medicine, in the past they practiced folk medicine, including various magical remedies.

Death and Afterlife. Concepts of death and afterlife, along with corresponding rituals, were mainly those of Orthodox Judaism. After World War II a new cultural institution, the *tkun*, was established to commemorate Krymchaks who perished in the Holocaust. From the cultural point of view, tkun is a mixture of general Jewish tradition, analogous to Ashkenazi *yahrzeit* (mourning rituals), interwoven with local Krymchak traditions and even with non-Jewish traditions.

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Kubachins

ETHNONYMS: Self-designation: Ugbug, Ugbugan. Russian: Kubachintsy

Orientation

Identification. The Kubachins, one of the small ethnic groups of Daghestan, live in the settlement of Kubachi (also known as Arbukanti), and elsewhere in the cities of Caucasia and Central Asia. Administratively, Kubachi belongs to the Khadaev District of the Daghestan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, which is otherwise inhabited by Dargins. The name "Kubachi," known since the sixteenth century, derives from the Turkish word *kube* (armor plating, coat of mail); according to medieval written sources, this settlement also had a Persian name with the same meaning, "Zirekhgeran."

Location. Kubachi is situated in the mountainous zone of southern Daghestan at an elevation of 1,350 to 1,575 meters, compactly occupying the steep rocky slope of a mountain. The climate is severe: winter is cold; summer is cool, usually rainy, and often foggy. Vegetation and animal life are variegated. The slopes of the mountains surrounding the settlement are covered with alpine meadow vegetation and bushes (dog rose and rhododendron). The forests are quite far from the settlement.

Demography. The Kubachi population in 1926 was 2,579. In 1990 1,876 Kubachins were living in Kubachi territory; beyond its boundaries there were another 3,000 Kubachins, or 61.2 percent of the total. There are 980 households in Kubachi, some of which are owned by absentee craftsmen.

Linguistic Affiliation. The language of the Kubachins is closely related to Dargin, which together with Kaitak forms the Dargwa Subgroup of the Lak-Dargwa Group of the Northeast Caucasian Language Family. Some linguists classify Kubachi as a dialect of Dargin, others as a separate language. Kubachi comprises the dialects of two mountain villages or *auls*, Ashty and Sulerkent.

History and Cultural Relations

The time of the origin of the Kubachins has not been established. The Arabian historian Baladzori (end of the ninth century) mentions Zirekhgeran-Kubachi in relation to historical events of the sixth century. In the early Middle Ages the town of Kubachi was the center of an administrative unit in the area and played an active role in the political life of the northeastern Caucasus. In the sixth century the people of Zirekhgeran became tributaries of Iran. Zirekhgeran was subdued by the Arabs in 738–739, and a yearly tax was imposed on the inhabitants. In the thirteenth century Kubachi was subjected to the Mongol invasion. Tamerlane invaded Kubachi in 1396; residents were forced to submit and deliver to him a great deal of armor plate and coats of mail. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries first the Kaitag *utsmi* (feudal prince) and then the Kazikumukh khan made attempts to subjugate the village of Kubachi, but it defended its independence. In the eighteenth century Kubachi endured the invasion of the hordes of the Iranian conqueror Shah Nadir. After the unification of Daghestan with Russia at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Kubachi became part of the Kaitag-Tabasaran District of Daghestan Province. The October Revolution brought radical changes to the lives of the Kubachins. A jewelry cooperative association was founded—it is now the Kubachi Art Combine. Schools, stores, a hospital, and cultural-educational establishments were opened. Even today Kubachi remains a major center of ethnic artistic production of Daghestan and of the Russian Federation. Since the distant past the Kubachins have maintained cultural and economic relations with the surrounding population and with the people of the Caucasus, the Near and Middle East, and Russia.

Language and Literacy

Literacy among the Kubachi spread between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, with the introduction of Arabic literature. In 1404–1405 a Moslem school (*medresseh*) was opened in Kubachi. Until 1928 the Kubachins, like all people of Daghestan, used the so-called Ajam script: the Arabic alphabet adapted to the transcription of the phonetics of the local languages. In Soviet times a secondary school was opened in Kubachi. Study from the first grade on is conducted in Russian. Books, newspapers, magazines, radio, film, and television have become a part of the Kubachi way of life, although the Kubachi language is not used for writing (Dargin is the literary language of the community). There is a Kubachi intellectual community including one corresponding member of the Azerbaijan Academy of Sciences, five Ph.D.s, twenty doctoral candidates in the sciences, and writers, journalists, physicians, engineers, and geologists.

Settlements

The Kubachins dwell in large mountain settlements. In selecting a place for settlement four factors are taken into account: maximal productivity of the soil; the proximity of sources of water, arable land, and woodland; defensive security; and southern orientation (for sunlight). In the planning and character of its buildings Kubachi is a

terrace-shaped (many-storied) settlement with closely and compactly constructed quarters and a vertical spatial arrangement. Toward the beginning of the nineteenth century Kubachi was divided into large quarters—upper, middle, and lower—in which lived the members of the several *tukhums* (kinship groups). Since the beginning of the 1960s Kubachi has been intensively extended and rebuilt in all directions insofar as the contours of the plan allow. The dwellings of the Kubachins in the nineteenth and the first part of the twentieth centuries had many rooms and three or four stories, sometimes five or six, constructed out of stone and with flat roofs. The cattle shed and the stable were located in the lower story; in the second story were the hay loft and the fuel storeroom; and in the higher stories were the living quarters (consisting of many rooms), the storage areas, and the domestic workshops of the goldsmiths and other craftsmen. The living rooms were distinguished by the presence of rugs on the floor. In the central part of a wall was located the decorated fireplace. Along another wall were shelves for various kinds of metal vessels of local manufacture and Near Eastern provenience. The other two walls were hung with rows of bronze trays and dishes of china and faience from the ceramic centers of Iran, China, Syria, Japan, Russia, and European countries. The distinctive, almost museumlike Kubachi interior can be observed today in the dwellings of the majority of the inhabitants of the settlement, although the dwellings themselves have undergone changes—beds, televisions, furniture, and so forth have appeared, and the rooms (except for the one with the chimney) are furnished in the usual urban style.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. Throughout their history the Kubachins have based their economy on arts and crafts. Agriculture and animal husbandry have had an auxiliary character. The chief crafts were metal working, carving in stone and wood, construction work, and the processing of bone. Women's trades were knitting, embroidery, weaving (textile production), and the preparation of felt and felt footwear. There were no organized guilds or shops in Kubachi. Master craftsmanship was transmitted by inheritance. Migrant labor has been used since the second half of the nineteenth century. Some Kubachins are proprietors of goldsmithing workshops (who make use of hired labor); others are buyers, moneylenders, or antique collectors. A significant number of Kubachins ply their arts and crafts elsewhere in Daghestan and in the cities of Central Asia. They spend summers in Kubachi and get married there, but work abroad for seven to eight years, where they prosper. Then they return to Kubachi to spend the remainder of their days.

Clothing. Women more than men have maintained the traditional Kubachi style of dress: a shirt (or dress) cut like a tunic; a heavy brocade coat with short sleeves (out of use today); headgear consisting of a square fillet to which multicolored bits of cloth are sewn, a white towellike, embroidered covering, and a woolen kerchief; and white felt slippers (now out of use) and embroidered, knitted socks. At weddings Kubachi women wear dresses made of Eastern brocade, head coverings embroidered with gold and silver thread, and various adornments—silver chains on the headgear, large golden rings, silver bracelets, and breast pendants finished with bone, pearls, and gems. The male attire was of the same type as that of other peoples of Daghestan: a shirt cut like a tunic; straight-falling pants; a quilted coat (*beshmet*) and a long, narrow, collarless coat (*cherkeska*); boots of morocco leather or felt; a fur jacket; and a fur cap. Also part of the clothing complex were a silver belt, a dagger, and cartridge belts for the cherkeska. Today this male attire has been supplanted by standard European urban clothing.

Food. The traditional food of the Kubachins is in general analogous to the food of other peoples of Daghestan, but with some distinctive ingredients. The basis of the diet is grain, meat, and milk products. There are dishes made of wheat and maize flour (pieces of dough boiled in a meat broth with a garlic dressing and a bit of meat), French bean soup, rice, and lentils. The Kubachins make pies and dumplings stuffed with meat, curds, eggs, potatoes, tripe, and pumpkin. Dairy products include milk, cheese, curds, and milk soups with rice, pasta, and porridge. In recent times the Kubachins have added dishes borrowed from other peoples to their cuisine: borscht, soups, cutlets, and so forth.

Industrial Arts. The principal traditional craft was metalwork, including bronze stamping and the manufacture of water vessels, ritual dishes, and the covers for cauldrons; casting of bronze cauldrons and lamps; the manufacture of artistically finished sidearms and firearms; the manufacture of various adornments for women and objects of male attire (decorated belts, cartridge belts), and details of harness. These craft products had a wide market, far beyond the boundaries of the region. Perfection of a high degree was achieved in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the pouring of decorative bronze cauldrons and the manufacture of diverse ornamental bronze utensils. Carving on stone and bone reached its high point in the fourteenth through eighteenth centuries. On many stone reliefs there are masterfully incised scenes of the hunt, of competitions and rituals, depictions of animals and birds, or epigraphic ornamentation. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Kubachi, under the influence of Islam, representative forms were discarded in favor of abstract ornamentalism. Since that time there evolved the basic types of Kubachi ornamentation in the floral style, which has been widely applied in various aspects of popular art. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the Kubachins began to work intensively in the production of finely worked silver, bone carving, gold inlay in side arms and firearms, and also jewelry manufacture, knitting designs, and sewing in gold thread. Kubachi became the main center in the Caucasus for the manufacture of high-quality armament and jewelry.

A new stage in the development of art began after the October Revolution. The small jewelry workshops organized in 1924 have become a mighty enterprise in the production of the popular arts of Daghestan, where 780 male and female master craftspeople work (of these, 200 work at home knitting patterned woolen socks and about 30 live in neighboring villages). New products are being developed, such as high-quality silver pitchers, vases, goblets, cognac services, decorated plates, and women's adornments. Ex-

amples of Kubachi craft have been shown at many native and foreign exhibitions (Brussels 1958, Montreal 1967, Osaka 1970, and so forth) and they have won prizes. Among the leading master craftspeople are R. Alikharov, G. Magomed, A. Abdurakhmanov, and G. Chabkaev. Examples of Kubachi art are kept in the some of the world's greatest museums (e.g., the Hermitage, the Louvre, the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Metropolitan Museum of New York, and the National Gallery of Art in Washington).

Trade. Trade relations connected the village of Kubachi with many mountain villages and also with cities, particularly with the trade and craft centers of the eastern Caucasus, such as Derbent, Hukha, and Shemorkha. The trade route from Derbent to Gumik and Avaria ran through Kubachi. There were many bazaars in Kubachi to which were brought grain, livestock, animal products, fruits, metal products, pottery, wooden utensils, and sheepskin coats and caps. The Kubachins themselves sold the various products of their craft. Until the middle of the nineteenth century and perhaps even later, the exchange was primarily by barter.

Division of Labor. Among the Kubachins, in addition to specialization according to distinct crafts, there were also intracraft subdivisions of work. In arms making, for example, different craftsmen specialized in the manufacture of blades, barrels, locks, silver and bone ornamentation, and gold inlay in iron and bone.

Land Tenure. There were three forms of property among the Kubachins of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries: pastureland, common fields, and woods were communal property under the general ownership and usufruct of the village commune; hay fields and partitioned land constituted the private property of individual families; and ecclesiastical lands belonged to the mosques.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. The Kubachins of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries recognized many kinship groups. There were clans (tukhums)—variously named and consisting of families related through blood, mainly in the paternal line, and then, somewhat later, also in the maternal line. There also existed intratukhum divisions according to degree of kinship: all relatives, closest relatives, and distant relatives. The tukhum could be up to 100 persons in size. The tukhum preserved a communal and ideological unity, but in economic relations every constituent family represented an independent unity. Each tukhum had its plot in the cemetery and its name derived from a known ancestor. Tukhum endogamy was preferred.

Kinship Terminology. The Kubachi have kinship terms for father, mother, son, daughter, brother, sister, grandson, grandfather, paternal uncle, maternal uncle, cousin, second cousin, etc. Within the tukhum consanguinity was reckoned to five or six degrees; some basic terms are *atta* (father), *gal* (son), *utstse* (brother), *bikt 'itsik'ai* (cousin), and *vagilaziv* (relative—for the most distant degree of relative).

Marriage and Family

Marriage. The consummation of marriage and divorce and the arrangements for the division of inherited property were determined by the norms of Quranic law (Sharia). Women were without rights and their conduct was strictly regulated by customary and Quranic law. A wife did not have the right to a divorce, whereas a man could divorce himself from her at any time and take a new wife. Polygamy was not practiced. Marriage between cousins and second cousins was permitted with the approval of the parents. The Kubachins did not marry people from other ethnic groups. The wedding was conducted with great celebration over the course of three days; in the past there was (and to some extent there continues to be) an abundance of ancient rituals and ceremonies accompanied by music, dances, gaiety, mumming, processions, salutations to the bride, visits to the house of her parents, and the ritual of "leading [her] to the water." The contemporary family is based on mutual love and the equality of women and men. Today about 30 percent of marriages are outside the tukhum, but the number is actually declining.

Domestic Unit. The basic form of the family among the Kubachins of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was the nuclear family. The extended family communes had already dispersed, but individual families could consist of three or four descending generations—grandparents, parents, children, grandchildren—who lived in the large, many-storied house. Consonant with the traditional division of labor by gender in the nuclear family, men were occupied with the basic productive activities outside the home for the support of the family whereas the women managed the domestic economy.

Inheritance. Personal property and privately owned land was inherited in the male line; in the absence of a direct heir it went to the nearest relative in the male line.

Socialization. Training in traditional arts and crafts occupied a large place in the education of children. Between ages 12 and 14 boys entered "The Union of the Unwed" (Men's Union), where they received physical education and underwent military training (The Kubachi man was expected to be both a trained craftsman and a fighter). Girls from about age 8 to 10 helped in the home and were taught to knit and embroider and to prepare food. Children from an early age acquired the norms and ethics of "mountaineer morality." In the first through tenth grades the local school in Kubachi trains children in arts and crafts, particularly in the manufacture of jewelry; the school is also open to the children of workers from other villages who are employed in Kubachi.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. The form of social organization until the end of the nineteenth century was the village territorial commune (*jamaat*), the internal life of which was regulated by the norms of customary and Quranic law. It consisted basically of freeholding commune members, the majority of them craftsmen. Pasturelands, common land, hay fields, and forests were under the control of the commune. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the lands were divided into three sections corresponding to

the three quarters of the village (high, middle, and low). The inhabitants of one quarter did not have the right to pasture livestock, cut hay, or cut wood in the sections belonging to other quarters. Offenders were fined. The property of individual families—sections used for growing hay or grain and certain small hay fields—could be sold or rented. There were also church lands belonging to the mosques (*waqf*). In the social life of the Kubachins before the Soviet period Men's Clubs, abounding in complex and varied, strictly observed ceremonies and rituals, enjoyed great public authority.

Political Organization. Kubachi society was governed by a special organization, the Chine, consisting of seven men selected by the commune at a town meeting. It was guided by the norms of customary law and conducted internal and external affairs. Legal and executive power were under its control. Subject to it was a military organization with the functions of guarding the village against external attacks and the defense of the forest, haying and pasturelands, and livestock. After Kubachi became part of Russia and the new administration was introduced, the Chine declined, but the village remained a self-governing entity.

Social Control. The commune regulated the activities of the Chine, Quranic judges, the personal and public life of the commune member, and the observation of customary law and of order and discipline. The most important decisions were made at town meetings.

Conflict. Lawsuits, controversies, clashes, and squabbles within the commune were considered and resolved by the Chine and the Quranic court, but unusual, more important issues were treated at the town meeting. In controversies with neighboring villages concerning forests, hay fields, or pasturelands, the Kubachins, in defense of their rights, had recourse to weapons but in some cases resorted to mediation by the elders of neighboring settlements.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. The religion of the Kubachins is Sunni Islam, which they accepted toward the end of the thirteenth century. Evidence from medieval authors (e.g., Masudi, tenth century A.D.) and local legends testifies to the spread of Christianity to a certain degree (and, before that, of Zoroastrianism) among the Kubachins before the advent of Islam. Despite the supremacy of Islam, the Kubachins retain residues of ancient pagan beliefs; these are manifested in rituals for invoking the sun and the rain, reverence for sacred trees, cults of the eagle and various animals, magical rituals for curing from the evil eye, and the wearing of amulets and talismans of diverse sorts.

Religious Practitioners. The religious leaders were the mullahs and Quranic judges. Sometimes a mullah would fulfill the function of a Quranic judge. Until the Revolution their jurisdiction included the examination and judgment of civil cases and cases involving religious matters (marriage, divorce, division of property, wills and testaments, supervision of ecclesiastical laws, and so forth).

Ceremonies. The Kubachins celebrate the Islamic holidays of Uraza-bairam, Kubam-bairam, New Year (lunar), and the Day of Spring. The deeply traditional mass festival of "Going to the Waters to Avoid the Evil Eye" is celebrated annually at the beginning of May and accompanied by processions, music, dances, rejoicing, and the picking of flowers. A series of ceremonies related to the survival of the cult of fertility, the ritual of games with wooden eggs, the Holiday of the Flowers, and so forth, concludes the cycle of the Union of Unmarried Men.

Arts. Kubachi folk art is represented by industrial crafts and also by choreography, music, and folklore. Members of the Men's Club performed intricate ritual dances to the accompaniment of music—the drum and *zurna* (clarinet) —during the cycle of the installation of the Union of Unmarried Men and at weddings. Kubachi folklore, typologically close to the folklore of the Dargins, has its distinctive aspects, related to the basic productive activities: crafting arms and jewelry.

Medicine. The folk medicine of the Kubachins of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was based on methods of healing that had been developed over the centuries, together with sorcery. Its greatest effectiveness was in the healing of wounds, broken bones, and dislocations. Wild nuts and berries were widely used in folk medicine. Local healers were familiar with the medical treatises of Oriental countries written in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish, which were copied and translated into their native language. Sorcery was based on magical techniques and ceremonies involving spells and incantations; it was used to cure people and animals affected by the the evil eye. Today a district hosital with qualified doctors and other medical personnel is operating in Kubachi. Among the better-known Kubachi physicians is Prof. I. A. Shamov, laureate of the State Prize of the USSR and Prorector of the Daghestan Medical Institute.

Death and Afterlife. Death is perceived as predestined by the will of Allah. The Kubachins believe in the oneness of God, a life after death, a day of judgment, the immortality of the soul, angels, hell, and heaven, and they revere the prophet Mohammed. Funeral rituals are carried out in Islamic form. Forty days after the death requiem prayers are read on the grave of the deceased. Lavish memorial services are conducted on that day and after a year has passed.

See also Dargins

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Kumyks

ETHNONYMS: Self-designation: "Qumïq," from which derive the Russian and Nogay "Kumïk" and the Chechen "Ghumki"; in the languages of the mountain people of Daghestan the Kumyks are generally called "dwellers of the lowlands"

Orientation

Identification and Location. The Kumyks live in flatlands and foothills, in all the cities of the Daghestan Republic, and in part of Chechen-Ingushia and North Ossetia. Their own territory runs from the Terek River in the north to the Bashlychai and the Ulluchai in the south—an area known as the Kumyk plain. The foothills consists of ridges with an average elevation of 500 to 700 meters. To the east Kumykia is bounded by the Caspian Sea into which flow the Terek, Sulak, Gamri-ozen and other rivers; some of the rivers do not reach the sea. There are few lakes in the Kumyk plain. The climate is moderate to warm (continental) with dry and hot summers, rainy autumns, and cool winters with little snow; the average year-round temperature is 11° C. In the Terek-Sulak lowlands the annual precipitation only reaches 20 to 30 centimeters, but in the foothills it is somewhat greater.

Demography. The overall Kumyk population is 282,200 (1989), of which 231,800 live in Daghestan; population growth during the last decade has been 23.5 percent. Until the 1950s and 1960s the Kumyks formed a fairly homogeneous community, but now, with the massive resettlement of mountaineers onto the Kumyk plain, the territorial unity of the Kumyks has been disrupted and the population density on the plain has sharply increased. In terms of physical anthropology, the Kumyks belong to the Caucasian type with an admixture of the Caspian type.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Kumyk language belongs to the Kipchak Subgroup of the Turkic Branch of the Altaic Family, while manifesting, however, elements of the languages of the Bulgars and Khazars (ninth and tenth centuries) and the Oghuz Turks (eleventh and twelfth centuries). Roughly from the seventeenth until the beginning of the twentieth century, Kumyk served as a language of interethnic communication in the northeastern Caucasus. The language today consists of five dialects, with the Khasavyurt and Buinaksk dialects serving as the basis of the literary language.

History and Cultural Relations

The Kumyks are one of the indigenous peoples of Daghestan. The ethnonym itself is mentioned by Ptolemy (second century A.D.), Mohammed of Kashgar (eleventh century), P. Carpini (thirteenth century), and others. At various historical periods, the ancestors of the Kumyks must have entered into the Hunnic Confederacy, and those of the Sabirs, the Barsils, the Bulgars, the Khazars, the Kipchaks, and others. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the following political formations existed: the Tarkov Shamkhalate, the Mekhtul Khanate, and the Endireev, Kostekov, and Aksai domains. The southern Kumyks became part of the Kaitag *utsmiate* (principality). A special place was occupied by the Tarkov *shamkhal,* who was called the *vali* (ruler) of Daghestan. He commanded unlimited power although periodically he gathered a council (*majlis*) together for decisions on important goals. The shamkhal did not have a standing army but did have a large number of men-at-arms; his vassals included appanage princes (*biy, bek*) and ministers (*vazir*). Almost the same system was observed in other domains of Kumykia. After the union with Russia the supreme power was concentrated in the hands of the czarist military command.

Language and Literacy

The tribes that played some role in the ethnogenesis of the Kumyks used the Caucasian Albanian and Runic scripts (to at least some extent). There is information to the effect that a writing system was created for the Daghestan Huns (the Sabirs or Savirs) by Byzantine-Armenian missionaries, and another, based on the Greek alphabet, in the Khazar period. From the eighth to the tenth centuries the Arabic script gradually spread to the area and was adapted (in the twentieth century) to the sound systems of the local languages (*ajam*). In 1928 the Arabic script was supplanted by the Latin alphabet, and in 1938 by the Russian (Cyrillic).

Settlements

The basic type of settlement was the village; the term *avul* usually referred to a village quarter. Many ancient and medieval towns were located in Kumyk territory (Semender, Belenjer, Targhu, Enderi, etc.), as are the majority of modern Daghestanian towns and cities (Makhachkala, Buinaksk, Khasavyurt, etc.). There were also small Cossack-style villages (*khutor*), which typically grew into larger settlements. As a result of many military events in the period of the Arab-Khazar wars, the Mongol invasion, the Caucasus wars, and so forth, a number of Kumyk settlements were wiped out, but in the majority of cases they were reestablished in times of peace. In the period of conquest by czarist Russia and later, Russian forts and even settlements were built on the Kumyk plain, which was settled in part by Nogays, Chechens, Avars, and Dargins, each constituting separate communities or settling into Kumyk villages. The old settlements of Kumykia were more often situated on high points for defensive purposes (albeit with horizontal layout).

There are three types of Kumyk dwelling: (1) one-story on a low foundation; (2) one-and-a-half story on a high stone foundation—more recently including a large cellar; and (3) two-story. The lack of natural building material (stone, wood) and the presence of the requisite quantity of land contributed to the predominance of the one-story house among the lowland Kumyks; among those in the foothills, on the other hand, taller buildings were more common. In their internal layout all the rooms were situated in a row, or in an L-shape (when there were more than two rooms in the house), or in a U-shape (if there were three or more rooms). The rooms were usually joined by a gallery running along the front facade. Along the ceiling, supporting the beams, was a horizontal purlin of

heavy, finished wood. The purlin was supported in its center by a thick central beam. The doors and windows were massive, made out of single-piece oak planks. The roofs were of clay mixed with straw and gravel, and flat (among the northern Kumyks they were close to being gabled). In the house of a well-to-do Kumyk, every room had its specific function. The most space was given to the kitchen. There was a special room for guests; princes and feudal lords constructed separate guest lodgings in the courtyard. One room was used for storing food. The remainder were bedrooms. All porches, windows, and doors usually faced south or southeast (to catch more sun for warmth). The house was heated by a fireplace. In the second half of the nineteenth century stoves began to be used in each room, similar to those used for baking bread (which had previously been built in the courtyard and on the porch of the first floor). Iron stoves appeared at the end of the nineteenth century. Steam heat is often used now and, for the preparation of food, gas ranges and coal stoves. The courtyard was protected by a wall of stone, adobe, or wattle. The courtyards usually had oak gates with covered passages and massive shutters.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. The Kumyk economy has been based on agriculture since ancient times. The Kumyks knew the three-field system of crop rotation and artificial irrigation. Land was periodically left fallow. Exploitable land was of four kinds: plow land, hay fields, woodlands, and pasture. The next most important branch of the economy was animal husbandry, the development of which was facilitated by the presence of plentiful fodder. Sheep and cattle were raised for milk and meat. Cattle were also used as draft animals, whereas horses were primarily for riding. Water buffalo were also bred. Livestock were driven to distant pastures: the inhabitants of Mountain Daghestan rented winter pastures in the plains from the Kumyks, whereas the latter used the summer pastures of the mountaineers on the same rental basis. These regulated, centuries-long traditions greatly facilitated the formation of a communality of the economic interests of the Daghestanians and a rational division of labor. Long before the nineteenth century in Kumykia, communal property in land had yielded place to feudal land use. In the nineteenth century there already existed three kinds of land use: private, state, and ecclesiastical (*waqf*—the land belonging to the mosque). Private landownership was subdivided into large feudal holdings and small, privately owned plots of land. After the establishment of Soviet power, land was nationalized. Favorable natural conditions, proximity to the sea, and the presence of rivers contributed to the emergence of fishing. The extraction of salt and oil also had some significance in the economy; the Kumyks supplied the larger part of Mountain Daghestan. Owing to the division of labor between the plains and mountains of Daghestan, and also to the relatively early diffusion of Russian manufactured goods, different aspects of arts and crafts developed early among the Kumyks. Together with this, many branches of cottage industry and crafts continued to play an important role: the preparation of woolen and cotton textiles; working in leather, wood, metal, and stone; rug weaving; pottery and the manufacture of arms. The most important trade routes of the eastern Caucasus (including the Silk Route) passed through Kumykia, which served as the main breadbasket for many regions of Daghestan—all of which brought about and continues to promote the significant role of trade. The economy of the Kumyks was on the whole quite complex: the feudal system was relatively highly developed in the lowlands, as were capitalistic relations in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Clothing. The light underclothing of men consisted of a tunic-shaped shirt and pants; riding breeches became popular at the start of the twentieth century. Over the shirt the Kumyk wore a quilted coat (*qaptal*) sewn of dark textiles (in winter and for work) or light-colored textiles (summer)—wool, silk, or cotton. The quilted coat was gradually replaced by the Caucasian shirt, over which was worn a collarless Caucasian coat (which in the case of the wealthy upper class of Kumyk society was sewn of white camel skin but, more usually, of imported cloth or cotton of various colors). Rows of little cartridge pockets were sewn on both sides of this coat, which was donned when receiving guests and in public places. In the winter a sheepskin coat was worn on top of the Caucasian shirt or coat. Coats for the most important occasions were made from the white skins of young lambs, everyday coats from ordinary sheepskin. The Kumyk feudal upper class and bourgeoisie wore sable, ermine, ferret, and beaver coats made of imported Russian furs. The *burka* (Caucasian felt coat) served as an outer garment, a defense against rain, cold, and wind. Male footwear included socks of spun wool, light shoes of morocco leather, work shoes from entire pieces of buckskin, and slippers and galoshes of morocco or fine leather (but with a thick sole). In the nineteenth century prosperous Kumyks began to wear fashionable boots with long tops and high heels. The Kumyk headgear was usually a sheepskin hat or a cowl. After the unification of Daghestan with Russia, imported city dress of the European type began to enter the Kumyk milieu.

In the Middle Ages Kumyk warriors wore coats of mail consisting of a metal shirt with short sleeves, an iron or steel helmet, an iron shield, and a quiver; in battle they carried bows and arrows, spears, sabers, and poles with wedge-shaped bayonets; most wore daggers (*kinzhal*). In the seventeenth century the Kumyks also used firearms: unrifled guns, pistols, and cannon. Arms were both of local manufacture and of Turkish, Russian, and English make.

Women's attire, to a greater degree than men's, had many local variations. The inner layer of clothing included a long tunic with a front opening; a second part consisted of a close-fitting top attached to a long, wide skirt, gathered at the waist and wide trousers. Outer clothing included an open dress with a long, wide skirt and sleeves that were sewn only to the elbows, below which they hung loose; a closed dress with a fitted and lined top and a long, wide skirt with normal cuffed sleeves; and a ceremonial dress like the open dress but with an insert sewn in and separately cut double sleeves. Women's sheepskin coats had large gores and (unlike men's) were fastened with buckles or clasps; they were longer than the men's but

sleeves came down only to the elbows. Female footwear was primarily woolen socks, Caucasian slippers, and leather boots—distinguished from the men's by more decoration, more refined manufacture from more select materials, and brighter color. On their heads the Kumyk women wore a fillet (*chutqu*) in the form of a sack that opened toward the top and the bottom, sewn from satin or wool, which held their braided hair. Over this fillet they tied a large handkerchief of silk, tulle, or calico. These handkerchiefs were varied, selected with regard to age and situation (holiday, mourning, and so forth). Decorations, hanging free or sewn to clothing, included silver decorated with filigree, embossed buckles in the form of small long fish, small sequins, and all sorts of buttons, usually of silver, which were sewn onto the sleeves, the belt, or the front. Adornments worn separately included a broad silver belt, sometimes with a gold or gilded mounting for precious stones, or, for the less wealthy women, of galloons with several rows of sewn-on silver coins; a special type of close-fitting necklace that consisted of twenty to twenty-five small gold or silver plates strung on two strings; ornaments in the form of long, narrow gilded-silver buckles sewn onto a breast cloth of velvet or plush; beads shaped like barley kernels attached to gold or silver plates or coins; corals; earrings; rings; and bracelets. All these decorations were made of gold or silver, often richly ornamented and decorated with precious stones. Mostly they were produced in Daghestan, but some were imported.

Food. Kumyk cuisine included *khinkal*, a wheat-flour dumpling lightly boiled in a rich meat bouillion and served with a gravy of sour cream (or sour milk, tomatoes, nuts, etc.) and garlic; a dumpling of maize meal; various kinds of soup (with beans, rice, spaghetti, groats, and the like); *kyurze*, a kind of ravioli stuffed with meat (with curds, pumpkin, pluck, nettles, etc.); a kind of pie of the same ingredients; dolma, grape or cabbage leaves stuffed with sausage and rice; pilaf; shashlik; a kind of scrambled eggs; meat sauce; rice porridge; maize or wheat porridge cooked in milk or water; a thin porridge of wheat flour browned in butter or fat; halvah of flour and sugar in hot fat or butter; halvah with nuts; and other types. This is far from a full list of the Kumyk national dishes; many local variations could be added. There also were pies, breads, fritters, preserves, beverages, and so on. Tea, coffee, cocoa, and many alcoholic beverages are among the borrowed or imported beverages.

Division of Labor. Among the Kumyks there was a fairly clear-cut division of labor by age and gender: men took care of the sheep, goats, and working livestock and their pasture, as well as the bulk of the fieldwork and tasks such as making hay, and collecting firewood; women took care of milk animals but in general were more concerned with the domestic economy, the care of the home, and many domestic industries (sewing, weaving, etc.). Children learned the tasks pertaining to their gender. Public opinion censured adult children if their elderly parents engaged in heavy physical labor.

Kinship

Kinship Groups. Long before the nineteenth century the Kumyk clan (called *tukhum* in the northern Caucasus, *taipa*, *qavum*, or *jins* in Kumyk) underwent profound changes, although tukhum relations continued to play a significant role in later periods. Relatives in the paternal line were part of the tukhum only as far as the third degree (normally 100 to 150 persons); the degree of kinship had great significance. There were specific terms for (patrilateral) first cousins of either gender (*uzuqariler*), second cousins (*qariyanlar*), and their children (*ariyanlar*), whereas all more distant relatives were simply called by a generic term (*qardashlar* or *tukhumlar*). Nonkin ties also played a significant role, especially those involving the rearing of children in another house or mutual relations between guests. The tukhum was endogamous. In the nineteenth century it was not the entire tukhum but a subgroup of closely related families that played the primary role in kinship relations; eventually rule by the elders was replaced by the rule of a wealthy upper tier, although the elders continued to have a significant place in kindred and council. Today tukhum relations have weakened considerably, although their maintenance, particularly among close relatives, is considered to be good sense and a matter of honor.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Marriage and divorce were governed by Sharia (Quranic law). Marriage took place at age 15 or 16 (or later). A specially entrusted person (*arachï*) carried on the negotiations with the parents of the girl and, when the chances for a favorable courtship were good, matchmakers were sent. A *kalïm* (bride-price) was paid for the bride, part of which went to her relatives and part to buy the dowry. In addition, the husband had to make a payment (*gebinhaq*) that guaranteed some security to the wife and children in case of divorce or the death of the husband. The betrothal was marked by formalities. To fix the conditions that had been accepted by both parties, something of value was given to the parents of the bride. The wedding was conducted with due pomp, and all the villagers were usually invited. The groom remained in the house of a close friend, where celebrations also took place, albeit in a narrower circle.

Domestic Unit. In the nineteenth century the basic domestic unit was the nuclear family, although there were also undivided families (and familial communes of twenty-five to thirty people). The natural growth of the family led to the segmentation of the commune, usually at the death of the head of the family. (The family head was usually the oldest man, but also one distinguished by his experience, a competent organizer, and a skillful worker—or, less commonly, a senior woman, who likewise enjoyed irrefutable authority.) New families consisting of three or four generations of relatives were headed by the sons of the deceased leader. All members of the family obeyed the head, but for important questions the main role was played by the family council, which was comprised of all adult men and some older, more experienced women. The family maintained and developed many-sided relations within the village commune, regulating the productive, sociopolitical, and cultural life of the village.

Inheritance. All property and food products were considered to be owned by the entire family. The possessions

of members of a family consisted of property that had been transmitted to them through inheritance or acquired through the common labor of the family. A woman's dowry was considered her personal property. If a man initiated a divorce, the woman retained everything that she had brought from her parents' house and, in addition, the payment she had received on entering into the marriage. Some types of property (mills, sometimes land) continued to be owned jointly by the members of a large family even after a general division (they took turns using it, or divided the income). The youngest son ordinarily remained in the paternal home, conducting a joint household with his parents. On division of the family household, only the men had rights to the property. A young woman could count only on her dowry. The head of the family had a right to a supplementary part of the property, particularly when unmarried daughters or other relatives remained living with him. If the family consisted of several generations, the property was divided among the oldest brothers. The development of trade and financial relations and of private property, as well as peasant reform, led to the shift from large family units to small family ones.

Socialization. The severity of custom and the ascetic, spartan form of life, did not traditionally allow a man to take part in the raising of small children or to display parental feelings. The woman was occupied with the rearing of children, although, in the presence of strangers or outsiders, she, too, was expected not to caress her children or show her feelings. The education of boys differed from that of girls; it was instilled into a boy that he was called to defend those close to him in the future, to play an independent role in the family and in society, and to become a good worker in the fields. In the girl, on the other hand, a complaisant or obliging character was cultivated; she was taught to care for children and to do housework. All of this was realized by means of a native pedagogy involving instruction in work, play, ritual, and children's folklore.

Sociopolitical Organization

Government and the judiciary were based on both *adat* (common law) and Sharia (Quranic law). Most cases involving murder, wounding, beating, theft, arson, adultery, abduction, false witness, lawsuits, and the like were decided on the basis of adat. Quranic law applied to cases concerning wills, guardianship, the purchase and sale of slaves, the division of property, and marital questions. Common-law court was presided over by experienced and influential elders from among the aristocracy and free peasantry (*uzden*), whereas Quranic law was executed by religious judges (*qadis*). There was also an arbitration court, the judgment of which was considered final. In addition to witnesses, jurors played a major role in the judicial process, especially when the cases were to be decided on the basis of suspicion. If the criminal was not known, informers were used in the investigation. The decisions could be changed by the feudal authorities or the czarist administration. The communal assembly of the men gathered for important matters.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Sunni Islam spread among the Kumyks between the eight and twelfth centuries. Christianity had been widespread prior to this and, among the upper class of Khazaria, Judaism. Not many pagan beliefs have been preserved, and the institution of shamanism as such is virtually nonexistant among the Kumyks. Folklore and ethnographic material, however, indicate that Kumyk tribes worshiped the high god Tengiri and the divinities and spirits of the sun, the moon, the earth, the water, and so on. There are surviving heroic poems, narratives, and ritual songs concerning, among others, the demon Albaslï (a woman with huge breasts thrown over her shoulders, who might injure women giving birth); Suv-anasï, the "mother of water"; the three demons Temirtösh, Baltatösh, and Qïlïchtösh (with ax blades protruding from their chests with which they kill people); Sütqatïn, a goddess or spirit of the rain; Basdïrïq, who could suffocate people in their sleep; and a gluttonous figure. The subsequent spread of Islamic mythology often transformed or provided an overlay to the pagan beliefs. Today Muslim and, in particular, pagan beliefs are becoming things of the past.

Arts. In houses of the older type great significance was attached to the carving of the wooden parts of houses: beams, pillars, clothes closets, shutters, the frames of windows and gates, and the like. Stone slabs with traditional carvings and inscriptions were inserted in the walls of porches or gates. Clay decorations were placed on niches, apertures, cornices, and fireplaces. The spacing of decorations was based on the native sense of decorative rhythms. Daggers, pistols, sabers, and rifles were covered with various decorations with gold or silver mounting. Female attire, particularly that of girls, was decorated with gold and silver galloons or lace, or artfully realized gilded pectorals.

The Kumyk people have created highly artistic forms of folklore. Their heroic epics include the ancient "Song of Minküllü," similar to the Gilgamesh epic; the "Song of Kartkozhak and Maksuman," a segment of the Kumyk Nart epic; and the "Song of Javatbi," in which, as in the Oghuz epic of Dede Korkut, the tale is told of the struggle of the hero with Azrail, the angel of death. Poetry of the yearly cycle includes songs for bringing rain ("Zemire," "Sütqatïn"), for meeting autumn ("Güdürbay," "Hüssemey") and spring ("Navruz"), and family-ritual songs: wedding songs and laments. Children's literature is also significantly developed, as are myths, legends, and tales. The epics include songs of legendary heroes such as Aigazi, Abdulla, and Eldarush and the heroes of the anticolonial and anticzarist struggles of the nineteenth century. To the relatively late genres of Kumyk folklore belong the songs about the freedom-loving Cossack warriors, the *takmaks* and *sarïns* (quatrains used in verbal dueling), amatory verse, and humorous and other songs. The telling of proverbs and maxims also flowered. Kumyk dance, which has about twenty variants, is related to Lezgin dance. Characteristic of its choreography are compositional precision, a clearly expressed manner of realization (powerful and masculine by the men; tranquil and proud by the women), a complex pattern, and a duple rhythm. Vocal art is also highly developed, particularly the male polyphonic choir. Dances and songs are accompanied by a *kumuz* (a

plucked string instrument), an accordion, or less often a wind instrument. Solo folk songs are also performed on these instruments.

Kumyk literature began to develop in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries but reached a more significant development at the turn of the nineteenth century when poets such as A. Qaqashurinsky, Y. Qazaq, and M. Osmanov appeared. Major contributions to Daghestan Soviet literature were made by A. Salavadov, A. Magomedov, A. Adzhiev, and many others. The Russian poet Arseni Tarkovsky is a Kumyk on his paternal side, as is his son, the internationally known film director Andrei Tarkovsky. Kumyk theater, the first in Daghestan, was created in 1930; it has featured such outstanding Daghestani actors as Stanislavsky Prize laureate B. Muradova. I. Kaziev has played a significant role in the development of Daghestan cinematic art. T. Muradov, I. Batalbekova, Z. Aleksenderov, and B. Ibragimova are particularly popular actors.

Medicine. Native healers used herbs, foods, and water; practiced bloodletting and massage; and applied compresses and other poultices together with magical techniques of great antiquity. In Soviet times highly qualified medical personnel have emerged (e.g., R. P. Askerkhanov, corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences).

Death and the Afterlife. In funeral ritual and poetry, side by side with Islamic regulations (particularly regarding the process of burial) and beliefs or concepts regarding the afterlife, are elements of pagan beliefs and even certain rituals and songs, for example, *shaghalai* (a singular type of keening and ritual dances around the deceased) and a ritual of dedicating a horse to the deceased.

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SAKINAT SH. GADZHIEVA AND A. M. ADZHIEV
(Translated by Paul Friedrich and Johanna Nichols)

Kurds

ETHNONYMS: Self-designation: Kurd, Kurmandz

Orientation

Identification, Location, and Demography. According to statistical data for 1989, the total population of Kurds in the USSR was 152,717. Of these, 56,127 were in Armenia; 33,331 in Georgia; 25,425 in Kazakhstan; 12,226 in Azerbaijan; 14,262 in Kirgizia; 4,387 in Turkmenia; 1,839 in Uzbekistan; and 56 in Tajikistan. The areas of dense settlement are in Transcaucasia (Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia). According to the 1979 census, the Kurds of Azerbaijan are not included among the major (more numerous) nationalities of the Azerbaijan Republic, because of natural and artificial assimilation. In Kazakhstan and Central Asia live the descendants of Kurds from the former Kurdistan District. The population figures are somewhat low, since in Kazakhstan many Kurdish inhabitants are registered as Turks or Azerbaijanis. Kurds live scattered in Ukraine, Belarus, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Moldova. At the present time a significant part of the Kurdish population has left Central Asia, Transcaucasia, and Kazakhstan for the Krasnodar region. Kurds staunchly retain a national self-consciousness. The majority of Kurds are Muslims—mostly Sunnis, some Shiites. A number of Kurds (called "Yezidis") are adherents of the syncretistic religion known as Yezidism. The religious distinctions have tended to separate the communities into separate Yezidi and Muslim settlements.

Linguistic Affiliation. Soviet Kurds speak the northern dialect (Kurmandz) of the Kurdish language, which belongs (along with Talysh and some other languages) to the Northwestern Subgroup of the Iranian Group of the Indo-European Family.

History and Cultural Relations

The appearance of Kurdish kin-tribal confederations in Transcaucasia dates from the tenth century, and in the eleventh century the famous Kurdish dynasty of the Seddadis ruled over an enormous territory from the city of Elisavetpol (modern Kirovabad in Azerbaijan) to the city of Ani (in modern Turkey). Toward the end of the nineteenth century the Kurdish population in Transcaucasia was concentrated in the Aleksandropol, Novobayazet, Surmalin, Sharuro-Daralagez, and Erevan districts of Erevan Province (Armenia); the Aresh, Jebrail, Javanshir, and Zangezur districts of Elisavetpol Province (Azerbaijan);

and the Akhalkalaki, Akhaltsikhe, and Borchalin districts of Tiflis Province (Georgia). Individual clans appeared in Transcaucasia after the Russo-Persian wars of 1804–1813 and 1826–1828. These were either the inhabitants of those villages that, in accordance with the conditions of the Gyulistan and Turkmanchay agreements, came under Russian authority, or they were nomadic Kurds in Transcaucasian territory. At the beginning of the nineteenth century several Kurdish tribes presented the Russian authorities in Caucasia with a request to allow them to settle in Russia and accept Russian citizenship.

At the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, as a result of the genocide of the Yezidi Kurds and the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, as well as the Kurds' search for better pasturage for their cattle, the Yezidi Kurds fled with the Armenians to Armenia and the Muslim Kurds migrated to Azerbaijan, where the majority population professed Islam. Thus the Kurdish population in Transcaucasia split along confessional lines. Subsequently, in the 1920s, many Kurds left Azerbaijan for Armenia (where some villages of Muslim Kurds were created in the Basargechar, Dilizhan, and other regions); at the same time some went from Armenia into Georgia. In Georgia the Yezidi Kurds are mostly an urban population, living in Tbilisi, where they came in search of work. The Muslim Kurdish population settled primarily in Azerbaijan, in the Kelbajar, Lachin, Kubatlin, and Zangelan regions. In the 1920s these regions, with their center in the city of Lachin, became the Kurdistan District of Soviet Azerbaijan. At the beginning of the 1930s the Kurdistan District was transformed into the Kurdish National Autonomous Region, but in connection with the new administrative division of Azerbaijan the region was abolished. In 1937 there was a forced deportation of the Kurdish population from Azerbaijan and Armenia and, in 1944, from Georgia.

Language and Literacy

In the past most of the Kurds of Transcaucasia were illiterate. In the Russian Empire the Kurds had no national schools. In 1921, according to the first agricultural census, 1 out of every 100 adult Kurds was literate (1.44 percent of male Kurds in the Kurdistan District and a mere 0.04 percent of female Kurds). From the 1920s various measures for popular education among the Kurds were implemented. The most important problem was the creation of a written language, textbooks, grammars, and dictionaries in the Kurdish language, despite the fact that the Kurdish language was not studied until comparatively late in Europe (the first Kurdish grammar was published in 1787). In 1921 a Kurdish alphabet was devised in Armenia on the basis of the Armenian alphabet. A Kurdish alphabet using Latin letters was created in Armenia in 1929. In 1944, also in Armenia, a Kurdish alphabet using Cyrillic characters (with the addition of seven signs for the rendering of specific phonemes) was promulgated, although this led to some isolation of the Soviet Kurdish readership. (All Kurdish literature abroad is published in the Latin and Arabic alphabets.) A major role in the creation of the Kurdish alphabet, textbooks, grammars, dictionaries, and artistic literature was played by Kurdish pedagogues, writers, and scholars (Arab Shamilov, Amine Avdal, Ajie Jindi, Jasme Jalil, Museib Akhundov, Bakhchoe Slo, K. K. Kurdoev, Ch. Kh. Bakaev, and many others).

Government programs led to the reduction of illiteracy among adults. In the 1922–1923 school year in Armenia there were five Kurdish elementary schools with more than 260 pupils. At the end of the 1930s Kurdish schools were reorganized, and the Kurds were allowed the option of studying their native language. In 1925 more than fifty schools were opened for the Kurds of Armenia and Azerbaijan (and in Tbilisi an evening school), at which both men and women studied. Kurdish teacjers received training in technical schools and institutions of higher education. A Kurdish technical school was opened in Armenia in 1928, another in Azerbaijan in 1933. A group of young Kurds studied at the workers' high school of the Leningrad Institute of Oriental Languages under the guidance of academician I. A. Orbeli. At the present time the Kurds generally have a command their native language, but their knowledge of other languages depends on the language of the surrounding people, the language in which they have been educated, and other factors; they may be familiar with Armenian, Azerbaijani, Georgian, Russian, or other languages. According to statistical data for 1989, out of the general population of 152,717 Kurds, 123,006 considered Kurdish their native language, 6,817 Russian, and 2,289 another language; 43,889 were fluent in Russian and 61,683 in other languages.

Settlements

Their difficult historical fortunes notwithstanding, the Kurds of the former Soviet Union have staunchly preserved their traditional customs, a material and intellectual culture having common roots with that of the Kurds of Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria. This is manifested in economic and cultural forms, the typology of settlements and habitations, national costume, carpet making, cuisine, the observance of religious rituals, and folklore.

Among the Kurds of Armenia, patronymic and kin-tribal settlements existed up to the 1930s and 1940s, which attests to the long retention of traditional family structures. The majority of Azerbaijani Kurds seem not to have retained a memory of their clan and tribal backgrounds; this is reflected in the settlement patterns of Kurdish villages in Azerbaijan. A village was usually founded near a spring. Public buildings did not exist in the villages. Some Muslim villages had a religious school (*mekteb*); among the Yezidis, the children of well-off parents studied at the homes of the sheikhs. Kurdish villages had no mosques for Muslim Kurds or prayer houses for Yezidi Kurds. In Azerbaijan the Kurds prayed in the Azerbaijani mosques; in Armenia, where Yezidi Kurds predominated, the religious functions of the village were celebrated in the house of the sheikh. The villages had no markets or market squares; Kurds went to Armenian or Azerbaijani villages to buy or sell produce and the products of home industry. Kurdish graveyards were located near the village. Kurds in Armenia had patronymic graveyards; those in Azerbaijan had nonpatronymic graveyards alongside Azerbaijano-Kurdish graveyards. In the 1920s to the 1930s the Kurdish village gradually changed. In the republics of Transcaucasia new villages began to be created for those

who had adopted a sedentary form of life. The Soviet state rendered material assistance to Kurdish peasants in the construction of new settlements. In the major Kurdish towns, particularly in Armenia, new dwellings, farms, and mills were erected. The new towns had sociocultural and economic centers with village soviets, schools, and reading rooms. The results of this process were especially evident in the Kurdish villages of Armenia in the 1950s to the 1980s.

The change in the external appearance of the Transcaucasian Kurdish villages is connected with a change in the way of life and the dwelling place. Until the beginning of the twentieth century the basic types of habitation were the tent (*kon, chadïr, reshmal*) for the nomadic and seminomadic population, and the winter dwelling (*mal, khani*), an underground or half-underground mud hut for the seminomadic and sedentary population. The Kurdish homestead was a single, horizontally oriented complex consisting of an underground or half-underground hut, stable, sheepfold, and storeroom (in some parts of Azerbaijan, the oreintation was vertical). The main construction material was unfinished brick, unpolished stone, or sometimes tufa (in Armenia). Houses in the plains had flat roofs, those in the mountains cupola-shaped roofs with an aperture (*kolek*) in the ceiling for light and smoke. The ceiling beams rested on wooden columns (*stun*). A hearth (*tandur*) in the earthen floor was used to heat the home, bake bread, prepare food, and enact ritual ceremonies. The hearth has a sacred place in the life of the Kurds.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. The primary occupation of the Kurds of Transcaucasia in the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth was the vertical transhumance of livestock. Before departing for the pastures in the spring, the Kurds would form into *obas*, temporary and voluntary unions of several large families that lasted until their return to winter quarters in late fall. The fundamental objective in the creation of the oba was the assurance of adequate care and maintenance for the cattle. Obas were either of the *jol* type, in which members contributed equally toward the upkeep of the cattle, or the type in which one of the more prosperous flock owners accepted the sheep of the other members of the oba into his flock. The number of families forming an oba depended on the number of sheep and goats owned by each family. In addition to nomadic cattle rearing there was also cattle rearing in pastures. A number of tribes combined pasturing of livestock with dry-land agriculture (grains, tobacco).

Clothing. Older women still wear the national costume. It consists of a shirt (*kras*), baggy pantaloons (*khevalkras*), vest (*elek*), skirt (*navdere, tuman*), apron (*salek*), armlets (*davzang*), woolen belt (*bene peste*), hat (*kofi, fino*) or silk head shawl, woolen stockings (*gore*), and shoes. Ancient and modern decorations of all types (beads, rings, earrings, bracelets) and gold and silver coins on the kofi headgear are an obligatory component of female dress. In the past, Kurdish women wore nose ornaments (*kerefil*) and foot ornaments (*kherkhal*). The men's folk costume as a whole has gone out of use, but individual elements were worn until the first half of the twentieth century in Azerbaijan. The traditional national costume of the Kurds of Transcaucasia consisted of a shirt, wide trousers, a vest, a woolen belt, woolen socks, and shoes. A dagger thrust in the belt was formerly regarded as an inseparable element of the masculine costume.

Food. The Kurds have a distinctive national cuisine. From the beginning of spring the women stock up on produce (dairy products, meat, cereal, flour, vegetables) for the fall and winter. Semiprocessed dairy products are frequently used in many dishes, for example the refreshing beverage *dau*, from which various soups and curds are prepared. Curds can be fashioned into small balls (*kyashk*) that are dried under the burning sun. In winter, when the cows' milk yield drops and it is impossible to get dau, Kurds crumble a ball of kyashk, soak it overnight in warm water, and consume the thick liquid the following day. They also make various sorts of cheese (e.g., *panire sari* and a stringy cheese called *panire reshi*). Meat dishes include grilled mutton and Caucasian shashlik. Among the more common cereal dishes are porridges and soups prepared from processed grains (wheat, barley, and rice). Noodles (*reshte*) made from flour are prepared for storage.

Industrial Arts. Domestic crafts, particulary those directly associated with the processing of wool, were important in the economy of the Kurds. Kurdish women have long been famous for the manufacture of carpets (with and without nap) and felt and woolen items for clothing and daily life. The carpets are adorned with depictions deriving from folk legends, tales, and religious beliefs—particularly those of the Yezidis. At the end of the nineteenth century Erevan and Elisavetpol provinces, as well as Akhaltsikhe District in Tiflis Province—that is, areas with a large Kurdish population—specialized in the production of woolen handicraft articles. The Kurds were also noted for the production of brass and unglazed ceramic utensils. Jugs with a broad, steady base were used for keeping meat, milk, and butter. The Kurds made bags for the storage of butter and cheese, as well as churns, out of hides with the hair turned outside and specially processed. In the rich forests of the Kelbajar and Lachin districts of Azerbaijan, the peasants manufactured wooden beehives. In some regions of Transcaucasia the men were involved in working stone; carving gravestones in the shape of a sheep, horse, or lion; and making mortars and vessels for water.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Islam spread among the Kurds in the seventh and eighth centuries. Many Muslim rites and beliefs coexisted with pre-Islamic cults associated with lakes, stones, graves, trees, fire, and an ancestor cult. Among the Muslim Kurds reverance toward *pirs* (holy places) was widespread. Three types of these were distinguished. The first—stone mounds, formed by the casting of stones at places considered sacred—were revered primarily by the nomadic Kurds. Part of the mound was frequently covered by pieces of fabric hung on bushes or saplings by women. The Kurds believed that these pirs would save them from misfortune. The second type, created by sedentary Kurds, was associated with the graves of saints and the cult of the ancestors. On certain days the villagers brought offerings, usually baked bread and sweets, to these graves. The third

kind reflected the cults of trees, stones, and water; these cults had devotees among both the sedentary and nomadic population.

The beliefs and rites of the Yezidi Kurds are strictly clandestine; no one who is not born a Yezidi can have access to them. The Yezidis recognize the existence of two principles—a good one, embodied in God, and an evil one, embodied in Malek-Tauz (represented as a peacock). They have cults associated with fire, the moon, trees, water, stones, and the sun. Malek-Tauz is depicted in the form of a bird standing on a high bronze or brass pedestal (*senjag* or *sanjaq*). The founder of the sect of the Yezidis was Sheikh Adi, who lived in northern Mesopotamia (Iraq) in the twelfth century. His temple is located 70 kilometers from the city of Mosul. The Yezidis have their own sacred books, written in the thirteenth century: the *Kitabe Jilva* (Book of the Revelation) contains the essence of Yezidi dogma, and the *Maskhafe Resh* (Black Book) sets forth the legend of Yezid, son of Moawiya, and the various rites and customs.

Arts. The Kurdish nation is justifiably proud of its extremely rich oral literature—poems, tales, songs, proverbs, and legends, many of which have achieved popularity among other peoples (Armenians, Azerbaijanis, Persians, Turks, Arabs, and Assyrians). Kurdish folklore extols the moral beliefs of the people: reverence for elders (particularly women), hospitality, courage, valor, and the love of freedom. Among the most widespread Kurdish epics are "Mam i Zin," "Dĭmdĭm," and "Zambilfrosh." The creation of Kurdish alphabets led to the flowering of a written literature. Soviet Kurdish literature draws on the progressive traditions of an extremely rich folklore. Literature arose among the Soviet Kurds in the 1930s, particularly among the Kurds of Armenia. Kurdish writers (Vazire Nadri, Otare Sharo, Jardoe Genjo, and others) gave their people numerous creations (in verse and prose) telling of the tragic fate of the Kurdish nomads before the Soviet Revolution, of their life and traditions, and of popular education (especially among women). In the war years Kurdish literature focused on patriotic subjects, such as the destiny of the Kurds in the struggle with fascism. Soviet Kurdish literature continued to thrive in the postwar period. The works of poets and prose writers are permeated with themes about the homeland and the struggle of nations for peace (Jardoe Asad, Usve Bako, Kachakhe Murad, Miroe Asad, Mikaele Rashid, Karlene Chachan, Ferike Usv, etc.). Soviet Kurdish writers have been particularly concerned about the lives of their kin in Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria; about their courageous struggle for an independent Kurdistan ("the land of the Kurds"); and about the national-territorial rights of the many millions of Kurdish people.

Kurdish writers, forming a section of the Armenian writers' union, are giving their people a large number of literary works on national themes: family life, hospitality, courage, fortitude, and so on. In addition to literature in their language, the Kurds have a newspaper, *Pia Taze* (The New Road), that first appeared in Erevan in 1928. Kurdish scholars are active in many areas, especially the study of Kurdish language, literature, and history within the Armenian Academy of Sciences. The Kurdish Cultural Center was formed in Moscow in 1989 for the further development of the culture of the Kurds. The center first published the newspaper *Golos Kurda* (The Kurdish Voice) in Russian and is also preparing publications on the language, literature, history, and ethnography of the Kurdish people.

See also Yezidis

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T. F. ARISTOVA

(Translated by David Testen)

Kyrgyz

ETHNONYMS: Kik-Kun, Kirghiz, Kirgiz

Orientation

Identification. The Kyrgyz are a Turkic-Mongol people who live primarily in the mountainous regions of Central Asia, where their traditional livelihood was that of pastoral nomadism. The ethnonym "Kyrgyz" is derived from the Turkic *kyrk* + *yz*, "the forty clans," reflecting their patrilineal clan kinship system. In early twentieth-century texts, the term "Kyrgyz" was also used in reference to the Kazakhs, a group with quite similar ethnic characteristics.

Location. The majority of the modern Kyrgyz (about 2 million) live in Kyrgyzstan (the former Soviet republic of Kirghizia), located in the southeastern part of the Tianshan range and the northwestern area of the Pamir-Altai Mountains. These two mountain ranges separate the north and south of Kyrgyzstan not only geographically but also in terms of their economic, religious, and political orientations. Well-adapted to living in the higher elevations, some Kyrgyz fled to Afghanistan, Pakistan, and eastern China during various land disputes among the Russians, Chinese, and Afghans over the regulation of pasturage. More so than their Soviet counterparts, the Kyrgyz diaspora still practices nomadic pastoralism. Kyrgyzstan is a landlocked country in the center of Asia—with China bordering on the east, Kazakhstan on the north, Uzbekistan on the west, and Tajikistan on the south and southwest. Occupying 198,500 square kilometers, Kyrgyzstan is situated at elevations between 1,000 meters and 7,400 meters with only about 7 percent of its land being desert, steppe, and arable river valleys. Located between 39° and 43° N, Kyrgyzstan has a harsh continental climate with temperatures as low as -23° C and as high as 41° C. More than 600 glaciers cover 6,578 square kilometers of the country. Lakes and rivers abound in this part of Central Asia, including one of largest lakes in the world, Lake Issyk Kul. This unique saltwater lake—at an elevation of 1,500 meters—covers about 6,000 square kilometers, has a maximum depth of nearly 700 meters, and is geothermally heated. Sometimes referred to as the "little Switzerland of Central Asia," Kyrgyzstan, with its exceptionally high mountain ranges and intense seismic activity, is a major site for the study of the geology of Central Asia.

Demography. Kyrgyzstan's population of 4.5 million is 52.4 percent Kyrgyz. Other major ethnic groups living there include Russians, Uzbeks, Ukrainians, Germans, Tatars, Dungans, Kazakhs, Uighur, and Tajiks. Since Kyrgyzstan's independence in 1991, there has been a large exodus of Russians, Germans, Ukrainians, and Jews who are migrating to other parts of the Commonwealth of Independent States, Germany, and Israel. In 1989 Kirghizia had the third-highest rate of reported abortions (86 percent of women reporting at least one abortion) of the Soviet republics, with Russia and the Ukraine first and second. Prior to 1990 Kirghizia had one of the lowest rates of emigation in the Soviet Union. Approximately 83% of the population of Kyrgyzstan live in the rural regions around Lake Issyk Kul, the Fergana Valley, Naryn River valley, and the low-lying areas of the Tianshan and the Pamir-Altai Mountains. The other 17 percent live in Biskek, the capital city, or Osh, which is on the former Silk Road and is one of the oldest cities of Central Asia.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Kyrgyz language belongs to the Northwestern (Kipchak) Division of the Turkic Branch of the Altaic Language Family. It is closely related to Kazakh, Nogay, Tatar, Kipchak-Uzbek, and Karakalpak and should not be confused with Yenisei Kyrgyz. Kyrgyz was not a written language until the late nineteenth century. Before that, "Turki," a written form of Uzbek, was the script in use. At the turn of the century, Kyrgyz was first written using the Arabic alphabet, and in 1924, the Arabic alphabet was modified for writing Kyrgyz. In 1928 Arabic was dropped and the Latin alphabet substituted. In 1940, under Soviet influence, the Kyrgyz adopted the Cyrillic alphabet.

The official language recognized by the 1993 constitution of Kyrgyzstan is Kyrgyz. Although all urban dwellers know Russian because it was the language of instruction in the Soviet educational system, the rural population has maintained Kyrgyz as the primary language. Recently, the five Central Asian nations of Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan have all agreed to adopt the Latin alphabet by 1995 in order to smooth trade and increase affiliation among themselves.

History and Cultural Relations

Archaeological remains indicate that Kyrgyzstan was first inhabited by humans about 300,000 years ago, during the Lower Paleolithic period. Stone implements and stone quarries of the Middle Paleolithic period have been located in several primitive sites. Settlements from the the Neolithic period have been found in caves near the city of Naryn and also on the northern shore of Lake Issyk Kul. Archaeologists infer from the burial sites and settlements that during the Bronze Age both agricultural and pastoral groups inhabitated the valley regions in what is now Kyrgyzstan. By the fifth century B.C., iron tools and weapons were in use, indicating that the economy had shifted more toward nomadic herding. The Scythians' domestication of the horse (1000 B.C. to A.D. 900) made Kyrgyzstan an important transcontinental trade route. Later in the Middle Ages, Kyrgyzstan was one of the several routes for the Silk Road through the Tianshan and the Pamir-Altai Mountains. Religious artifacts of the Zoroastrians, Buddhists, early Christians, and Muslims, who transversed these well-traveled mountain valleys, are found at Burana Tower outside of Tokmak. This strategic garrison of early tribes was one of the few sites not destroyed by the Mongol conqueror Chinggis (Genghis) Khan (eleventh century) on his many warring expeditions to the western parts of Central Asia and eastern Europe.

The nomadic history of the Kyrgyz is more difficult to trace. The modern history of the Kyrgyz is currently undergoing revision, as Soviet-period accounts were formulated to support Marxist ideals. The Kyrgyz were not originally from the area that is now Kyrgyzstan. Most frequently, their cultural origin is traced to the region around the Yenisei River in southern Siberia. Similar cultural elements,

including the practice of animism, certain burial customs, and animal husbandry suggest common roots with other nomadic peoples of Siberia. The existence of a Kyrgyz people is believed to date to at least 200 B.C. In the eighth century A.D. they were mentioned in the Orkhan inscriptions. In 840 the Kyrgyz tribes defeated the Uighur tribes and inhabited their lands in what is now northwestern Mongolia. The Kyrgyz were themselves dispossessed of these lands by the Khitai in the tenth century.

Most historians specify the sixteenth century as the time when the Kyrgyz tribe migrated in large numbers into the area now known as Kyrgyzstan. The tribal history of Central Asia is marked by continuous upheavals between warring tribes. Throughout the last millennium, the Kyrgyz tribes utilized vast areas of land from the eastern shores of the Aral Sea to the western border of China for herding their sheep and horses. In southern Kyrgyzstan, caravans of traders moved along the Silk Road, bringing silk and spices to the West. Bennigsen and Wimbush (1986) have argued that because of the relative geographic isolation of Kyrgyzstan, the Kyrgyz have been less influenced by the pan-Turkic and pan-Islamic ideologies that are especially deep-rooted in Uzbekistan. It is nevertheless important to realize that the Tianshan range divides the southern Kyrgyz from the northern Kyrgyz, who have maintained a seminomadic economic existence much longer than those in the south and have been less influenced by Islam. Southern Kyrgyzstan historically has had a sedentary, agricultural economic base, with the Fergana Valley as its center, a region the Kyrgyz share with the Uzbeks and Tajiks. The southern city of Osh is where Islam took hold in the Middle Ages.

In the early nineteenth century the Kyrgyz were defeated by the Uzbeks in 1845, 1857, 1858, and 1873. These intertribal conflicts were among the factors that led the Kyrgyz to ally themselves with the Russians in the mid-nineteenth century. As the Russians colonized the Kyrgyz and surrounding ethnic groups, they also confiscated the better agricultural lands. Competition for lands for farming and herding, along with compulsory service in the Russian army, resulted in a revolt by the Kyrgyz in 1916. They were disastrously defeated by the Russians, who burned villages and killed many Kyrgyz. Thereafter, about one-third of the Kyrgyz fled to eastern Turkistan (the western region of China). The Kyrgyz continued their resistance to the Russians even after the 1917 Revolution, but eventually, in 1924, the new Soviet regime established Kirghizia (the Russified name of Kyrgyzstan) as an oblast within the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR), and in 1926 it was declared a Soviet autonomous republic.

During Stalin's collectivization of 1927–1928, Kyrgyz pastoralists were forcibly settled on collective and state farms; many responded by slaughtering their livestock and moving to Xinjiang, China. Between 1926 and 1959 the Soviets moved many Russians and Ukrainians into the republic, and for a time the Kyrgyz were in the minority. Kirghizia joined the USSR as a Union republic in 1936. The capital, Bishkek, was called Pishpek until 1925 and Frunze from 1925–1991. Kyrgyzstan declared itself independent on 31 August 1991, joined with ten other former Soviet republics in the Commonwealth of Independent States on 21 December 1991, and achieved complete independence with the dissolution of the USSR on 25 December 1991.

Settlements

Until recent decades, the Kyrgyz were nomadic, as they needed to move their livestock from one grazing area to another. The Soviet government has both encouraged and forced settlement, first into *kyshtaks*, villages intended to be transitional, and then into permanent Soviet-style settlements in cities and towns and on collective and state farms. Many kyshtaks remain, however, and not all Kyrgyz have been settled. Most Kyrgyz living on kolkhozy and sovkhozy were only partially settled.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. The Kyrgyz have long been transhumant nomadic pastoralists who raise primarily sheep, but also horses, goats, cattle, Bactrian camels, and yaks; in some areas swine are important. Horses provide not only transportation, but also meat and milk, the latter of which is fermented to make *koumiss*.

In the warm months the higher meadows are grazed, and in the colder months the people and their animals move to lower elevations. Transhumant pastoralism has survived under the Soviets because it is the most efficient way to raise livestock, given the ecological conditions. During the 1960s Khrushchev acknowledged the importance of nomadic pastoralism and launched an economic plan that included the production of factory-made yurts, the traditional dome-shaped tents of Central Asian nomads.

Under the Soviets, the previously self-sufficient Kyrgyz families became enmeshed in the Soviet imperial economy. Their production efforts were collectivized and controlled by the central Communist party in Moscow, and the products they made went to other republics and to foreign markets. The Kyrgyz also became dependent on foreign manufactured goods, especially medical supplies, which they do not manufacture themselves and which, over the last several years, they have been unable to afford.

Industrial Arts. The Soviets introduced a great complex of industries, including food processing, oil drilling, coal and gas mining, lumbering and woodworking, textiles, leatherworking, sugar refining, agricultural and electrical machinery production, and various others. Two industries have been especially well developed in Kyrgyzstan: hydroelectric power and the extraction and processing of nonferrous metals, notably mercury, antimony, zinc, tungsten, and uranium. Kyrgyz agricultural products include wheat, cotton, maize, grapes, sugar beets, poppies, hemp, potatoes, fruits, nuts, tobacco, wool, silk, and sheep.

Trade. The traditional nomadic life-style made the Kyrgyz self-sufficient. They were isolated by mountains, which made trade less viable. Under Soviet rule the Kyrgyz became enmeshed within the great Soviet interdependent trade network as producers and consumers.

Division of Labor. The traditional division of labor in the Kyrgyz nomadic pastoralist household was unique among Central Asian groups. It was often noted in historical records that Kyrgyz women were less conservative in behavior and dress than were other Muslim women of

Central Asia. The transhumant life-style required that both men and women operate independently of one another; thus, both sexes rode horses and knew how to hunt and prepare food. Women were principally in charge of putting up and striking the large yurt, caring for all domestic animals used as food sources, and shearing sheep for wool to construct felted rugs (*shurdak*). Both men and women herded nondomestic animals as well. Although tribal organization of the clan system included a de facto male army to protect pasturelands, there are legends of Kyrgyz women warriors. Three prominent historical women were very popular among the Kyrgyz: Konikey, the powerful wife of the legendary figure Manas; Kurmanjon Datka, the Kyrgyz leader who signed the original treaty between the Kyrgyz and the Russians in the late nineteenth century; and Jongil Misar, the female warrior who conquered khans in the sixteenth century. These Kyrgyz women, despite Islamic ideals, are all perceived as self-sufficient, powerful, and wise advisers to their people.

After the 1917 Revolution, the collectivization of farms and pastures changed the division-of-labor strategy. Women were relegated to the more traditional roles of dairy work and textile manufacture. With an increase in literacy, both men and women had the opportunity to train in specialized fields. Although Soviet socialist policy was to treat women and men as equals in all arenas, economic demands more than ideological guidelines set out by Marx and Engels have historically influenced Soviet women's involvement in the work force. Not until *perestroika* were questions raised about the economic and social welfare of women rather than the economic welfare of the state.

Land Tenure. Each family traditionally had its own pasturage, which it defended from use by others. This continued under the Soviets, although it was then each brigade that guarded its own interests. The Soviets exerted rather rigid control over production, including land use, and so reduced the expression of tensions between groups over land use. Since independence, Kyrgyzstan has embarked on a privatization program in which people are given coupons with which they may purchase state property; preference has been given to the employees of each business concern.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Kyrgyz society is organized on agnatic descent principles. The basic, and in some respects, most important social group is the *oey*, or patrilineally extended family. The oey includes a man, a wife or wives, all sons and unmarried daughters, and the wives and offspring of the married sons. All of these people typically live together in a single yurt. Several oeys, all sixth- or seventh-generation descendants of the same apical male ancestor, belong to a *kechek oruq* (patrilineage) which is also conceptualized as a large exogamous patrilineally extended family known as *bir atanyng baldary*, or "children of the same father." Members of this group often live together in one camp and assist each other in trade, herding, migration, and religious activities. Above this level, Kyrgyz are organized by *chung oruq* (clan) and *orow* (tribe). Kyrgyz place great emphasis on being able to trace their patrilineal ancestors seven ascending generations, in order to prove membership in an oruq. In earlier times, those who could not prove oruq membership in this fashion were made slaves (*qul*).

Marriage and Family

Marriage. The traditional Kyrgyz marriage was arranged by parents and extended family members. Young adults often courted, however, and their wishes frequently influenced or determined the choice of mate. In the past, marriage was often highly endogamous for clans and lineages in areas in which the hated Uzbeks, Uighur, and Tajiks were predominant. Only marriages to other Kyrgyz or Kazakhs were acceptable, and children of marriages between Kyrgyz and people of other ethnic groups were often assigned low-status positions in the clan.

Traditional marriage practices in the rural regions maintain pre-Soviet sentiments and have been little affected by Soviet domination, although couples undertake both civil and traditional marriage rituals. Patrilocality remains the norm, and the groom's family in some instances pays a modified form of bride-price. Under the Soviet system, bride-price payments were illegal; the Kyrgyz simply substituted "gifts."

Domestic Unit. The basic residential unit is the oey, or patrilineal extended family, which traditonally shared a yurt.

Inheritance. Under Islamic law men own property, and a man's sons inherit his property. Under Hanafi law, however, which pertains to the Kyrgyz, women may also own property and may inherit their husband's property, although only one-half of the amount inherited by his sons.

Socialization. Prior to the 1917 Revolution, the Kyrgyz were primarily illiterate. The institutionalization of Soviet education throughout the rural and urban areas of Kirghizia in the 1920s and 1930s rapidly brought literacy to the country.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Kinship and descent principles play the preeminent role in social organization. Kinship may be real or fictive; fictive kin include milk kin, people who were nursed by the same woman and are forbidden to marry each other. Differences in wealth were traditionally relatively small. The wealthy are expected to assist poorer kin materially.

Political Organization. Politics within the Kyrgyz ethnic group follows tribal lines. Each tribe, which is made up of clans, belongs to one of two large federations. The larger of the two federations, Otuz Uul (thirty sons) has two *kanats* (wings). The right wing (Ong Kanat) of the Otuz Uul is located in northern, western, and southern Kyrgyzstan. One of its member tribes is the Tagay, who are the political and intellectual leaders of the Kyrgyz people. The Tagay have thirteen clans. Other tribes within the right wing are the Adigine and the Mungush. The left wing of the Otuz Uul has eight clans. The other federation is the Ich Kilik, which is composed of ten major and several minor tribes. The tribes of the Ich Kilik live in the southern Ferghana Valley in southern Kyrgyzstan and in Tajikistan. Some of the left wing and Ich Kilik tribes are of Mongol origin.

The qualities traditionally necessary for leadership, which was a male role, are: possession of good character, observance of Islamic laws, courage in battle, success as a herdsman, wealth, membership in a large lineage, and a good oratorical ability.

In Soviet times, members of each kolkhoz belonged to the same clan, and local Communist party organizations were composed of people belonging to the same clan or tribe. Soviet political and economic structures simply incorporated indigenous social structure unchanged.

Since independence in 1991, Kyrgyzstan has become a constitutional republic, with an elected president who acts as head of state. In April 1993 the first Kyrgyz constitution was ratified by the parliament.

Social Control. Within the oey, the head of the household exercises authority. Beyond the oey, but also governing its members' behavior, is the authority of Islamic law and Islamic courts, which is similar to that found in other Muslim areas.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. The Kyrgyz are Sunni Muslims of the Hanafi school of law, but the degree to which the north and south adhere to religious practices must be considered when understanding the role of Islam in Kyrgyzstan. The distinction is often made between the religious practices of Islam and the everyday cultural practices of Islam. Islamic mosques and *madrassah* were built by the sixteenth century in the southern regions of Kyrgyzstan. One of the most important holy places for Muslims in Kyrgyzstan is the Throne of Suleyman in the southern city of Osh. It is sometimes referred to by Soviet Muslims as the "second Mecca." By contrast, Islam infiltrated northern Kyrgyzstan in a slower, less encompassing manner. Many ancient indigenous beliefs and practices, including shamanism and totemism, coexisted syncretically with Islam. Shamans, most of whom are women, still play a prominent role at funerals, memorials, and other ceremonies and rituals. This split between the northern and southern Kyrgyz in their religious adherence to Muslim practices can still be seen today. Likewise, the Sufi order of Islam has been one of the most active Muslim groups in Kyrgyzstan for over a century.

The Sufi orders represent a somewhat different form of Islam than the orthodox Islam, and their adepts are generally more extreme in their views and in their intolerance of non-Muslims. The four Sufi *tariqas* (paths to God, or Sufi brotherhoods) that brought Islam to the Kyrgyz and remain in Kyrgyzstan are: the Naqshbandiya, which is Bukharan and very popular and powerful; the Qadiriya, an ancient tariqa; the Yasawiya, a south Kazakhstan tariqa; and the Kubrawiya, a Khorezm tariqa. In addition, there are two newer indigenous orders that sprang from the Yasawiya. The earlier of the two is the Order of Lachi, which formed in the late nineteenth century. It opposed the older orders and was oppressed by them in return. As a result of this enmity, the Lachi initially supported the Bolsheviks but later came to oppose them. The Lachi went underground, and the Soviets could not find them again until the 1950s. Several villages in the Osh Oblast are composed entirely of Lachi members. Another indigenous Sufi order is the Order of the Hairy Ishans, which formed in the 1920s and was intensely anti-Soviet. As a result of its opposition, the Soviets attacked them in 1935–1936 and again in 1952–1953, killing some of their leaders. The Hairy Ishan order, unlike other Sufi orders, allows women to participate in the zikr (prayers) and to form their own female-only subgroups. On the whole, however, under the Soviets the practice of Sufism became highly secretive, even to the point that the silent zikr has replaced the zikr said aloud.

Under the Soviets, religious activity and belief were strongly discouraged, although not eradicated. The Soviets printed anti-Islamic books for Kyrgyz consumption (sixty-nine titles between 1948 and 1975) and gave antireligious lectures (45,000 in Kirghizia in 1975 alone). Antireligious propaganda was seen or heard in the opera, the ballet, the theater, and over the radio. The Soviets also formed motor clubs, whose task it was to bring antireligious propaganda to isolated regions. Reforms in the 1980s made open religious observance possible for the first time in many decades. A significant number of Kyrgyz observe Muslim practices in their everyday lives but not in a religious sense. Kyrgyz women do not wear veils, nor do they avoid men to whom they are not related.

Religious Practitioners. The Kyrgyz Muslims have the standard Islamic clerics. In addition, the Sufi orders have their own *murshids*, or leaders.

Ceremonies. The Kyrgyz practice standard Islamic ceremonies and rituals. Births, circumcisions, weddings, funerals, and Islamic holidays occasion celebrations. The wealthy and the politically powerful also hold large, well-attended festivals for weddings and to commemorate the death of a family member.

Arts. Kyrgyz cultural arts are rich and varied. From acrobatic horseback riding by both men and women to the fine craftsmanship of leather saddles and silver jewelry, the Kyrgyz have remembered their nomadic roots in keeping such traditional arts prominent in their everyday lives. One of the more significant cultural arts of the Kyrgyz is the recitation of their epic poem *Manas*, one of the longest epic poems in the oral tradition of the world's peoples. It is at least one million lines long and is said to take six months to perform. *Manas* is part of the Turkic *dastan*, a genre of literature that served as an educational medium by which the Kyrgyz transmitted from generation to generation their history, values, customs, and ethnic identity. The bard, called a *manaschi*, chanted *Manas* without musical accompaniment. This storytelling role was performed by an individual with shamanlike capabilities and in whom the community would confide. The Russian historian Basilov describes a nineteenth-century manaschi as one who used episodes of *Manas* as a curative ritual. Listening to the epic was reputed to have the power to cure a woman of infertility.

The Kyrgyz also have a long and popular tradition of informal recitation of folklore. The singing of folk songs is often accompanied by the three-stringed instrument *akomuz*. Among some of the most famous Soviet writers of the last thirty years, Kyrgyz writer Chingis Aitmatov has distinguished himself as the author of books and screen-

plays. His works include *Dzamilya, A Day Lasts Longer than One Hundred Years, and The White Steamship.*

Soviet influence in Kirghizia has included the formation of a Kyrgyz orchestra; the publication of books, magazines, and newspapers in Kyrgyz and Russian; the establishment of libraries; radio and television broadcasts; and the creation of a feature-film industry to disseminate cultural material.

Medicine. Traditional Kyrgyz medicine, Chinese acupuncture, and Soviet rest sanitoriums offer the major methods of healing available to people in Kyrgyzstan. Since 1991 Western aid has focused on providing pharmaceutical medicines and medical training to the country. Medical help is inadequate in the rural mountainous regions, especially since the breakup of the Soviet infrastructure in 1991 and the earthquake in August 1992.

See also Kirgiz in Part Two, China

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KATHLEEN RAE KUEHNAST AND DANIEL STROUTHES

Laks

ETHNONYMS: Self-designation: Lakk (sing.), Lakkuchu (pl.). Former self-designations: Ghazi Kumukh or Qazi Qumukh, from the Arabic *ghazi* (warrior of the faith) and the Lak "Kumukh" (the cultural and political center of the Lak territory).

Orientation

Identification. Ethnically speaking, the Laks are the descendants of Caucasic peoples who have inhabited central Daghestan since at least the Bronze Age. The Laks are closely related ethnically, linguistically, and culturally to the Dargin, Kubachin, and Kaitak peoples of central Daghestan; they are more distantly related to the various Avar peoples, Lezgins, Tsakhurs, Rutuls, and Tabasarans of highland Daghestan.

Since the 1920s the Laks have been known by the general ethnonym "Lak." Russian variants are "Laktsy" and "Kazikumukhtsy." The term "Lak" may derive from the ancient Daghestani people called "Leki" (however, this term may have referred to a different group or to a variety of peoples). Prior to the Russian Revolution, most northern Caucasian peoples, like the Laks, had no specific self-designation as an ethnic group, but rather referred to themselves by tribe, clan, religious group, or territorial designation. This is reflected in the numerous and diverse ethnic designations applied by the neighbors of the Laks to them. The Avars call them "Tumaw" (pl., "Tumal"); the Dargins "Vuluguni" or "Vulechuni" (depending on the local Dargin dialect); and the Lezgins "Yakholshu."

Location. The Laks live primarily in the basins of the upper Kazikumukh, Tleusarakh, and Khatar rivers in Lak and Kuli districts in the mountainous central region of Daghestan. Other settlements are found in Tsudakhar, Akusha, Rutul, Kurakh, Charoda, and Dakhadaev districts in central Daghestan. In this region of high mountains and plateaus dissected by many rivers and their tributaries, there is little rainfall and drought conditions are common. In Daghestan, a very poor region, good agricultural land is rare. There are few forests, but scrubs, bushes, and weeds abound. Transhumant sheepherding was the traditional life-style of the majority of Laks, whereas local artisanry provided the basis of village and town life. The Laks also have a long history of economic out-migration to neighboring areas (the highest rate among all Daghestanian peoples). In 1944 many Laks were resettled in the steppes and foothills north of the Andi ridge in what is now Novo-Lakskiy (New Lak) District in the far northeastern part of Daghestan.

Demography. According to the 1979 census there were 100,148 Laks living in the USSR (of whom 83.3 percent lived within the Daghestan ASSR). Although the Laks are reputed to be the most linguistically Russianized of all of the peoples of Daghestan, in 1979 only 4.1 percent of the Laks listed Russian as their native language (95.0 percent listing Lak). Most Laks, however, are also fluent in Russian, and many also speak Avar, Kumyk, Dargin, Lezgin, or Azeri. The Laks are among the most multilingual peoples in the former Soviet Union.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Lak language belongs to the Dargino-Lak (Lak-Dargwa) Group of the Northeast-Caucasian (Nakh-Daghestanian) Language Family, which also includes Dargin, Kubachi, and Kaitak. There are five distinct dialects of the Lak language: Kumukh, Ashti Kuli, Balkhar, Vitskh, and Vikhli.

History and Cultural Relations

The early history of the Lak people is unclear; however, as noted above, they have lived in Daghestan since at least the Bronze Age. Although Christianity had been introduced by Armenians and Georgians starting in the sixth century, in 777, according to legend, the Laks were conquered by the Arabs under the leadership of Abu-Muslim. Islam was introduced among the Laks at that time, making them reputedly the first people of Daghestan to encounter Islam. The final conversion probably took place in the thirteenth century, with some pagan and Christian traditions surviving until the fifteenth century. According to legend, Shah Baala was the first Muslim ruler of all of Daghestan; he was the founder of the Shamkhal dynasty, which reigned at Kumukh until the seventeenth century. He renamed the village of Kumukh "Kazikumukh" (Qazi Kumukh or Ghazi Kumukh). In the fourteenth century the rulers of Kazikumukh adopted the title "shamkhal" (supposedly derived from "Sham," meaning Syria, suggesting descent from former Arab rulers). During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, at the time when the Shamkhals ruled a large part of central and coastal Daghestan, a second capital, which also served as a winter residence, was established at Tarku (Tarqu) in the Kumyk (Qumuq) territory. In 1640 the Laks broke away from the rule of the shamkhalate, replacing it with appointed *khakhlavai* (from the Arabic *khalq*, "people," and the Lak *lavai*, "supreme"). With the death of the last Kazikumukh khan, Agalar, the Lak territory was formally incorporated into the Russian Empire. In 1842 the Laks joined the Muslim rebellion in the northern Caucasus led by Sheikh Shamil and his Murids. This movement was aimed against both Russian (czarist, Christian) rule and the feudal aristocracy of the Caucasus that served what were perceived as Russian interests. The native Daghestani (including the Lak) aristocracy was deposed. At this time there was also a significant Sufi (Naqshbandiyah) movement taking place in Daghestan aimed at removing all pre-Islamic holdovers in the religious practices of the people. In 1877 another revolt took place against czarist rule. It was put down, resulting in further integration of Daghestan into the Russian Empire. During the Russian civil war, between 1918 and 1922, many Laks took part in yet another Islamic uprising in the northern Caucasus, this time against the Bolshevik regime.

Language and Literacy

Until the nineteenth century Laks, like all Daghestani Muslims, wrote in Arabic. A rich didactic as well as religious literature had already appeared in the eighteenth century. Among these early writers were Omar of Balkar, Ghazi Sa'id Husain, and Hadji Musa Hadji. The first documents written in the Lak language appeared in the mid-nineteenth century (using the Arabic script). Because the village of Kumukh was the cultural, political, and economic center of the Lak territory, the dialect of Kumukh became the basis of the newly established Lak literary language and remains the standard for the modern literary language. Lak lyrical literature appeared in the late nineteenth century (e.g., Yusuf Qad, Murquli), as did historical literature (e.g., Shafi'i Nitsovri). Lak literature of the Soviet period was established by Harun Sa'id (Saidov), who was both the first Daghestani dramatic author and the author of the first Bolshevik Daghestani journal—*Ilchi* (The Messenger). Other Lak authors include Said Gaviev, Abutalib Gafurov, Abdurahman Omarov, and Efendi Kapiev (who wrote in Russian only). Although a distinct Lak literary language exists, few works are actually written in it. The majority of Lak writers write in Russian, and the vast majority of books and articles appearing in the Lak language have been translations from other languages (most notably Russian). This is understandable as there are so few speakers of the Lak language—to have a wider readership, authors write in other languages. In 1928, as part of its anti-Islamic campaign, the Communist regime forced all of the Muslim peoples of the USSR, including the Laks, to use the Latin script rather than the Arabic. In 1938, as part of a similar policy, Cyrillic orthography was imposed on all of their languages. During this time, Russian words were substituted for words of Arabic and Persian origin. Scientific and political terminology had to be spelled as in Russian, even if this did not fit the phonetic structure of the borrowing language. Written Lak, therefore, differs greatly from the spoken form.

Economy

Because the traditional Lak lands are mountainous and very dry, agriculture was of secondary importance in the traditional economy. In the mountainous regions, the economy was dominated by the raising of sheep and goats, and also some horses, cattle, and mules. Meat and milk products were major components of the Lak diet, although they also grew barley, peas, wheat and some potatoes. Most animal husbandry was the responsibility of males, whereas agriculture was mostly that of women. The Lak territory had no forests, and there was a chronic shortage of wood for building and fuel. Wheat and fruits and vegetables were grown in the lower areas, especially in the new Lak areas in northern Daghestan. The practice of transhumant sheepherding required that for several months each year, males migrate to the lowlands to pasture their animals. Here they came into contact with different Daghestani peoples. Other Daghestani mountaineers grazed their sheep along with those of the Laks in the lands of the Kumyks. This is the reason most Lak males were multilingual. Many villages specialized in artisanry and crafts. Kumukh was famed for its jewelers and coppersmiths; Kaya was known for its merchants and markets; Unchukatl for saddle and harness makers; Ubra for masons and tinsmiths; Kuma for candy makers; Shovkra for shoe- and bootmakers; Tsovkra for acrobats; and Balkar for ceramics and jug makers. Lak women also engaged in cottage industries such as rug weaving, spinning, textile making, and ceramics, whereas the men engaged in leather working and tool making.

Many of these traditions survived during the Soviet period because it was difficult to develop the Lak territories, which are isolated and have few resources. Textiles and clothing, leather working and shoe making, and the production of meat, cheese, and butter are still the dominant industries in this region. Many Laks continue to migrate (both permanently and seasonally) to other areas of Daghestan (and in particular to the cities) and to other surrounding areas to find employment. Whereas in the traditional pattern of transhumant animal husbandry Lak males and their animals walked over the treacherous mountain passes and forded rivers, the herds are now taken by truck to their winter pastures in the lowlands and similarly brought back in the spring. Traditionally, extended families held the limited amount of agricultural land, the pastures, and the herds in common and did not have a strong sense of individual ownership. The Laks nevertheless resisted Soviet collectivization policies.

Kinship

Traditional Laks, like most Daghestani highlanders, lived in patriarchal clan units (*tukhums*) comprised of a large extended family having a common ancestor, either recently deceased or still living. All members had the same patronymic and all property was owned mutually by the clan; decision making was the responsibility of either the elder patriarch or the elder males. Clan members were expected to provide mutual assistance in work and in family affairs, and to assume collective responsibilty in vendettas, as prescribed by *adat* (traditional Daghestani customary law that predates Islam). The term for close family members within the tukhum is *kk'ul*, and they refer to each other as *usursu* (sibling). The importance of tukhums is today being eroded by modernization and continuing out-migration.

Marriage and Family

Marriages were traditionally arranged by the families of the couple, with the oldest women taking the most prominent role in the decision making. The bride and groom were most likely to be from the same clan. The custom of paying *kalīm* (bride-price) persists to a limited degree but the transaction is more symbolic than financial.

Sociopolitical Organization

The Laks are reported to have been the first Daghestani people to establish a feudal system. Their feudal society was comprised of the khans; the *bagtal* (*beks*), who were the khan's family and the nobility; the *chankri* (children of marriages between beks and women of lower social orders); the *uzdental* (*uzden*), who were free peasants (numerically the largest of all classes); the *rayat* (serfs); and the *laghart* (slaves). This feudal system coexisted with a system of free societies, which were comprised of the more democratic tukhums. These free societies were military and economic arrangements that were fluid in structure and worked on a democratic and voluntary basis. The laws governing the relations of groups within these free societies were codified in adat.

Religion

Laks belong to the Shafi school of Sunni Islam, within which they have long maintained a Sufi component. Sufism has served as a buffer between the Laks and the authoritarian structures of Muslim clerics and the Soviet state. Although traditional Islamic institutions, Sufi orders encouraged group solidarity and provided protection from the government apparatus; their members help each other find work and housing, arrange marriages, pay the kalīm, maintain burial societies, resolve disputes, and so forth. Rural Laks still observe many pre-Islamic planting, harvest, animal-breeding cycle, shearing, and rituals.

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RONALD WIXMAN

Latvians

ETHNOMYMS: Latvieši, Latvji, Letten, Letts

Orientation

Identification. Latvians are one of two Baltic ethnolinguistic groups (the other is Lithuanians). Their name for their country is "Latvija" or "Latvijas Republika." Latvians call themselves "Latvieši" or "Latvji."

Location. Latvia spans an area of 64,600 square kilometers and is located between 55°40′23″ and 58°5′12″ N and 20°58′7″ and 28°14′30″ E. The country is more than twice as long between the eastern border and western seashore (450 kilometers) as it is from the northern to the southern border (210 kilometers). On the west and northwest, the country is bounded by the Baltic Sea. On the north, east of the Gulf of Riga, is Estonia. Russia is to the east of Latvia, Belarus to the southeast, and Lithuania to the south. Latvia is located in the central part of the Baltic Sheet, a geological formation underlying Scandinavia and the Russian plain. The terrain is characterized by gently rolling hills. The mean elevation is 89 meters above sea level; 75 percent of the countryside is lower than 120 meters above sea level. The highest hill is Gaiziņš, 312 meters.

Latvia has 777 rivers longer than 10 kilometers. Its greatest river, Daugava (Düna), is 1,020 kilometers long, but only 357 kilometers of it flows through the country. Most rivers freeze for two to three-and-a-half months during an average winter. Most of the major rivers flow northward, and floods during the spring thaw are common. There are 2,500 lakes larger than 5 hectares, covering about 1.6 percent of the country's surface. Of these, 16 are greater than 10 square kilometers and represent approximately half of the area covered by lakes. Latvia is located in the turf-podzol soil area.

Climate. The climate is influenced by the Atlantic's Gulf Stream, the Baltic Sea, and the country's latitude. In December, the sun rises 9° to 10° above the horizon, and days are six to seven hours long. In June, the sun rises to 55° and days are seventeen to eighteen hours long. There are four seasons—fall (September to mid-December), winter (mid-December to mid-March), spring (mid-March to the end of May), and summer (June to the end of August). The annual growing season is 200 days, but only July and August are completely frost-free. The climate is warmer, moister, and the growing season 10 days longer in the west than in the east. Eastern Latvia has twice as many days with snow as the western part, 130 and 65 days respectively. The highest temperature recorded is 36° C; the lowest is −42.2° C. January temperatures average between −6.6° C in the east and −2.8° C in the west. July temperatures average between 16.7° C in the west and 17.6° C in the east. Annual precipitation averages between 60 and 80 centimeters, with 20 percent occurring as snow. Precipitation is minimal in February and maximal in August. Because of the predominantly cloudy weather, the country receives only 37 percent of possible sunshine.

Demography. Worldwide there are 1,620,000 Latvians. Of these, 1,388,000 live in Latvia, and some 232,000 reside outside of the country. The largest concentrations of Latvians abroad are in the United States (86,000), the former Soviet Union (71,000), the ten West European countries (30,000), Australia (25,000), and Canada (20,000). Latvians comprise only 52 percent of their country's 2,680,000 population. The largest ethnic minority is the Great Russians (34 percent of the total population). Other minorities (Belarussians, Ukrainians, Poles, Lithuanians, etc.) together constitute 14 percent of the total. Latvians predominate in rural areas (71.5 percent of rural inhabitants) but account for only 44 percent of the urban population. Latvians make up only 36.5 percent (332,000) of Riga's population; the Great Russians constitute the largest ethnic group in the city (431,000 or 47.3 percent). Only in Ogre (pop. 29,926), the ninth-largest city, do Latvians have a slight majority. In the fourth-largest city, Jelgava (pop. 74,704), Latvians fall just short of a majority (49.7 percent).

The ethnic composition is the result of World War II and postwar population policies. In 1935, 77 percent of the population was Latvian. During World War II, a significant number of Latvia's residents were killed or deported, or left voluntarily. By the war's end, the percentage of Latvians rose to 80 percent. After World War II, the Soviet government recruited immigrants for Latvia. As a result, the proportion of ethnic Latvians decreased to the current level.

Linguistic Affiliation. Latvian, Lithuanian, and the now-extinct Old Prussian make up the Baltic Branch of the Indo-European Language Family, a part of the Nostratic Macro-Family. Latvian uses the Latin alphabet. Spelling of foreign words is modified to reflect Latvian phonemic values. The literary language is based on the dialect spoken in the middle of the country. With the advent of mass media and compulsory universal education, local dialects are disappearing. Most Latvians are bilingual; 68.3 percent of Latvians in Latvia report knowing Russian, and most Latvians residing outside the country are bilingual.

History and Cultural Relations

It is generally held that the ancestors of modern Latvians entered Latvia during the second millennium B.C. They were farmers and raised livestock. Extensive written documents about events and individuals in Latvia begin in the twelfth century. At that time, most of the peoples of Latvia were pagans, and the country was inhabited by four Baltic tribes (Kurši or Courlanders; Latgaļi, from whom the Latvian ethnonym has been derived; Sēļi; and Zemgaļi) and a

Finno-Ugric tribe, the Livs, who, since they were the first indigenous people contacted by Westerners, provided the early name, Livonia, that was used for the Latvian and Estonian area.

Riga was founded by Germans in A.D. 1201 as a base for commerce, missionizing, and military conquest. Latvia's thirteenth-century history is one of interactions and wars between the indigenous tribes and the Lithuanians, Poles, Russians, Germans, Catholic ecclesiastical authorities, Germanic crusading orders, and merchants. By 1300 Germans had gained political and economic control over the country by conquest, and the people were converted to Christianity. For the next several centuries Latvia's neighbors (i.e., Lithuanians, Poles, Russians, and, later, Swedes) attempted to annex the country, and the locals resisted these efforts.

In the late sixteenth century, Livonia was partitioned. Only the duchy of Kurland and Zemgale (1562–1795) retained independence under Polish-Lithuanian suzerainty. In 1721 the country was conquered by czarist Russia, although the duchy of Kurland and Zemgale maintained a separate status for a while. Starting in the thirteenth century, rural Latvians were gradually reduced in legal status, until by 1458 most had become serfs. Latvians living in cities retained free status but were not numerous. Legal vestiges of the serf status were abolished in 1861.

On 18 November 1918, as World War I ended, Latvians declared independence. A war of independence was fought against both Germany and Russia. The war against Germany ended with a peace treaty on 15 July 1920, and the war against the Federal Socialist Republic of the Russian Soviets was concluded by a peace treaty on 11 August 1920. By then Latvia had lost 25 percent of its pre–World War I population, 25 percent of its farm buildings were completely or partially destroyed, 29 percent of its arable land lay fallow, and its industry had virtually disappeared. A period of rebuilding followed; by 1940 per-capita income approximated that of Finland, Hungary, and Italy, and Latvia was emerging as a democratic republic with a constitution based on those of France, Germany, and Switzerland.

After an armed coup d'état on 15 May 1934, however, Latvian Prime Minister Kārlis Ulmanis instituted a dictatorship. The German-Soviet nonaggression treaty of 23 August 1939 assigned Latvia to the Soviet sphere of influence. Projecting an uncertain future, the Latvian government transferred its gold reserves to Western banks and issued extraordinary powers to the Latvian minister in London. On 17 June 1940 Latvia was occupied and on 5 August 1940 incorporated into the Soviet Union as the Latvian SSR. The country's economic, political, and social structures were transformed to the Soviet pattern. This culminated on the night of 13–14 June 1941, when 15,600 individuals were deported to labor camps.

On 22 June 1941 Germany attacked the Soviet Union and occupied Latvia until 8 May 1945. The return of Soviet rule to Latvia meant the reimposition of a harsh totalitarian political and economic system with tens of thousands of new political prisoners being sent to the gulag. With the advent of Gorbachev's *glasnost* and *perestroika*, the Soviet Union began to disintegrate, and on 21 August 1991, the Supreme Council of Latvia declared the Republic of Latvia independent again. On 17 September 1991, Latvia was admitted as a member of the United Nations.

Latvia is on the border of Western European and Russian cultural areas. Between 1200 and 1945, the predominant influences on Latvian culture were Western European. The majority of Latvians were members of religions stemming from the West—Lutheranism and Roman Catholicism. The predominant influences in the fine arts, education, and science were Western. Between 1940 and 1991, the Soviet Union made a determined effort to sever West European ties and to reorient Latvian culture toward the Russian. Literary and scientific works, for example, had to be translated from Russian versions rather than from the original language. With the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the Western orientation is resurgent.

Settlements

Before World War II, some street villages with associated strip fields could still be found in the east. In the rest of the country, scattered single farms were the norm. The farmstead consisted of separate structures surrounding an open farm yard with the house fronting the road. Beginning on 17 June 1940 private farms were nationalized and confiscated, and state and collective farms were formed. After World War II, new rural settlements with apartment houses and large farm buildings were built. The country has been urbanized; 71 percent of the population lives in cities. Riga (pop. 915,106) is the country's capital and the seat of the Lutheran and Roman Catholic bishops. The next two largest cities—Daugavpils (pop. 126,680) and Liepāja (pop. 114,462)—are barely one-seventh that size. Latvia has three cities with 50,000 to 75,000 inhabitants (Jelgava, Jūrmala, and Ventspils) and twenty-six cities with 5,000 to 43,000 inhabitants. The vast majority of city dwellers live in apartments. Because of the proximity of services, the center of the city is considered to be the most desirable residential area.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. Of the total population, 54.7 percent are employed. Of this percentage, three-quarters work in goods production and one-quarter in service. Between 1945 and 1991, Latvia's economy was an integral part of the Soviet Union's. This resulted in relative stagnation of the agricultural sector and overexploitation of forest resources. Industry is dependent on energy, labor, and raw materials imported from elsewhere, and the products manufactured are exported. The industrial sector employs 30.7 percent of all those employed. Heavy industry produces 54 percent of the country's gross national product; light industry, 19 percent; and agricultural and food processing, 25.4 percent. Among industrial products are diesel engines and generators, electrical railroad and street cars, radios, telephone equipment, other electrical and electronic items, pharmaceuticals, and textiles. Of all those employed, 15.1 percent work in agriculture. Farming has been mechanized and requires energy from outside sources. Most land is farmed by large state and collective farms. The private farming sector is just resuming. The agricultural emphasis is on animal husbandry to produce eggs, meat, and milk, and on field crops (e.g., barley, flax,

oats, peas, potatoes, rye, sugar beets, and wheat). Economic restructuring according to market principles began in mid-1990, but only 1 percent of the labor force is thus far employed in the nonstate sector. Latvia has very little mineral wealth and no coal, natural gas, or oil. Its economy in the future probably will be based on farming, forestry, light industry, and service.

Trade. There is strife between the people who constituted the power structure under the autocratic Soviet regime with its command economy and those attempting to establish a market economy with private ownership. In order to retain their status and influence, the former struggle to establish a neocolonial situation; the latter attempt to open the economy to private entrepreneurs. Still present is the old Socialist trade network, with government-owned stores and distribution network, and farmers' markets. Simultaneously, newly established private manufacturing and retail establishments vie for resources.

Division of Labor. Legally there is equality between the genders. In fact, men occupy the more prestigious and better-remunerated jobs. Women employed outside the home are still responsible for the "second shift" of family shopping and household chores; they receive little or no help from the men and do without the convenience of modern appliances. There is also an ethnic division of labor. Latvians predominate in agriculture, forestry, printing, and communication; non-Latvians are concentrated in industry (Russians make up more than 41 percent of industrial workers), sea and railroad transportation, and white-collar jobs.

Land Tenure. All real estate was acquired by the Soviet government and was owned by "the people" (i.e., the government). Since 13 June 1991, there has been an effort to return real property to its former owners or their heirs. Private owners' rights over property and duties toward society are in the process of being established.

Kinship, Marriage, and Family

Kinship. The kinship system and terminology are of the Eskimo type. The most common kin unit is the nuclear family, although there are also stem extended families. Kinship beyond the nuclear and small extended family is recognized, but it is not an important principle for organizing society, except that truncated kindreds may assemble for weddings and funerals.

Marriage. In Latvia, the majority (67.8 percent of men and 56 percent of women) of those 16 years of age and older are married. The ideal is a monogamous marriage for life, but many people engage in serial monogamy. In recent years, there have been 10,000 to 11,000 divorces annually. The preferred residence is neolocal, but, owing to a housing shortage, many couples live with their parents. Most families (72.5 percent) consist of members of the same ethnic group.

Domestic Unit. For Latvians in Latvia, the average family size is 3.09. In Latvia, the predominant family type (74.4 percent of all families) is a married couple either with children (55 percent of all families) or without children. One-fifth of these families have another relative, usually a parent of one of the spouses, living with them. Single-parent families are becoming common (the number has increased 20 percent in the past ten years) because of the rising rates of divorce and births to single mothers.

Inheritance. Inheritance is governed by law. Testamentary disposition and an ambilineal inheritance from parents to children, grandchildren, and other lineal descendants is recognized.

Socialization. The family stresses tenderness and a moral code of loyalty to its members, relatives, and friends. The mother is seen as nurturant and affectionate; the father is the disciplinarian. The father is conceptualized as the head of the family, whereas the mother is its heart. Peer groups (for youth) and circles of friends (for adults) stress loyalty, helpfulness, and strong emotional support among their members. The Soviet schools advocated a Communist-oriented "official message"—loyalty and obedience to the state, hard and selfless work—whereas the students stressed loyalty to schoolmates and rivalry against teachers and adults. The official and ubiquitous Soviet government propaganda affected the local population's worldview.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Between 1940 and 1991, the Soviet state severely curtailed the activities and membership of any organization or social unit not directly controlled by it. When Latvia regained independence, many organizations such as the Communist party, Communist youth organizations, and the secret police (KGB) were abolished or collapsed because of a lack of support by their members. New groups are encountering organizational difficulties—small memberships, lack of public awareness regarding their goals and activities, and a lack of leaders with organizational and administrative experience. For the individual, personal relationships are important elements in manipulating the political and economic systems. These connections are marshaled to gain access and to influence people in a position to grant favors.

Political Organization. The political system is in transition from a repressive totalitarian government to a democracy. There is a battle between the old Soviet *nomenklatura* who used to run the country and nationalistically and democratically inclined people who were barred from positions of authority by the Communist regime. There is no agreement regarding the rights and duties of the various administrative and political bodies and offices or on how their personnel are to be selected. Making the task of building institutions more difficult are the public's distrust of politicians and centralized authorities and skepticism regarding their ability to solve society's problems. There is also the ethnic factor. Latvians perceive a real danger of becoming a minority in their own country and feel they have been abused and have suffered greatly for the past fifty years. The Russians resent the recent changes because these reduce the privileges they had enjoyed as an occupying and dominating nationality in a colonial situation. Most likely what will eventually emerge will be a system consisting of a parliament (probably unicameral), a president, and a government headed by a prime minister.

Social Control. Social control has its formal and informal aspects. Among the family, peer group, and circle of friends, emotional withdrawal and social isolation are common sanctions. Physical violence may occur when psychological pressures do not result in desired behavior. Police and other legal armed forces exist in the country, but their duties are not clear and their competencies overlap. No reliable statistics are available regarding criminal activities.

Conflict. Many wars have touched Latvian territory and caused much destruction and death. Except for the 1918–1920 war for independence, Latvians have not conducted wars since 1300. They have, however, participated in the wars and armies of others. During World War II, both the Soviet and German governments drafted Latvians for their respective militaries. Civilian ethnic relations in Latvia were not characterized by mass physical violence, lynchings, pogroms, or riots. Latvians who did participate in such activities (e.g., crimes against humanity during and after World War II) did so individually or as members of armed units formed by and at the direction of foreign governments.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs and Practices. Religion in Latvia has been politicized, making it difficult to know what the current belief system is. The population was converted by "fire and sword" to Roman Catholicism by A.D. 1300. In the sixteenth century most Latvians converted to Lutheranism. Those living in the part of Latvia incorporated into the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, however, remained Catholic. In the nineteenth century, some seeking economic advantage joined the Russian Orthodox church. Between 1940 and 1991, the Communist Soviet government actively opposed religious activities and encouraged atheism. As a result the "mainstream" churches' (i.e., Lutheran, Roman Catholic, and Russian Orthodox) leadership and membership have declined, and their moral and ideational influence has eroded. The culture has become secularized. Many individuals are not so much atheistic as agnostic. One recent development is active proselytizing by charismatic and Pentecostal churches, sects, and cults.

Arts. Production of authentic folk arts and crafts has almost fallen into desuetude. Current production is a commercialized fine art on folk-art themes. This decline applies to the performing arts as well. An important part of Latvian performing arts are song festivals organized in Latvia and other countries with significant Latvian populations. These events feature folk music performed by choirs of hundreds and dances by folk-dance troupes. Because of Russian political domination of the country for the past three centuries, Latvian artists and popular culture have been influenced by the artistic fashions and trends of Russia. But, except for the Soviet period, Latvian fine arts and popular culture have been more oriented toward Western Europe. During the Soviet period, the government promoted propagandistic art and suppressed art styles and artists deemed undesirable. Now Latvians are once again exploring other styles and approaches.

Medicine. The medical-care delivery system consists of clinics, hospitals, sanatoria, and dispensaries and pharmacies staffed by physicians, nurses, dentists, pharmacists, and support staff. Because of the general economic breakdown and lack of resources, however, the medical system is in a state of virtual collapse. Although there seems to be an adequate number of physicians, there is a shortage of trained support staff and a critical lack of medicines, vaccines, equipment, and supplies. Medical workers, too, are trying to make the change from a system that discouraged initiative and forbade private enterprise to one featuring these characteristics. The need for medical services is acute, life expectancy is decreasing, and birth defects are increasing.

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ANDRIS SKREIJA

Laz

ETHNONYMS: Abkhaz: Alas; Georgian: Ch'ani; Greek: Lazoi, Sannoi, or Tsannoi; Russian and Turkish: Laz

Orientation

Identification and Location. Lazistan comprises the 48 to 80 kilometer-wide area lying between the Ch'orokh (Çoruh) River valley in northeastern Turkey and the Black Sea, extending westward from the former Soviet border as far as Trabzon (Trebizond), although today dense settlement of the Laz does not extend much farther than just west of the port of Rize. A small number of Laz live in the Ajarian village of Sarpi in the Georgian Republic, in the valley of the Chkhala, a left tributary of the Ch'orokh. The location of Lazistan is thus approximately between 42°30′ and 41°40′ N and 39°45′ and 41°45′ E. Geographically, Lazistan consists of a series of narrow, rugged valleys extending northward from the crest of the Pontic Alps (Turkish: Anadolu Daglari), which separate it

from the Ch'orokh Valley, and stretches east-west along the southern shore of the Black Sea. The climate of Lazistan is generally warm and humid though less so in the upland southern regions of the Pontic Alps, which reach to an average elevation of 3,000 meters. Here on the mountain slopes, a cool, temperate, continental climate obtains, notorious for its dense fogs. Temperatures vary from 22°-30° C in August to 0°-5° C in January. The region is rainy, with an average annual precipitation of nearly 254 centimeters at Batum. The soil is thick and fertile, producing a luxuriant vegetation, mostly shrubs now, especially the *Rhododendron pontica* and the *Rhododendron flavus* (yellow azalea). The remains of the once vast forests (largely destroyed to produce charcoal for smelting of ore) comprise beech, birch, maple, box, chestnut, oak, holm oak, Pontic oak, poplars, and various varieties of firs. An enormous variety of birds (especially partridges and pheasants) and animal life (wild boar, antelope, and bear) exist in Lazistan, which also contains many cold springs of carbonic water.

Demography. In Turkish lore the Laz have had a reputation for brigandage and piracy. They are respected today for being industrious, trustworthy, venturous, and patriotic, and also for being good businessmen. The census of 1945 cited 46,987 Laz speakers but did not count Turkish-speaking Laz and is certainly an undercount. The Soviet census of 1926—the last one in which the Laz are mentioned—listed 643 ethnic Laz in Ajaria and 730 Laz speakers. Catford (1970) estimated the total number of Laz at about 50,000, but there is no question that they are gradually becoming assimilated to the Turkish population at large.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Laz language is closely related to Mingrelian, the two together forming the Zan Branch of the Kartvelian Language Group, which includes both Georgian and Svan. Laz is not written, Turkish serving as the literary language in the Turkish Republic and Georgian in the Georgian Republic. There are two main dialects of Laz, Western Laz (with two subgroups: Vitse-Arhava [Vits'e-Arkaba] and Atina) and Eastern Laz (subgroups: Hopa [Khopa] and Chkhala).

History and Cultural Relations

The Laz are ethnically a branch of the Georgian people, representing either a Georgian thrust toward the west or a relic of the passage of the proto-Georgian (Kartvelian) people toward the east, the question resting on whether the Georgians originated in Caucasia or migrated there through Anatolia. The ancestors of the Laz (including the Chaldaeans, the Tzans, and many others) are cited by many classical authors from Scylax (sixth century B.C.) to Procopius and Agathias (both sixth century A.D.), but the Laz themselves are cited by Pliny as early as the first century A.D. What is now Lazistan was, at least nominally, included in the Roman province of Polemonian Pontus. By the early fifth century A.D., as the Roman hold on the eastern Black Sea coast weakened, the coastal tribes seem to have been united by the Laz, who seized control of Colchis (western Georgia), forming a kingdom that came to be known as Lazica, a client of the Byzantine Empire (378-457), then of the Persians (457-522). In the sixth century, Emperor Justinian went to great lengths to reduce the Laz to submission to the empire, cutting down forests, building roads, erecting fortifications, and, in the process, converting the population to Christianity. Most of Justinian's campaigns were waged against the Tzans, and it appears that this was the general Greek name for the western Lazic tribes (the earlier Sanni) lying outside of the direct control of the Lazic kingdom. Lazica remained a client state of the Byzantines from 522 until the arrival of the Arabs in the seventh century. In the 790s the Abkhazians ousted the Laz from western Georgia; thereafter, the Laz lived under nominal Byzantine suzerainty in the Chaldian Theme (military province). With the collapse of direct Byzantine rule in eastern Anatolia after the Crusader capture of Constantinople in 1204, the theme of Chaldia, with its capital at Trebizond, became under the Comnenid dynasty a separate state known as the empire of Trebizond. Though Greek in higher culture, the rural areas of this new empire appear to have been predominantly Laz in ethnic composition, the Laz monopolizing its coastal shipping and even transporting Trebizondine troops in their small craft. The Trebizondine Empire even included a "Theme of Lazia," which Bryer (p. 335) describes as "amounting to a Laz tribal reservation."

Conquered by the Ottoman Turks in 1461, the former territory of the empire, from just east of Unye to the mouth of the Ch'orokh, was reorganized into the *eyalet* (province) of Trabzon in 1519 and divided into five *sanjaks* (counties), of which one, Gonia, corresponded to Lazistan. In actual practice, however, not only were the pashas (governors) of Trabzon native Laz until the nineteenth century, but real authority in many of the *cazas* (districts) of each sanjak by the mid-seventeenth century lay in the hands of relatively independent *derebeys* ("valley-lords"), whose power was not really broken until the assertion of Ottoman authority during the reforms of the 1850s. Even under nominal Turkish rule, however, the Muslim faith penetrated among the Laz and, by the eighteenth century, they, together with the Hemshinli Armenians who dwell among them, had become fully converted. Since the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1922, modernization has reached the Laz. With the introduction of tea growing in the 1960s, which has become increasingly important in recent years, the economy has become more diversified, villages have been electrified, schools have been opened, and traditional local customs and folkways have begun to fade. By 1975 literacy in Turkish had reached 75 percent, though over 60 percent of the Laz still spoke their native tongue.

Settlements

Outside of the coastal towns, which are largely Greek in origin and never heavily inhabited by the Laz themselves, the Laz live in villages of separately constructed wooden chalets, often erected on high wooden stilts. The mountains are dotted with the ruins of castles, fortresses, forts, towers, walls, and chapels, and the many mountain torrents are crossed by innumerable hump-backed bridges of stone. There is no traditional Laz capital. The fortified port of Rize (Greek: Rhizaion) appears to have been the chief center in antiquity, whereas the coastal fortress of

Petra or Justinianopolis (Georgian: Tsikhisdziri) had that role in the Byzantine period. Under Turkish rule, the great Ottoman-built coastal fortress of Gonia, completed in 1547, was the capital of Lazistan; then Batum served as the capital until the latter was acquired by the Russians in 1878. Thereafter, Rize became the capital of the sanjak and remains so to this day.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. The traditional Laz economy was based on agriculture—carried out with some difficulty in the steep mountain regions—and also on the breeding of sheep, goats, and cattle. Seminomadism is still practiced by some of the Laz, who each year take their flocks to the upland summer pastures. Orchards were tended and bees were kept, and the food supply was augmented by hunting. The only industries were smelting, celebrated since ancient times, and the cutting of timber used for shipbuilding. Until the introduction of tea growing in the 1960s, which has grown steadily in importance in recent years, the only bulk export was hazelnuts. The Laz were much given to seafaring, however, and readily engaged in trade, particularly the slave trade. They were notorious kidnappers, especially of young children, and until the nineteenth century engaged in regular slave hunts. Many Laz have emigrated to other parts of Turkey and, before World War I, to Russia as well, where, in the towns, they have a reputation as cooks and pastry chefs. After amassing some savings with which to buy land, they usually return to their native villages.

Clothing. The traditional Laz men's costume consists of a peculiar bandanalike kerchief covering the entire head above the eyes, knotted on the side and hanging down to the shoulder and the upper back; a snug-fitting jacket of coarse brown homespun with loose sleeves; and baggy dark brown woolen trousers tucked into slim, knee-high leather boots. The women's costume was similar to the wide-skirted princess gown found throughout Georgia but worn with a similar kerchief to that of the men and with a rich scarf tied around the hips. Laz men crafted excellent homemade rifles and even while at the plow were usually seen bristling with arms: rifle, pistol, powder horn, cartridge belts across the chest, a dagger at the hip, and a coil of rope for trussing captives.

Kinship, Marriage, and Family

Living outside of both the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union, the Laz have eluded the detailed anthropological investigations characteristic of Russian scholarship and have not yet been systematically studied in the West. Generally speaking, until recent times the Laz shared the customs associated with the other Georgian peoples. An elaborate kinship system linked the various clans of the population together, the customs of blood brotherhood and milk brotherhood were common, blood feuds were endemic, and, even under Islam, monogamous marriage was the rule, with the husband retaining the right to kill both an adulterous wife and her lover. Girls were raised to become wives and mothers, and usually moved into their husband's village if not directly into his parents' home.

Sociopolitical Organization

With the collapse of the Laz Kingdom, the Laz appear to have reverted to their tribal condition, the various tribes being only nominally under Trebizondine and, later, Ottoman authority. In the early nineteenth century, the Laz were still living under the rule of some dozen derebeys, each with his own territory (two at Atina, and one each at Bulep, Ardashen, Vitse, Kapiste, Arhave, Kisse, Hopa, Makaria, Gonia, and Batum), not counting the derebey of the Hemshinli Armenians holding sway in the upper valleys of the Kalapotamos and Fortuna rivers.

Religion and Expressive Culture

The Laz, as we have seen, were converted to Christianity in the sixth century and gradually to Islam after the fifteenth. As Muslims, they belong to the Shafi school of Sunni Islam and are generally conservative in religious matters. Whereas the Laz possess a rich folklore, they have no written literature, although a few poets such as Rasid Hilmi and Pehlivanoglu have appeared among them in modern times.

The Laz are noted for their dances, related to those performed by the Ajarians and other coastal peoples. These may be solemn and precise, performed by lines of men, with carefully executed footwork, or extremely vigorous with the men dancing erect with hands linked, making short rapid movements with their feet, punctuated by dropping to a crouch. The women's dances are graceful but more swift in movement than those encountered in Georgia. The musical accompaniment is either by the *kemancha*, a fiddle held upright on the knee, or by the *zurna* (oboe) and *doli* (a drum held between the knees. In Greece such dances are still associated with the Pontic Greeks who emigrated from this region after 1922.

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ROBERT H. HEWSEN

Lezgins

ETHNONYMS: Self-designation: Lezgi (pl., Lezgiar)

Orientation

Identification. The Lezgins are the descendants of Caucasic peoples who have inhabited the region of southern Daghestan since at least the Bronze Age. The Lezgins are closely related, both culturally and linguistically, to the Aghuls of southern Daghestan and, somewhat more distantly, to the Tsakhurs, Rutuls, and Tabasarans (the northern neighbors of the Lezgins). Also related, albeit more distantly, are the numerically small Jek, Kryz, Khaput, Budukh, and Khinalug peoples of northern Azerbaijan. These groups, together with the Lezgins, form the Samurian branch of the indigenous Caucasic peoples.

Prior to the Russian Revolution, the Lezgins did not have a common self-designation as an ethnic group. They referred to themselves by village, region, religion, clan, or free society. Before the Revolution, the Lezgins were called "Kyurintsy," or "Akhtintsy," or "Lezgintsy" by the Russians. The ethnonym "Lezgin" itself is quite problematic. Prior to the Soviet period, the term "Lezgin" was used in different contexts. At times, it referred only to the people known today as Lezgins. At others, it referred variously to all of the peoples of southern Daghestan (Lezgin, Aghul, Rutul, Tabasaran, and Tsakhur); all of the peoples of southern Daghestan and northern Azerbaijan (Kryz [Jek], Khinalug, Budukh, Khaput); all Daghestani peoples; or all of the indigenous Moslem peoples of the northeastern Caucasus (Daghestanis, Chechens, and Ingush). In reading pre-Revolutionary works one must be aware of these different possible meanings and scope of the ethnonym "Lezgin."

Location. The Lezgins inhabit a compact territory that straddles the border area of southern Daghestan and northern Azerbaijan. It lies for the most part, in the southeastern portion of Daghestan (in Akhti, Dokuzpara, Kasumkent, Kurakh, Magaramkent, and Rutul districts) and contiguous northeastern Azerbaijan (in Kuba, Nukha, and Shemakha districts).

The Lezgin territories are divided into two physiographic zones: a region of high, rugged mountains and the piedmont (foothills). Most of the Lezgin territory is in the mountainous zone, where a number of peaks (like Baba Dagh) reach over 3,500 meters in elevation. There are deep and isolated canyons and gorges formed by the tributaries of the Samur and Gulgeri Chai rivers. In the mountainous zones the summers are very hot and dry, with drought conditions a constant threat. There are few trees in this region aside from those in the deep canyons and along the streams themselves. Drought-resistant shrubs and weeds dominate the natural flora. The winters here are frequently windy and brutally cold. In this zone the Lezgins engaged primarily in animal husbandry (mostly sheep and goats) and in craft industries.

In the extreme east of the Lezgin territory, where the mountains give way to the narrow coastal plain of the Caspian Sea, and to the far south, in Azerbaijan, are the foothills. This region has relatively mild, very dry winters and hot, dry summers. Trees are few here also. In this region animal husbandry and artisanry were supplemented by some agriculture (along the alluvial deposits near the rivers).

Demography. The Lezgins are the second-most numerous of the Daghestani peoples. In 1979 their population was 382,611, of whom 49.3 percent lived in the Daghestan ASSR and 41.3 percent in neighboring Azerbaijan. Many of the Lezgins in Azerbaijan no longer inhabit their traditional rural areas in the northern part of that republic, having moved to important urban centers there (Baku, Sumgait, Shemakha, Kuba, and others). Since the environment in the traditional Lezgin territories is so harsh, the Lezgins have had to lead their flocks of sheep and goats into winter pastures in Azerbaijan and to find seasonal employment there. The Lezgins have therefore been strongly influenced by the Turkic-speaking Azerbaijani people and their culture. The Lezgins are the most culturally Turkicized Daghestanis. Most Lezgins are traditionally bilingual (Lezgin and Azerbaijani), and over the centuries many southern Lezgins were totally assimilated by the Azerbaijanis. This process of Turkicization of the southern Lezgins continued well into the 1930s. Had the Soviet regime not decided to actively suppress this process and support the Lezgins as a distinct nationality, the current Lezgin population and the number of Lezgin speakers would be much lower. In the north, however, the Lezgins exerted a major influence on the Aghuls, Rutuls, and Tabasarans. Most of these peoples spoke Lezgin in addition to their own languages, and many were being culturally and linguistically assimilated by the Lezgins. In the early Soviet period the regime actively supported the "Lezginization" of the Aghuls and Rutuls.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Lezgin language belongs (along with Aghul, Rutul, Tsakhur, Tabasaran, Budukh, Khinalugh, Jek, Khaput, Kryz [K'rīts'], and Udi) to the Lezgian or Samurian Group of the Northeast Caucasian (Checheno-Daghestani) Language Family. The Lezgin language is comprised of three closely related (mutually intelligible) dialects: Kurin (also referred to as Gunei or Kurakh), Akhti, and Kuba. The Kurin dialect is the most widespread of the three and is spoken throughout most of

the Lezgin territories in Daghestan, including the town of Kurakh, which, historically, was the most important cultural, political, and economic center in the Lezgin territory in Daghestan and is the former seat of the khanate of Kurin. The Akhti dialect is spoken in southeastern Daghestan. The Kuba dialect, the most Turkicized of the three, is widespread among the Lezgins of northern Azerbaijan (named for the town of Kuba, the cultural and economical focus of the region).

History and Cultural Relations

The ancestors of the Lezgins have occupied the areas of Daghestan and Azerbaijan since at least the Bronze Age. Little, however, is known about their early history. According to legend, the Islamic religion was first introduced among the Lezgins by Arab conquerors in the eighth century. The final conversion of the Lezgins to Islam, however, came in the mid-fifteenth century with the conquest of their territory by the Shah of Shirvan, Khalil Ulloi. As a result of the long influence of the Turkish khanates of northern Azerbaijan on the Lezgins, a Lezgin feudal principality, the khanate of Kurin, was formed in 1775 with its center in Kurakh. This khanate, however, included only a relatively small part of the what was then Lezgin territory and exerted only a minor influence on the Lezgins. The majority of Lezgins continued to live in free societies, although others lived, at different times, under the khanates of Kuba, Derbent, and Kazikumukh. In 1812 the Kurin Khanate became a Russian protectorate, and in 1864, with its abolition, the Lezgin territory became an integral part of the Russian Empire. In the mid-nineteenth century, under the leadership of Shamil and his Murids, the Lezgins played a major role in the Caucasus Wars against imperial Russia.

Language and Literacy

Until the mid-nineteenth century the Lezgins, like all Muslim peoples of Daghestan and neighboring Chechnia, used the Arabic language as their only literary language. The first attempts to create a Lezgin literary language, written in Arabic script appropriating the dialect spoken in Kurakh, were made in the mid-nineteenth century. Despite efforts to establish a distinct Lezgin literary language, Arabic remained the dominant written language of the Lezgins through the early Revolutionary period (i.e., into the 1920s); it was used both for religious and secular purposes by virtually all of the intellectuals in Daghestan. Early attempts at writing this language in the Cyrillic script in 1904–1905 met with utter failure. As part of the anti-Islamic campaign of the 1920s, the Soviets changed Lezgin (and all other literary languages of the Moslem peoples of the USSR) from the Arabic to the Latin script. Then, as part of the Russification policy initiated in 1938, the literary form was changed from Latin to Cyrillic script. A major attempt was also made to replace Arabic and Persian words with Russian words. Lezgin is currently one of the nine official languages of Daghestan. Between the 1920s and 1960s Lezgin served as the language of instruction through the fifth grade among the Lezgins of Daghestan and among the Aghuls. Since the 1960s all education among the Lezgins of Daghestan has been in Russian only. Although books and journals are printed in the Lezgin language, most are translations of works from other languages (few works are written in Lezgin). Most of these translations are from the Russian language and, to a lesser extent, from other Daghestani languages. The Lezgins have a long literary tradition; however, most works by Lezgin authors of the past were written in Arabic or Azerbaijani Turkish, and contemporary works are written in Russian. Among the more renowned writers of Lezgin origin are the theologian Sa'id of Kochkhur, the mystical poet Etim Emin, the Azerbaijani historian Hasan Alkadari, and the poets Saifullah Chobanzade, Emir Arslan, and Hadji of Akhti. Soviet literature began with Sulaiman Stal'ski (the "national" poet of Daghestan) and has been followed by others, such as Tahir Alimov of Khurug, Alibek Fatahov, Shah Emir Maradov, and others.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. Agriculture has never been of primary importance in the traditional Lezgin lands, which are too mountainous and dry to support farming. The raising of sheep and goats, and also of some horses, mules, and water buffalo, was more important to the Lezgin diet, which consisted primarily of meat and milk products. In better-watered areas and especially in the foothill regions, grains (wheat, rye, barley, and millet), garden vegetables (potatoes, peas, cabbage, cucumbers, melons, and tomatoes), and fruits were also grown. Because of the general rural poverty and the shortage of good agricultural land, transhumant sheepherding was widespread, requiring the males to migrate annually to the lowlands (mostly southward into Azerbaijani territory) to pasture their animals. In addition, many Lezgin males found seasonal employment in the towns and cities of northern Azerbaijan (Shemakha, Kuba, Shirvan, and others), coastal Daghestan (in the Azerbaijani-dominated town of Derbent), and in and around Baku. As a result, the Lezgins fell under a strong Azerbaijani influence and virtually all Lezgins were bilingual (Lezgin and Azerbaijani).

Industrial Arts. Lezgin women were famous throughout the Caucasus for their fine woven carpets. The Lezgins, however, were less well known, in general, for handicrafts and artisanry than the other peoples of Daghestan (Dargins, Laks, Avars, Kubachins, etc.). Because the Lezgin territories are so poor in economic potential, traditional economic enterprises—food processing (meat, cheese, butter), leather working, and textile production—still dominate the economy. Many Lezgins, however, work in the industrial areas of Azerbaijan and Daghestan and continue the tradition of economic out-migration. One notable alteration in the traditional economic pattern is that animals are now trucked between winter and summer pastures; in the past they were accompanied by shepherds on foot. Another is that the animals, which in the pre-Soviet period were wintered in Azerbaijan, are now driven far to the north (around Astrakhan). This was part of a Soviet policy aimed at diminishing Azerbaijani influence in southern Daghestan, and has strengthened the Russian influence on the Lezgins at the expense of the Azerbaijani influence.

Land Tenure. Traditionally, lands and herds were owned communally by extended families. Agricultural land was in

short supply, and the pastures were used communally. The Lezgins had a stronger sense of land usership than of ownership. Although this should have made collectivization somewhat easier, the Lezgins openly resisted collectivization and Sovietization.

Kinship and Sociopolitical Organization

Although a weak feudal structure had developed in the region of Kurakh, the majority of the Lezgins lived in free societies. These free societies, ruled by the village *adat* (traditional Daghestani customary law that predates Islam), were comprised of large extended patriarchal clans (*tukhum*). The largest of the free societies were the Akhty-para, Alty-para, Dokuz-para, and Rutul (the Rutul free society was comprised of Lezgin and Rutul clans). Some Lezgin tukhums were, at different times, under foreign feudal overlordship (e.g., the Lak Khanate of Kazikumukh and the Azerbaijani khanates of Shemakha, Kuba, and Derbent). The Lezgin tukhum, a large extended family with a living or recently deceased common ancestor, owned all property. The elder patriarch or the elder male members made the major decisions for the clan. Members of the tukhum supported each other in their work and their family affairs and bore mutual responsibility for vendettas, which came under adat. Today, with modernization and out-migration, tukhums are becoming less important than they once were.

Marriage and Family

Most Lezgin marriages were within the clan even though clan exogamy was allowed. Families traditionally arranged marriages (the elder women were the most important in these decisions). The groom's family paid a bride-price (*kalïm*). This custom is still followed in some areas but is becoming rarer, and the kalïm is now more of a symbolic payment.

Religion and Expressive Culture

The Lezgins are primarily Sunni Muslims of the Shafi school. Given the strong Azerbaijani influence on them, however, there is a sizable Shiite minority among the Lezgins. In addition to mainstream Islamic traditions, there are many surviving pre-Islamic traditions. Many Lezgins preserve the names of pagan deities that have become synonymous with Allah. There are also many local pilgrimage sites that predate Islam. During the spring, several ancient spring rituals are also commonly practiced (e.g., young people jumping over bonfires). Bones of animals are thought to have magical and healing powers. Many pre-Islamic planting, harvest, and other rituals related to the cycles of animal husbandry are still practiced. Sufism has thrived among the Lezgins as a mystical underground movement within the Sunni superstructure. It has served as an alternative to the centralized authority of both the Islamic clergy and the Soviet government. Sufi orders provided group solidarity and protection from the Soviet system. Members provide mutual assistance in finding employment, housing, and positions in schools; help arrange marriages and pay the kalïm; maintain burial societies; and alleviate local disputes.

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RONALD WIXMAN

Lithuanian Jews

ETHNONYMS: Jews of Lite (pronounced Leetah), Litvaks

Orientation

Identification. Lithuanian Jews are one of several subgroups of European Jews known as Ashkenazim. Since the late nineteenth century they have been fleeing eastern Europe and re-creating their communities in western Europe, the United States, South Africa, and Israel, holding on to many of the characteristics that have distinguished them from other Ashkenazim for generations. Differences range from intellectual and religious styles, to personality traits, to the way Litvak women prepare traditional dishes such as gefilte fish.

Location. The Jews of Lite come from a part of eastern Europe located today in northeastern Poland, Lithuania, Belarus, and parts of Latvia and Russia. The area (roughly between 20° and 30° E and 50° and 60° N) has dense forests and a moderate continental climate.

Demography. In czarist Russia, Jews were rarely allowed to own land and be farmers. In the Lithuanian provinces, as elsewhere in the empire, Jews tended to live in urban settings. Clustered together in small cities and towns (*shtetls*), by the close of the nineteenth century they num-

bered about 1,500,000, a little over one-eighth of the total population of the area. In the surrounding countryside lived Lithuanian, Latvian, Belarussian, and Polish peasants, with whom Jews maintained close economic but few cultural ties. The vast majority of the descendants of these Lithuanian Jews were murdered during World War II, the victims of Hitler's campaign to annihilate the Jews of Europe. In Vilna (Vilnius), for example, once a celebrated center of Jewish culture, Jews represented nearly 30 percent of the city's population in the late 1930s. After the war they were reduced to about 1 percent in Vilnius and even lower in other parts of Lithuania.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Jews of Lite spoke a dialect of Yiddish that differed from the Yiddish used by Jews in other parts of Poland and the Ukraine (Volhynia), mainly in the way they pronounced the vowels. The Yiddish of some Litvaks was also distinguishable because of the way they pronounced the consonant *shin* as *sin* or *samekh*. Educated men had a good command of Hebrew and Aramaic, and even the most humble could read these Semitic tongues well enough to take part in communal prayer. Then, by the late nineteenth century, enlightened Jews in Lite, who had broken away from religious orthodoxy, learned, in addition to Yiddish, Hebrew, and Aramaic (or some combination of these), Russian and perhaps also German and French as they eagerly awaited their emancipation and the possibility of becoming full members of modern European states. Their chance finally came, at least briefly, during the interwar years, when the majority of Lite's Jews became citizens of the newly constituted state of Poland, leading many of them to add Polish to their repertoire of languages as well. Others became citizens of Lithuania and Latvia and learned these newly recognized national tongues instead.

History and Cultural Relations

The history of the Jews of Lite is closely tied to that of all Polish Jews. Originally from the Rhineland, they fled Germany for Poland in the late Middle Ages, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, to escape soldiers of the Crusades who were raiding European Jewish communities on their way to the Holy Land. Then, in the fourteenth century, many more Jews ran from attacks of angry peasants who blamed the People of the Book for causing the Black Plague. Most Jews who left Germany during these difficult years settled in Poland, where they came into contact with landholders and peasants who communicated in Slavic tongues. In this new linguistic and cultural environment, Yiddish underwent a radical transformation and developed into what linguists identify as Middle Yiddish. Jews spoke this version of the language from about 1500 to 1750. Finally, beginning in the middle of the eighteenth century, modern Yiddish emerged, with several minor dialectical variations, which the Jews of Poland and Lithuania were still speaking at the outbreak of World War II. Throughout all these years, Yiddish remained closely tied to German in vocabulary and grammatical structure, but it also continued to use lexical, morphological, semantic, and syntactic elements from Hebrew, Aramaic, Slavic tongues, Old French, and Old Italian.

German Jews came to Poland in the late Middle Ages because this "backward" land offered them the opportunity to enjoy political and cultural autonomy in ways they never dreamed possible in the West. In the thirteenth century the Poles concluded that German entrepreneurs could help modernize their people. Eager to develop Poland's commerce and industry, feudal princes invited Germans to settle their lands. They cared little about whether they were Gentiles or Jews. As far as they were concerned, Germans of any religion would bring civilization to their backward land. Thus, when life grew unbearable in Germany during the late Middle Ages, thousands of Jews left their homeland and moved to Poland, to a more primitive country, perhaps, but one in which they could live freely as Jews in exchange for helping the Poles develop their local economy.

In 1264, despite papal pressures to the contrary, King Boleslav of Kalish, ruler of Greater Poland, received the fleeing Jews with open arms. Offering them social and political autonomy, the king permitted this persecuted people to take charge of their community's internal affairs, with virtually no interference from him. Jews, it is true, still had to live in segregated parts of town and wear special badges, but they gained the freedom to appoint Jewish leaders to look after their people's secular and spiritual affairs. During the reign of Casimir (1346–1370), Poland became even more inviting because that monarch laid the foundations for establishing truly autonomous Jewish communities. Interested in attracting Ruthenians, Armenians, Tatars, and Germans, he promised all foreigners the right to manage their own affairs.

In 1386 Yadwiga, the future queen of Poland, married Grand Duke Yagiello of Lithuania. With this union, the people of Lithuania converted to Catholicism and the two kingdoms became administratively one. Now Jews could move into Lithuania as well, and they found conditions there even more favorable than they had been in Poland. Like Casimir, the grand duke was eager for Jews to settle down in his territories, and he promised them both autonomy and protection. The fate of Lithuania remained tied to that of Poland until the end of the eighteenth century, at which time the kingdom became part of the czarist empire.

During the fifteenth century, the Jews continued to enjoy communal and judicial autonomy, thanks to the support they received from the aristocracy. The years between 1501 and 1648 were particularly peaceful and productive. Taking advantage of their good fortune, the Jews of Poland and Lithuania expanded their economic and cultural activities and transformed the community into one of the most important centers of religious learning in the history of the Jewish people.

Free to run their communities as they wished, rabbis turned Poland into a second Babylonia, organizing the life of their people according to the laws meticulously set out in the Talmud, preserving in this way the traditions of their spiritual ancestors. But these religious leaders did not merely depend on the teachings of the past; they also produced a vast new literature, developing the field of religious scholarship and refining many points of theological debate that had remained unresolved in the medieval texts.

According to the Russian Jewish historian Simon Dubnow, between 1501 and 1648 the Jewish population of

Poland grew from about 50,000 to 500,000. Here, in their eastern European home, these descendants of the Rhineland did not have to restrict their financial endeavors to money lending or petty trade as they were forced to do in Germany in the late Middle Ages. On the contrary, they engaged in a wide range of economic activities, serving as financiers, customs officers, and tax collectors. Employed by feudal lords, Jews went to the homes of Polish, Lithuanian, and Ukrainian peasants to collect rent from poor families who tilled the land and taxes from those who produced alcohol. Other Jews went into the business of distilling alcohol themselves, whereas still others worked in salt mines or entered the lumber industry.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Polish/Lithuanian government treated the Jews as a separate estate, an independent social body. As such, Jews had national (i.e., cultural) autonomy and civic freedom as well. Living together in their own parts of town, they existed as distinct Jewish cities within Christian ones, with their own religious, administrative, judicial, and charitable institutions. Every town appointed its own rabbinical council (*kehilah*) and levied taxes on all its members to support local programs. Instead of paying an individual tax to the king, each community made a single payment through this council.

Individual town councils belonged to a chief Jewish council composed of rabbis elected by representatives from each community. Within Poland there were four such bodies and in Lithuania there was one more. With this hierarchy of councils Polish/Lithuanian Jews established the necessary structures to oversee their people's cultural and political development, a remarkable achievement for a stateless people, who had no land of their own.

School was compulsory for all boys between the ages of 6 and 13 years of age. Male children learned the Torah in Hebrew and in Yiddish. They also studied the commentaries, the Talmud, Hebrew grammar, and some math. Gifted students went on to yeshivas, schools of higher learning controlled by the community's rabbis and council.

Despite all this activity, Lithuanian Jews remained on the cultural fringe of European Jewry until the seventeenth century, at which time its yeshivas began to produce a number of distinguished rabbis. It took another 150 years before Lithuania became the major center of Talmudic scholarship in the world. This occurred in the second half of the eighteenth century, under the scholarly leadership of Elijah ben Solomon, the *gaon* ("genius") of Vilna, whose innovations in Talmudic study continue to influence scholars to the present day. The gaon challenged the caustic method in fashion in the eighteenth century and called for students of the Talmud to work closely with the text, reading it along with the many other commentaries compiled over the centuries to help interpret the law. He also believed that in order to understand the Five Books of Moses, it was necessary to study grammar intensively, and also the sciences.

The gaon of Vilna lived during a tumultuous period in the history of eastern European Jewry, when Jewish communities in the Ukraine were rising up in rebellion against the authority of the Talmudic, or rabbinic, tradition and were following the more spontaneous and less learned teachings of the Baal Shem Tov, the founder of a movement of Jewish mystics known as Hasidism. Defending the rabbinic tradition, the gaon of Vilna and his disciples launched a vigorous campaign against Hasidism and successfully prevented the popular movement from ever gaining much of a stronghold in Lite. They accomplished this in part by establishing yeshivas to carry on the gaon's scholarly approach to religious study. From this time on, the Jews of Lithuania earned the reputation for being cool intellectuals, gifted scholars with sharp wits, who based their religious convictions on the written and oral law. Litvaks, it was said, had little patience for sentimental outbursts and personalized relationships with God. This reputation even followed those who subsequently left Jewish orthodoxy and joined cultural and political movements inspired by the western European Enlightenment.

During the mid-nineteenth century, Lithuania became one of the most important centers of the eastern European Jewish Enlightenment. For representatives of rabbinic Judaism, the Enlightenment, or Haskalah, presented a threat even more dangerous than Hasidism. To combat this new wave of modernity, the Lithuanian rabbi Israel (Salanter) Lipkin founded the Mussar movement, which called for the study of ethics.

Despite dire predictions by the rabbinic community, the Lithuanian Haskalah did not encourage assimilation the way the Enlightenment had done in western Europe, Poland, and southern Russia. It promoted cultural nationalism instead and the possibility of living as a secular Jew. In the process, the Haskalah paved the way for the development of a modern Jewish literature in Hebrew and Yiddish and Jewish nationalist movements that were profoundly influenced by the ideals of the French Enlightenment, German humanism, and western European romanticism. Enlightened Jews in Lithuania embraced the dream of participating in the common European project of creating a secular and universal culture in their own national tongues. Some even envisioned the establishment of an ethnically unified Jewish nation-state modeled on the western European ideal. As early as the 1870s, nearly thirty years before Theordor Herzl held the first international Zionist meeting in Switzerland, the Lithuanian Hibbat Zion group was publishing articles about Jewish nationalism and the need for creating settlements in Israel. Unlike Herzl, who assumed that the national tongue of Jews would be German, Lithuanian Zionists called for the revival of Hebrew and for the building of modern Hebrew schools throughout the Pale of Settlement.

Lite also became the cradle of Jewish socialist movements, the most important of which was the Bund (the General Jewish Workers Union in Lithuania, Poland, and Russia), which was founded in 1897 in Vilna and promoted cultural autonomy for European Jews in multinational states. Through the efforts of the Bund and other political and cultural movements, and the encouragement they gave to the development of a Yiddish literary tradition, by the end of World War I Yiddish had gained the League of Nations' recognition as the official language of Jewish national minorities throughout eastern Europe. This accomplishment, however, was short-lived, for Yiddish, together with other expressions of Jewish culture in Europe, was virtually wiped out with the destruction of European Jewry during World War II.

Economy

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the vast majority of Lite's Jews were artisans and shopkeepers. Those who accumulated some capital went into lumber, one of the only big industries in the area. Despite czarist restrictions on education, a few middle-class Jews managed to enter the liberal professions, too, and with their degrees gained permission to work in cities outside the Pale of Settlement, beyond the restricted region in western Russia where Jews had been forced to live since the end of the eighteenth century. After World War I and the Russian Revolution, Lithuanian Jews found themselves living in the newly established Baltic states and in Poland. For a variety of reasons, including the rise of Polish anti-Semitism in the interwar years, many young Jews decided to study abroad and went to Germany and other countries in western Europe to take university degrees. Many never returned. Those who stayed behind engaged in a large number of businesses and professional enterprises, but by the early 1930s Jews living in Poland found it increasingly difficult to go to university and to take part freely in the economic life of the nation. Anti-Semitism did not enjoy political favor in independent Lithuania during the interwar years, but when the Germans invaded the country in 1941, "liberating" the republic from two years of Soviet occupation, thousands of Lithuanians joined the Nazis in their murderous campaign to rid Europe of Jews, a betrayal Lithuanian Jews still speak of with continuing surprise and bitterness.

Kinship, Marriage, and Family

Kinship. The Jews of Lite followed the same traditions as other practicing Jews. In biblical times, kinship was traced patrilineally, but, since the days of the Roman Empire, custom dictated that one is Jewish if she or he has a Jewish mother, giving great importance to the female side of the family without diminishing that of the male. Thus, by the time Jews reached Poland and Lithuania, Jews had been following a bilateral kinship system for hundreds of years.

Marriage. In Orthodox Jewish homes in Lithuania and Poland, parents traditionally found companions for their children with the help of a marriage broker (*shadkhen*), whose job it was to negotiate the specific terms of the dowry and the signing of the marriage contract (*ketubah*), a document that protected (and still protects) wives who were divorced or widowed. The language of the contract dates back to the last century before the Common Era, before the destruction of the Second Temple. Practicing Jews never married (and still do not marry) on the Sabbath or on Yom Kippur, the Day of Atonement. Nor did they hold weddings during the forty days that separate Passover from Shavuot, except on the first day (Rosh khodesh) of the two intervening months of Nisan and Iyar.

According to the Talmud, a marriage has two main purposes: to rear a family and to sanctify the companionship of a man and a woman. The ceremony itself sets out the terms and expectations of this union within the faith, explaining explicitly the obligations and responsibilities of both the husband and wife. With a rabbi officiating, the wedding takes place under a canopy (khupah), which symbolizes the fact that the couple will be living together under the same roof. Beginning with the benediction over a cup of wine, a symbol of joy, the service ends with the groom crushing the wine glass with his foot, in memory of the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 C.E. The custom also serves traditionally as a warning to the couple, to remind them that just as one step can crush a beautiful glass, so can one act of infidelity destroy the happiness of the home.

Once married, the couple is expected to fulfill the commandment to "be fruitful and multiply." Even though the law forbids a man to sleep with his wife while she is menstruating and for the week following her period, Judaism recognizes openly the pleasures of sex and encourages the couple to take joy in matrimonial union. It is, in fact, a man's responsibility to have relations with his wife and to satisfy her (as it was hers to satisfy him).

The birth of a girl is a happy event in Jewish families, but one that is marked by little ritual activity. In contrast, eight days after the birth of a boy, parents invite friends and relatives to witness the circumcision of their son, renewing in this way the convenant God had made with Abraham (Gen. 17:12) to make the patriarch's descendants a great and holy nation. Since European Christians did not circumcise their sons, European Jews had great difficulty hiding the religion of their men during the years of the Nazi terror.

According to custom, a man is supposed to fulfill as many of the 613 commandments as possible, whereas a woman is expected to fulfill only three: (1) lighting the Sabbath candles; (2) baking the challah (braided white bread, eaten on holidays); (3) bathing in the *mikveh*, the ritual bath, the week after she has finished menstruating.

Many of the commandments involve the obligation of men to pray and study, an obligation the Jews of Lite took very seriously. As a result, the division of labor in Lithuanian Jewish families placed a far greater material burden on their women than was necessarily the case elsewhere in Europe. The Jews of Lite came to value study so highly that the fathers of gifted sons tried to marry their young scholars off to the daughters of rich people who would be able to support a son-in-law who did not earn a living. If this were impossible, they sought unions with women who were willing to assume the financial responsibility of the family so that their sons could devote themselves entirely to study. As a result, Jewish women in Lite frequently maintained the home and the store while their husbands, ideally, spent the day in the synagogue pouring over the Talmud and commentaries.

Religion and Expressive Culture

As the Jews of Lite broke away from orthodoxy, many of the traditions associated with Lithuanian Jewry disappeared. Still, certain customs and memories have lingered on, both among those who have remained in Lithuania to the present day and descendants of immigrants living in western Europe, the United States, Israel, and South Africa. Perhaps most important are the culinary traditions, many of which actually reflect the cuisine of the Gentile Lithuanian population (e.g., cold beet borscht, served with

potatoes, cucumbers, and sour cream). Although blinis (blintzes) are usually associated with Russian cuisine, Jews and other peoples living in the czarist empire and the former Soviet Union considered the dish part of their tradition as well. The Jews, for example, eat blintzes filled with white cheese on Shavuot, the holiday that commemorates the giving of the Ten Commandments. Shauvuot is a dairy festival throughout much of the Jewish world, and on the second day of the celebration the Jews of Lithuania used to eat a deep-fried regional variation of the blini called *shal tenoseh*. It is notable in this context that Lithuanian Catholics ate blinis on Pentecost—that is, on the parallel feast day to Shavuot, which occurs forty days after Easter and marks the revelation of Christ to the Apostles.

Perhaps the most famous culinary distinction between Lithuanian and other eastern European Jews is in the preparation of gefilte fish. Jews of Lithuanian origin make this stewed fish with pike and white and "buffalo" fish, whereas Polish Jews make it with carp. The gefilte fish of Lithuanian Jews is not sweet; that of the Poles is. According to the Litvaks, Polish Jews add sugar to cover up the fact that the fish they use is not very fresh, an obvious slur that reflects the ongoing tensions between those raised in the tradition of the gaon of Vilna and those who adhered to the teachings of the Baal Shem Tov.

To this day, Lithuanian Jews are characterized as cold rationalists who lack emotion and spontaneity. They are the intellectuals, the scholars, some of Talmud, others of secular texts. Even those who have virtually no ties to their Jewish heritage proudly pass down this seemingly timeless stereotype of the Litvak.

Current Situation

The following remarks reflect the experiences only of Jews living in the former Soviet Socialist Republic of Lithuania in the late 1980s and early 1990s, not those living elsewhere in historical Lite. They also reflect a particularly difficult time in Lithuania, during which this Baltic republic broke away from the USSR, which itself was going through radical political and economic change culminating in its dissolution in 1991.

With the introduction of *perestroika* in the mid-1980s, hundreds of thousands of Soviet Jews began leaving the USSR, the Jews of Lithuania among them. Estimates at the time put the number of Jews in the Soviet Union at a little over 2 million (official figures varied between 1.7 and 1.8 million). By 1987 over 500,000 of these had applied to leave the country (Hertzberg 1987) and the numbers have continued to grow. In 1989 the *New York Times* reported that 50,000 Russian immigrants had recently settled in New York, most of them Jewish, and that the city was expecting another 15,000 (20 May 1989, 29). Although only one-third of those leaving the Soviet Union freely chose to move to Israel, by 1990 the United States had reduced the number of entry visas to Soviet Jews, forcing more of them to fulfill their presumed Zionist dream. According to the *New York Times*, Israel was anticipating the arrival of over 100,000 Soviet Jews by the end of 1990 (4 February 1990, 4).

As Jews emigrated from the USSR in the 1980s, many passed through Vilnius, swelling the ranks of the remnants of what used to be a great Jewish community. In 1986 there were between 5,000 and 7,000 Jews living in the city. Two years later the number had risen to 12,000. In 1990 there were only 6,000 Jews left, 2,000 of whom had already applied to leave.

Despite the terribly unstable situation, some members of Vilnius's Jewish community accepted the invitation of the Lithuanian government to try to build Jewish cultural institutions in the republic. Among them is Emanuelis Zingeris, who was born in the generation after World War II. Considered a cultural hero by some, Zingeris has been doing research since the early 1980s on the social history of Vilnius, a topic that forced him to go underground periodically in the early years. Then in 1987 Zingeris was invited to help organize a Jewish museum in Vilnius and was subsequently elected, along with other members of the Jewish community, to serve as a people's deputy from the Lithuanian Socialist Republic. Together with a small group of Jewish artists, journalists, and politicians, Zingeris helped found the Jewish Cultural Association (Yidishe Kultur Geselshaft), which has sponsored, among other activities, a Yiddish newspaper called *Yerushalayim d'Lite*.

Although the association's newspaper publishes optimistic articles about the Jews of Vilnius, other members of the Jewish community expressed little hope for the future, among them the internationally recognized novelist Grigori Kanovich. Born in Kaunas in 1929, he survived World War II by hiding out in the Lithuanian forests with his family. Kanovich writes in Russian, frequently treating Jewish subjects whom he carefully places in the past, in the period before the Revolution of 1905. In his most famous novel *I Net Rabam Raia* (And There Is No Paradise for Slaves), an assimilated Jewish lawyer who lived at the end of the last century makes a return to Judaism after the death of his Gentile wife. He chooses to throw in his lot with that of the Jewish people, who are vividly described as victims of czarist cruelty. The novel ends with the lawyer's courageous decision to defend a Jew accused of committing a ritual murder.

In the last years of Lithuania's association with the Soviet Union, Kanovich and Zingeris were elected by the Lithuanian SSR to serve as Jewish Deputies of the People in the USSR. Although he accepted the title, Kanovich was less than enthusiastic about the efforts of people who, like Zingeris, were busily creating organizations for Lithuanian Jews. He warned that by collaborating, Jews were facilitating "the Birobijanization [a reference to the eastern section of the USSR that Stalin designated in 1934 as an autonomous region for Soviet Jews] of all of Jewish life in the USSR, its transformation into fakery, into a Potemkin village, into a display window for bleeding-heart foreign visitors, into a kind of national exhibition grounds where instead of pure-bred champion bulls and wonderful space equipment they show happy Soviet Jews" (1989, 66). The question, Kanovich observed, was no longer whether it was necessary to leave Lithuania but whether it was possible to stay. As nationalist movements gain strength in the former Soviet Union and in other parts of eastern Europe, in Jews again observe a dramatic rise in anti-Semitism throughout the region and fear a repetition of the past.

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JUDITH FRIEDLANDER

Lithuanians

ETHNONYMS: Lietuva, Litawen, Litva, Litwa

Orientation

Identification. Lithuania is a Baltic nation bounded on the west by the Baltic Sea, on the north by Latvia, on the east and south by Belarus, and on the southwest by Poland and Russia. The ethnonym "Lietuva" is the Lithuanian term for "Lithuania" and "Litva" is the Russian term.

Location. Lithuania lies at 54° to 56°30′ N by 21° to 26°30′ E and covers an area of 64,445 square kilometers. It is a low plain with glacial moraines and is covered by meadows, forests (25 percent of the land), peat bogs, and swamps (7 percent of the land). Lithuania has 3,000 lakes, and its rivers drain into the Baltic Sea. The country's major natural resources include dolomite, gypsum, peat, limestone, gravel, sand, clay, and amber. Its climate is quite moderate, owing to its proximity to the Baltic Sea—the average January temperature is -4.8° C, and the average July temperature is 17.2° C. Annual precipitation normally varies between 58 and 79 centimeters, peaking in August.

Demography. The Lithuanian population has undergone significant fluctuations owing to two world wars and to Nazi and Soviet occupations. By 1939, when the Soviets took control, the Nazis had deported or caused the emigration of 200,000 to 300,000 of the approximately 3,000,000 people in Lithuania. Fear of the Soviets caused many Lithuanians to emigrate to the West during World War II. The Soviets implemented large deportations in 1940–1941 and 1946–1950; dispersals, killings, and concentration camps were used to gain obedience. This policy resulted in a decline of 500,000 in the population of Lithuania. By 1970, the Lithuanian population had rebounded to 3,100,000, though only 80.1 percent of these were ethnic Lithuanians—the balance were Russians, Poles, Byelorussians, Gypsies, and others who had entered from the Soviet Union. In 1992 the population was estimated at 3,700,000, of whom 79.6 percent were ethnic Lithuanians. The average annual rate of natural increase is 0.4 percent, and the birth rate is 15 per 1,000 people. Approximately 70 percent of the population is urban, a percentage that is increasing annually; many people are moving to the planned cities of Alytus, Kapsukas, Plunge, Utena, and others. The capital, Vilnius, has a population of 587,000.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Lithuanian language belongs to the Baltic (or Letto-Lithuanian) Branch of the Indo-European Language Family. The close relationship of this language to Latvian mirrors an overall similarity of the Lithuanian and Latvian cultures. In common with all Baltic languages, Lithuanian preserves several Proto-Indo-European language characteristics, including the distinction of dual number for nouns and verbs.

The Lithuanian language is written using the Roman alphabet and additional diacritical marks. After the 1863 rebellion, the Russians retaliated by forbidding the printing of anything in the Roman alphabet (1864–1904), and the use of the Cyrillic script was encouraged instead. The Lithuanians responded by printing most of their literature during that period with the Roman alphabet in the Prussian-dominated region of Lithuania and by smuggling books and publications across the border.

Lithuania has had a literary language since the sixteenth century. The first of these was used only for religious writings until the end of the eighteenth century; it differed from later standards in grammar, vocabulary, and pronunciation. By the early nineteenth century, three literary dialects had emerged, each used in a different part of the country.

Language and Literacy

Formal education is important to Lithuanians, who had a 98.5 percent literacy rate in 1959 (up from 77 percent in 1939). There are three official languages of instruction in Lithuanian schools: 84 percent of the students study in Lithuanian, 12 percent in Russian, and 4 percent in Polish—recently the percentage in Russian has decreased greatly. Education in the country's one university in Vilnius is almost entirely in Lithuanian. In 1971 there were 581,000 students attending school in Lithuania, and 15,826 of those attended the university.

Lithuania leads most other former Soviet republics in the publication of books, pamphlets, and periodicals. In 1970, 2,186 books and pamphlets were published, approximately 60 percent of which were in Lithuanian. In that year as well, ninety-one newspapers were published, seventy-four of which were in the Lithuanian language. Lithuania has numerous radio and television stations, and its people, because of contacts with the West, are better supplied with receivers than people in many other parts of the former USSR.

History and Cultural Relations

For much of their history, Lithuanians have been dominated or have tried to avoid domination by other peoples. By the early thirteenth century, the Lithuanians were united under the feudal control of five families. Though at first protected by the heavy forests, the Lithuanians were eventually threatened by the Teutonic Order. In response, they united under Mindaugas, who was crowned in 1253. Gediminas, who ruled from 1315, expanded Lithuanian control into Byelorussian regions and made Vilnius the capital by 1323. He divided the empire among his seven sons, although in relatively little time only two were still in power—Algirdas, who controlled the Lithuanian empire and defended it against the Tatars and the Russians, and Kęstutis, who controlled ethnic Lithuania and defended it against the Teutonic Order. Algirdas died in 1377 and left the empire to his son Jogaila. In 1381 Kęstutis took the empire from Jogaila, but Jogaila retook it and imprisoned Kęstutis until the latter died. In 1385 Jogaila married Jadwiga, Poland's queen, and became king of Poland; he united Poland, Kievan Russia, and all parts of Lithuania by 1392. Jogaila was baptized in 1386. His forces roundly defeated the Teutonic Order in 1410. The Lithuanian-Polish union survived for more than three centuries, during which the Belarussian and Lithuanian nobility was almost assimilated into the Polish culture, whereas the peasants retained their native languages and customs.

Russia's power was growing: in 1772 and 1793 it annexed two major portions of the grand principality of Lithuania, and in 1795 it annexed ethnic Lithuania, with the exception of the province of Suwalki (Suvalkai), which was joined to the kingdom of Prussia. Suwalki later became part of the Duchy of Warsaw, which the Russians annexed in 1815. Poles and Lithuanians rebelled together in 1830–1831 and in 1863, but both times the Russians put down the rebellions; in 1863 the suppression was particularly brutal. Lithuanians pushed to regain some rights, including freedom of religion and of speech. In 1905 they were granted the right of free speech and of instruction in the Lithuanian language in schools.

Germans controlled much of Lithuania during World War I. Following the war, the Lithuanians, Poles, and Russians vied for control of various parts of ethnic Lithuania. Józef Pilsudski, the leader of Poland, disputed with the Lithuanians about the borders of the Lithuanian state, wanting some Polish control over Vilnius, which at that time had a mostly Polish population. In 1919 Pilsudski took Vilnius from the Russians, and Kaunas became the substitute capital of Lithunaia. The Lithuanians entered into a treaty with the Soviet state in 1920, in which the former received Vilnius and other areas. The Lithuanians controlled Vilnius for a few months until the Polish army retook it. In 1921 Lithuania became a member of the League of Nations; in 1923, the Council of the League of Nations decided that Vilnius was to remain part of Poland. The Lithuanians adopted a constitution in 1922, and held elections to the Seimas (parliament). The mix of parties represented in the Seimas led to political instability, however. A moderate to right-wing coalition held power until 1926, when Kazys Grinius was elected president, representing, in part, a coalition of Polish, Jewish, and German minorities. Antanas Smetona, who had been Lithuania's first president, reacted to the leftist government by taking dictatorial control of the country in a military coup in December 1926 and banning opposition parties. Smetona was fiscally conservative, kept a balanced budget, and encouraged agricultural development at the expense of industrial development.

In 1938 Lithunaia normalized diplomatic relations with Poland. During the 1930s, Nazis attempted to take control of the Klaipeda region of Lithuania, and in 1938 they won a majority of seats in the Klaipeda Landtag. In March 1939 Nazi Germany demanded and received Klaipeda, and this cost Smetona's government so much support that he was compelled to form a new and politically more moderate cabinet.

Although Lithuania had chosen a course of neutrality in World War II, a secret protocol to the German-Soviet treaty of nonaggression of 23 August 1939 placed Lithuania within the Soviet sphere of influence. In October 1939 Lithuania signed a mutual assistance treaty with the USSR, which gave the latter the right to place military bases on Lithuanian soil. On 15 June 1940 Lithuania was occupied by Soviet military forces and compelled to form a government that would rule in accordance with Soviet wishes. Large numbers of Lithuanians fled to the West, but tens of thousands were caught and sent to Siberia. In August of that year Lithuania became a Soviet republic. In June 1941, 30,455 Lithuanians of political importance were sent to Siberia and about 5,000 political prisoners lost their lives. But by the end of the month, Lithuania was in Nazi hands. In October 1944 it was retaken by the USSR. Some 80,000 Lithuanians attempted to escape to the West, but tens of thousands were captured in the eastern zone of Germany and returned. In order to Russify the Lithuanians, secure their submission, and force the acceptance of collective agriculture, Stalin deported about 145,000 people in 1945–1946, and in 1949 about 60,000 more were sent various places in Siberia.

Lithuanian partisans fought guerrilla wars against the Soviets until at least 1955. Although guerrilla warfare ended at that time, Lithuanian opposition to Soviet rule did not. Lithuanians often refused to speak or understand Russian. In 1956 people in the Kaunas region supported the uprising in Hungary by rioting. Educators were purged in 1959 for nationalism. In 1968 samizdat publications appeared and later became more numerous. At the same time, Catholic priests began to send letters to Soviet and church leaders protesting the restrictions on the numbers of priests who could be trained. In 1970 the first priests were arrested. As priests were tried, parishioners began to send letters and petitions to the Soviet government protesting the removal of their priests. Eliciting no response, over 17,000 Lithuanian Catholics sent a petition of protest to Secretary General Kurt Waldheim of the United Nations in January 1972, along with instructions to send it on to CPSU General Secretary Brezhnev; the signatures on the petition included full addresses and some were even accompanied by telephone numbers. In 1972 there were three self-immolations in protest, after which large riots took place. Two of the three attempted hijackings of Soviet planes in 1969–1970 were made by Lithuanians, one successfully.

The Lithuanian independence movement gathered momentum in 1988. On 12 February 1990 the Lithuanians elected Vytautas Landsbergis, previously the head of the large Sajudis popular movement, to parliament, and on 11 March 1990, to the presidency. It was also on 11 March that the Lithuanian parliament unanimously declared independence from Soviet rule. On 2 September 1991 the United States gave full diplomatic recognition to Lithuania and the other two Baltic countries, Estonia and Latvia. The USSR recognized Lithuanian independence on 6 September 1991, and Lithuania became a member of the United Nations on 17 September of that year. Since then, Landsbergis's attempts at economic reform have been stymied by leftist members of parliament and a legacy of forty-five years of Soviet rule.

Economy

Traditionally an agrarian land, Lithuania became extensively industrialized as a result of Soviet programs in the 1960s. By 1989 it had a labor force of 1,853,000. Forty percent of workers are employed in industry and 20 percent in agriculture and forestry.

During the nineteenth century, industrialization was hampered by a shortage of natural resources and absence of good port facilities. Much of the land was held in large estates given to the raising of grain, flax, and horses. Much of what industry had developed was destroyed during World War I. During the period of independence between the world wars, the government emphasized the production of high-quality meats, dairy products, and eggs, and it pursued a vigorous program of land reform that resulted in greater productivity. This emphasis on animal husbandry in agriculture remains today.

The imposition of Soviet rule, which led to guerrilla warfare against the Soviets and forced collectivization of the farms, caused a marked decline in agricultural productivity that lasted until 1955. Prior to Lithuanian independence in 1991, there were approximately 310 state and 740 collective farms. Farm production today is geared toward raising pigs and dairy cattle; half of the crops raised are for fodder. Lithuanian farms also produce significant quantities of flax, sugar beets, potatoes, and vegetables. In recent decades, farms have been expanded through land reclamation and swamp drainage. Most of the country's farming is done in the northern and southern regions.

Following the establishment of Soviet control, and especially during the 1960s and after, industrial production grew rapidly. Lithuania produces electricity from several plants, including a hydroelectric and a nuclear plant. It makes ships, machine tools, chemicals, building materials, petroleum products, cement, welding equipment, plastics and synthetic fibers, chemical fertilizers, cotton cloth, knitted garments, and electronic devices. Lithuanian factories also process meat, fish, sugar, and butter. In addition, there is significant light industry, including metalworking and woodworking, and Lithuania boasts several large resorts. Most of Lithuania's shipbuilding and fish processing is done in the west, metalworking and light industry are primarily concentrated in the east, and most of the hydroelectric generation and food processing is done in the south. There is a Chernobyl-type nuclear reactor in Ignalina in the north, which presents a great danger to the entire region.

Eighty percent of Lithuania's trade is with countries belonging to the Commonwealth of Independent States. Other important trading partners are Germany, Great Britain, Denmark, Belgium, Poland, Cuba, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Italy. Goods transported by ship usually go through the port of Klaipeda, and Vilnius has the major airport, but most of the country's goods move by rail.

Kinship

Lithuanian kinship is bilateral and follows the Eskimo kinship system. In earlier times a quite extensive system of kin terms distinguishing categories based on marriage and sex (e.g., *dėdienė*, father's brother's wife) existed. These terms varied regionally. Today kin terms have been

reduced, reflecting the predominance of the nuclear family.

Marriage and Family

In preindustrial Lithuania, marriage was arranged by matchmakers. Especially for the landholding classes, it was largely an economic union with the bride providing a bargained dowry. During Lithuanian independence, arranged marriages slowly disappeared and were replaced by love matches. The extended family was especially important in rural areas in these periods. In Soviet times, family size was reduced to one or two children per family, and the nuclear family became the norm. These changes took place due to urbanization, collectivization of farms, alcoholism, and the high divorce rate. Eight percent of adult women worked outside the home, in addition to bearing the brunt of the household work. Furthermore, there were extreme housing shortages, and ideological considerations made women unwilling to send children to large, state-run nurseries. In the last twenty years, many couples have married at a younger age, either to register for the very scarce housing or because of premarital pregnancy owing to the lack of birth control. Separate housing was available only to married couples—after an average wait of fifteen years. Abortion was the main means of population control; the typical woman had eight in her lifetime. Divorce rates increased to six out of every ten marriages. Since the turbulent political and economic changes following the reestablishment of independence, marriage and familial trends seem to parallel those of the proximate western European nations–cohabitation and a further decline in the birthrate.

Sociopolitical Organization

Lithuania is a democracy governed by a parliament, known as the Seimas; its president, the head of state, selects the prime minister (subject to the approval of parliament).

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs and Practices. Lithuania was pagan, worshiping forces of nature, until 1387, and was the last country in Europe to accept Christianity. Today ethnic Lithuanians in Lithuania are 94 percent Catholic. Most of the other 6 percent are Lutheran descendants of Germans and Austrians who immigrated after the Great Plague (1710); Lutheran worship also reflects residence in areas under German control. Catholic clergy regulated the educational system when Lithuania was under Russian control in the nineteenth century, and the Catholic political parties held considerable power during the period of Lithuanian independence between the two world wars. Clergy frequently supported anti-Soviet warfare. In more recent times, popular opinion opposed Soviet harassment of Catholic clergy. Radio Vatican is received in Lithuania and was opposed by the Soviet regime. Catholicism is an inseparable and vital part of Lithuanian culture.

Arts. Lithuanian arts, both folk and fine, have been strongly influenced by Western art traditions. Traditional folk arts include ceramic work, woodcuts, embroidery, and amber work. Characteristic Lithuanian decorations include geometric and floral motifs, and the use of natural colors is preferred. Lithuanians are famous for their melodious folksongs (*dainos*), a genre shared with the Latvians. The Lithuanians hold dancing and singing festivals throughout the country each summer, and every five years there are national singing competitions that draw up to 40,000 contestants. Each generation hands down to the next a large number of traditional folktales, proverbs, and aphorisms.

Lithuanian fine arts traditions have been and continue to be influenced by the Vilnius school of drawing, established at the university in 1866. Lithuania's most famous artist is Mykolas Čiurlionis (1875–1911), a forerunner of the abstractionist and surrealist schools. There were many abstract artists in Lithuania during its domination by the Soviets, but they rarely had the opportunity to show their work publicly. Lithuanian architecture has its own character, which may be seen not only in newer buildings but also in the older Gothic and neoclassical structures. Lithuania has eleven professional theaters—including drama, ballet, and opera theaters—as well as thirty-three museums. The Lithuanian Film Studio has produced feature films since 1952.

Lithuanian literary figures include several renowned novelists, short-story writers, and poets. Its literature is considered to have begun with the works of Kristijonas Donelaitis (1714–1780); his *The Seasons* is a story of peasant life. Many consider Adam Mickiewicz (1798–1855) Lithuania's greatest poet, despite the fact that he wrote in Polish. In the first half of the nineteenth century a movement to invent a new Lithuanian literary language and to write about the early history of Lithuania arose, a movement that was influenced by Western countries after the French Revolution. Many writers during the second half of the nineteenth century pushed the development of a nationalist, anti-Russian trend; some of these were members of the Catholic clergy, including the important writers Antanas Baranauskas (1835–1902) and Maironis (1862–1932). Following liberation in 1918, many Lithuanian authors were concerned with promoting a national culture. Most Lithuanian literature has not been critically acclaimed because of Soviet influence and domination that began in the 1940s. Notable exceptions to this generalization are the following: the 1962 poetry collection *Žmogus* (Man) by Eduardus Mieželaitis, the 1957 novel *Parduotos vasaros* (Bartered Summers) by Juozas Baltušis, and the 1960 poem "Kraujas ir pelenai" (Blood and Ashes) by Justinas Marcinkevičius.

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DANIEL STROUTHES AND KRISTINA KELERTAS

Mansi

ETHNONYM: Voguls

Orientation

Identification. The Mansi, known in older literature as the "Voguls," are one of two Ugrian peoples who live in northwestern Siberia, just east of the Urals in the lowlands crossed by a number of rivers, many of which are tributaries of the Ob.

Location. The Mansi live from about 60° N to 65° N, primarily along rivers: the northern regions of the Sosva and Lyapin, the Konda and its tributaries, and the upper reaches of the Lozva and Pelym, although today many live among ethnic Russians along the Ob. The rivers provide a rich variety of fish, including sturgeon, lingcod, *taimen, tugun,* and others. Pike and *chebak* are found everywhere. Much of the area in which the Mansi live, including the highlands, is bog or swamp. Snow cover lasts more than half the year, and when it finally melts it fills the flood plains of the rivers. The forests are both coniferous—with cedar, pine, fir, and larch—and deciduous, with birch and aspen. Long days in the summer provide enough warmth for a brief but rich growth of vegetation, including berries. Common wildlife includes squirrels, elks, brown bears, and forest and aquatic birds; some regions abound in muskrat, beavers, and wild northern reindeer. Bitter-cold temperatures in the winter, dropping at times to near −50° C, contrast with summer temperatures that reach over 33° C and average 15.5° C in July.

Demography. The census of 1926 recorded 6,311 Mansi, of whom 5,219 (82.7 percent) spoke Mansi as their native language. In 1989, of the 8,500 Mansi recorded, only 37.1 percent spoke the language as their native tongue. Most live in the Berezovsk and Kondinsk regions of the Khanty-Mansiisk Autonomous District (*okrug*) and in Tiumen Province (oblast). Some Mansi live in relatively large, planned central Soviet villages such as Saranpaul' and Niaksymvol among Komi, Nenets, Russians, and others. In these towns they have access to schools, post offices, hospitals, and stores that sell food and industrial and consumer goods. Others live in moderate-sized villages (150 to 300 residents), populated mostly by fellow Mansi (50 to 90 percent), that have services such as medical stations, in some cases primary schools, and more limited stores selling foods and industrial goods. Finally, there are smaller groups of Mansi who live in isolated settlements of less than 75 people. They travel to the central villages for trade and services.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Mansi language, along with the neighboring Ob-Ugrian language, Khanty, combines with Hungarian to make up the Ugrian Branch of the Finno-Ugric Language Family. Mansi speakers are traditionally divided into four dialectal groups designated by cardinal directions—north, south, east, and west—but more accurately into about eighteen subdialects associated with the residence patterns along the rivers. The principal speakers of Mansi today are the northern and eastern groups. The first lexicons and dictionaries of the Mansi language were compiled by missionaries and travelers in the first half of the eighteenth century. Schools were organized for the Konda Mansi in the last half of the nineteenth century, and a Gospel in the Konda dialect was published in London in 1868. A practical written language was created in the early 1930s, and the first Mansi language primer was published in 1932. In 1937 the Latin script was replaced by the Cyrillic.

History and Cultural Relations

The Ob-Ugrian peoples are thought to have descended from the combination of two distinct groups of people: a local population and a group of Ugrian nomads who arrived from the south sometime between A.D. 500 and 1000. Their ways of life have consistently been influenced by neighboring groups: Iranian-and Turkic-speaking peoples very early, then ancestors of the Persian peoples, and finally western Siberian Tatars, Nenets, Khanty, Russians, and Komi-Zyrians. First contact with Russians was recorded in the eleventh century, when merchants and traders from Movgorod advanced into what they knew as the Iugra Mountains (Urals). After contact with Russians, the Mansi were subject to a varying but stiff fur tax which, when compounded by the graft of local officials, forced many to withdraw from contact and go into the forests.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. Traditional Mansi subsistence was based on fishing, hunting, and gathering. The prevalence of a particular mode of subsistence was determined by the local availability of fish or game. Fishing predominated in downstream areas and hunting in upstream, but there were also seasonal variations and migrations. Many Mansi leave the forest for the waterways when the ice melts, usually in mid-April. Using deep, bag-shaped nets, simple dragnets, and various other kinds of nets made from hemp, as well as fish spears and fishing rods, they caught and preserved enough fish during the summer to satisfy their needs and enable them to sell surplus. Until the Russians imposed a fur tax the primary animal hunted by the Mansi for its fur was the squirrel. After

the coming of the Russians emphasis shifted to the sable, which was the preferred form of tax payment. The Mansi hunted elks, wild reindeer, and bears for meat and fur, using arrows, spears, traps, and, beginning in the nineteenth century, guns. Elk hunting, although less common now because of the decline in the population of the species, begins in August. In the past the Mansi hunted elk by constructing extensive trap systems with fences, pits, and automatically triggered bows; these systems extended up to 64 kilometers. Today they maintain hunting cabins as way stations and travel by river in the autumn to stock them with provisions.

Hunting and trapping of furbearing animals is still common, especially of muskrats and squirrels. Mansi hunters typically use three or four dogs, when snow conditions permit in the fall and early winter, to find and flush squirrels and sables, which they then shoot with rifles. They also use traps with dried mushrooms as bait to catch squirrels. Muskrat are trapped by first locating their lodges and observing their travel routes to their feeding grounds. Traps similar in construction to the "muzzle" traps the Mansi use to catch fish are then set, without bait, along the route or at the feeding grounds, and camouflaged with turf. Long sticks are attached to the bottom of the traps with wires to mark their location and to serve as anchors to prevent the muskrat from moving off. In the winter sable are caught in log traps about 1 cubic meter in size, which often contain internal traps for security. Mansi hunters also use the common Siberian technique of encircling the sable's den with a huge net. One hunter then flushes the animal while the other stands prepared with a rifle to shoot it before it can escape from the net.

Since collectivization some Mansi have raised horses, sheep, and poultry, and in a few northern groups reindeer keeping has continued to constitute a significant portion of their economic activity. Hunting and fishing are carried out in collectivized production brigades whose activities also include sheepherding, fur farming, dairy farming, and, in the southern regions, some agriculture. The Mansi have recently been affected by the economic development of western Siberia, which has created employment in lumbering and mining and which has resulted in a general demographic shift toward population centers.

Trade. Although exchange and trade relations between the Ob-Ugrians and other groups existed from earliest times, they became regularized with Russians after first contact with Novgorod merchants in the eleventh century. In regular trade with Russians, the Mansi sought metal objects, weapons and ammunition (in earlier days sword blades and armor), fabric, yarn, thread, ready-made clothes, dresses, decorations, beads, flour or bread, tea, sugar, salt, wine, matches, tobacco, and tin or silver products that the Mansi used in cult rituals. They exported mainly fur and fish.

Industrial Arts. Much of the traditional productive activity of the Mansi was associated with hunting, fishing, transportation, and the making of shelter and clothing. Domestic activities included the working of skins and furs, wood, and bones; some Mansi on the Ob and its tributaries had knowledge of weaving. The Mansi household had on hand slivers of wood that were used as all-purpose cleaning and wiping implements. They were made mostly from rose-willow and birch and were used to wipe dishes and wash the face and hands.

Division of Labor. The primary division of labor was in the area of household chores. Women hunted with men in times of necessity and continue to do so today, but hunting, house building, construction of means of transport, and working in wood and bone were primarily men's activities. Women traditionally worked hides and furs and made thread, clothing, and utensils from birch bark. Men and women fished together, sometimes bringing children along.

Land Tenure. Whereas the whole patrilineal kindred had use of family lands, ownership was controlled by the genealogical core of the group, which consisted only of blood relatives. At the end of the nineteenth century individual families became land owners and land was transmitted by inheritance only to members of the family. During the Soviet period the land was in the hands of the state.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. The northern Mansi, like the Khanty, were divided into two exogamous groups, Mosh and Por, which are designated phratries by some scholars, moieties by others. Smaller clan groups, named for a particular ancestor, existed and became the basis for exogamy. A clan usually had two or three names associated with it and its history. Many clans also had a sign or brand that was used on clan property and in Russian documents. In the seventeenth century a change occurred from patriarchal clan organization to smaller patrilineally organized kindreds. The Mansi reckon descent in both maternal and paternal lines.

Kinship Terminology. Mansi kin terms distinguish groups of relatives according to bloodlines, relations through the mother's line, and marriage relations. Within these groups there exist divisions by gender, parentage, generation, and age relative to Ego. Blood relatives and relatives from the mother's family were considered the nearest to Ego.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Marriages were arranged by matchmakers or by the potential groom and an entourage of supporters after the potential groom had decided on a bride. He would then work in his wife's home for a period of three to four years. Bride-price was arranged; the bride's mother was important in the neogtiations, though the bride was not directly consulted. Bride-price was usually equivalent to dowry, but was paid in money and livestock. Brides received a dowry consisting of clothing and utensils and sometimes a reindeer harness. Marriages with widows were concluded without bride-price. Ethnographic data suggest the survival of levirate and sororate customs and cross-cousin marriages. Within the bounds of exogamous groups, marriages were possible only among relatives whose relations were four or more generations back. Today a high percentage of Konda and Ob Mansi marry non-Mansi. Among the Sosva-Lyapin and Upper-Lozva Mansi, marriages are primarily with Mansi.

Domestic Unit. In the past both large and small patriarchal families were common among the Mansi. In the middle of the nineteenth century families usually consisted of five or six individuals, but there were also multigenerational families with ten to fifteen members living in one house and owning land in common. Modern families are comprised of one to three generations. Families with a large number of children are rare.

Inheritance. Inheritance of property among the Mansi follows the male line.

Socialization. In the past, Mansi culture left much of the process of socialization in the hands of children themselves, either through their own learning by observation of adults or in games played among themselves. Boys played hunting games in which the rules and goals varied according to the animal (bear, elk, rabbit) that was the object of their imaginary hunt. Girls played with dolls, taking on roles that prepared them for the domestic part of their adult lives. Parents provided explanations to the children and oversaw such activities as target practice. Children took part in productive activity when they were strong enough to do so and also participated in religious ritual and sacrifice. There is no recorded information on particular rites of passage. Today Mansi children attend either schools in the villages in which they live or boarding schools. They have the opportunity to study for a particular profession or prepare for higher education, but there are also interest groups and clubs in the schools, such as hunting circles, which allow students to participate in traditional activities.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. There is much disagreement among scholars about pre-Russian and even pre-Soviet forms of social organization among the Mansi. At minimum, they seem to have been organized into kinship-based groups located in certain regions along the Ob, Sosva, Liapin, and Konda rivers. The displacement of early social forms—such as the chiefdom (Russian: *kniazhestvo*) by elements of clan-tribal organization—is thought to have been largely completed by the seventeenth century. Later, with the breakup of populous villages, a type of community known as the *paul* formed. This was a network of neighboring kin groups and large families inhabiting a given territory.

Political Organization. Clan leaders were traditionally selected from among the men and rule was heritable. The internal organization of Mansi chiefdoms was used by the Russians for administrative purposes. A significant reflection of the Mansi experience of the political system occurs in mythological beliefs; according to some tales, the gods have details about individuals' destinies recorded on pieces of paper. In the Soviet period, government was organized in village, settlement, and regional soviets. In 1930 the Ostyak-Vogul National District (okrug) was created in the territory of Tiumen Province. In 1938 it was renamed the Khanty-Mansiisk National District and in 1977 the Khanty-Mansiisk Autonomous District. The presence of representatives of the native population among the Soviet deputies was obligatory.

Social Control. Social control was carried out with the aid of traditional institutions, habits, customs, rules, etiquette, and morals.

Conflict. In very early times feuds between kin groups were perpetuated along both patrilineal and matrilineal lines. Disputes with other peoples occurred over the seizing of territory. Conflicts with Russians included a revolt mounted in 1592 by the Mansi leader Ablegirim. Such episodes were prevalent in the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Religion and Expressive Cultures

Religious Beliefs. Mansi beliefs and religious practices varied considerably not only from region to region but from household to household. Each local group maintained and made offerings at its own ancestral worship site, and households contained unique religious objects. In general, however, the Mansi believe that the universe is formed along both horizontal and vertical dimensions and that the vertical is divided into three levels. The upper level of sky and heavens, occupied by the sun and the moon, is inhabited by Numi-Torum, the "god above." He is generally thought to be involved in the control of human destiny and is the protector of the Por moiety. The middle level is inhabited by human beings, whose activities are thought to range from evil to good, as well as by the forest, water, and patron spirits. Finally, the lower level, under the surface of the earth, is the realm of bad and evil spirits, including Numi-Torum's antithesis, Kul'-oter. Also important is the sky goddess, Kaltas'ekva, who is the personification of the earth. Although the Mansi were subjected to mass baptism early in the eighteenth century, it is not clear how much of Mansi belief was influenced by these forced conversions to Christianity. Mir-susne-khum (World-Surveyor-Man), the youngest son of Numi-Torum, is, under the influence of Christian tradition, thought to be the link between people and the world of the gods. He is capable of both good and bad acts and is thought, for example, to have given people the idea of constructing airplanes and satellites.

The Mansi make offerings of game animals to local forest spirits (*menkvi*) for success in hunting. The sometimes foolish exploits of these spirits are commonly recounted in folklore. Before human beings were on earth, it is thought, they descended from the sky into the sea and then worked their way up the Ob and Sosva rivers into areas where Mansi now live. Various features of rivers and lakes—whirlpools, river mouths, etc.—were considered sacred sites associated with the water spirit, Vit-khon, and his daughter, Vit-khon agu. Groups that were particularly dependent on fishing gave regular offerings to these spirits. There were also regular sacrifices to them three times a year: after the breakup of the ice (usually in April), in August, and again in October.

Religious Practitioners. Mansi shamans, *nait* or *nait-khum* (*khum*, "man"), men or women, healed the sick, determined the types and colors of sacrificial animals, and in some cases participated in sacrifices, told fortunes, and sought to determine the results of productive activities. Among a few groups of Mansi, shamans used drums and had special costumes (usually a cape).

Ceremonies. The best known of the Mansi ceremonies was the "festival of the bear," performed in the homes of successful hunters after the killing of a bear. The activities of the festival took place at night and typically lasted five days if the bear killed was a male and four if it was a female.

Arts. Traditional Mansi had a single-stringed, fiddlelike instrument, the *sangultap*, that was played by plucking. They also had a violinlike instrument, *nyrne iiv*, that was played on the knee with a bow. The voice *tumran* (Jew's harp) was a women's instrument. Several groups of Mansi were well known for a plucked-string, harplike instrument called the *lebed'*, which means "swan" in Russian.

The Mansi had very diverse dance and vocal art and various forms of nonmusical folklore. Festivals were accompanied by puppet-theater performances (hand and marionette). Clothing and utensils were richly ornamented; traditional decoration of clothing with beads and mosaics of fur continues today.

Medicine. Shamans were the traditional healers of Mansi society, but there was general use of various plants such as sarsaparilla root, heather berries, and bilberry leaves for their medicinal properties. Mansi women used a charm to ease childbirth.

Death and Afterlife. Mansi believe that death is determined by Numi-Torum (or a guardian spirit) who sends lists of who is to die to the god of the underworld, Kul'oter. Death, according to traditional Mansi belief can come about because the victim has angered a guardian spirit or Kul'-oter by forgetting to perform a promised offering. Mansi say that when a person dies, his or her spirit goes. One version recorded earlier in this century held that the dead reside on an island in the northern Arctic Ocean for forty days before returning. Others say that the life of a person does not end with death. The deceased and the spirit released from him or her (one of five spirits in men and one of four in women) live in the cemetery. A special rite is performed to determine who among the deceased is reborn in newborn children. Not wanting to be troubled by the dead, descendants of the deceased bury him or her with things that they think will be of help in the other world. Traditional Mansi grave structures are log frames with roofs that in outward form resemble houses. On the front or side wall of each there is an opening through which, at the time of the memorial feast, there is contact between the living and the dead. At other times the opening is covered with a special stopper. Traditional households made regular offerings to deceased ancestors to maintain their good will.

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(Translated by David C. Koester)

Maris

ETHNONYMS: Self-designations: Mar, Mari; Cheremis

Orientation

Identification. Within the Russian Federation, the Maris have had a titular autonomous republic (the Mari ASSR after 1936, today the Republic of Mari) which now forms a part of the Volga-Vyatka macroeconomic region. The Maris belong to the Volgaic branch of the Finno-Ugrian peoples. "Mari" and "Mar" are self-designations meaning "man." An older name used by other peoples is "Cheremis." In Soviet usage, "Cheremis" has been replaced by "Mari." This name has increasingly won acceptance in other countries as well.

Location. The formation of ancient Mari tribes took place in the Middle Volga region, between the Volga and Vyatka. The first Slavic settlers to these tracts came in the late Middle Ages, and the inflow greatly intensified after the Muscovite conquest of the Volga Valley in the sixteenth century. As a consequence, large numbers of Maris began to move eastward; the Mari homeland lost much of its coherence and the areal center of the nationality shifted to the east. At the present time the Maris are scattered over a vast territory in the Volga-Urals region. The westernmost settlements are in the neighborhood of the Volga-Sura confluence (about 170 kilometers down along the Volga from the city of Gorki), whereas in the east, groups of Mari villages exist on the foothills of the Urals in the Sverdlovsk Oblast. The basic area of the nationality is the Republic of Mari, the bulk of which lies on the left bank of the Volga. The southwestern corner of the republic extends also to the right side of the river. Geographically, most of the republic can best be characterized as rolling

plain; the highest places of the Vyatka ridge in the east rise to about 273 meters, whereas the swampy lowlands in the west, north of the Volga, are just 45 to 100 meters above sea level. Over half of the territory of 22,500 square kilometers is covered with forests, consisting mainly of coniferous trees. The main agricultural areas are located in the northeast and in the southwest (i.e., on the hilly bank of the Volga). The climate is continental; the average temperatures range from -13° C in January to +18° C in July. The mean rainfall is 50 centimeters per year. The period of vegetation begins at the end of April and runs until the first days of October.

Demography. The number of the Maris totaled 670,300 in 1989. Nearly half of them—324,000 persons or 48.3 percent of the total—lived in the Mari ASSR. In the Bashkir ASSR there were 105,800 Maris. Other notable areas of inhabitation—with the number of Maris ranging approximately from 10,000 to 50,000—were the Tatar and Udmurt republics and the Kirov and Sverdlovsk oblasts. In 1989 the Mari ASSR population was 749,300; the largest group was the Russians with a 47.5 percent share of the total population. The Maris constituted 43.2 percent, and the rest was made up mainly of Tatars and Chuvash. According to the 1979 data, the Maris were the largest nationality in the countryside, making up 68.7 percent of the ASSR's rural inhabitants, whereas in the urban areas the Maris did not comprise more than 21.6 percent of the population. Urbanization has begun only relatively recently: as late as 1970 over 85 percent of the Maris in such important areas of habitation as the Mari and Bashkir ASSRs and the Kirov Oblast were rural residents. Until the 1960s the Maris maintained a fairly high fertility level. Since then a gradual decline has taken place, but the Maris still compare favorably with the Russians in terms of birthrates. So far this surplus fertility has been enough to keep the Maris population growing, even under conditions of serious assimilation losses. The growth rates, however, have slackened. Although the number of Maris in the 1959–1969 period grew on average by 1.6 percent annually and the total Soviet population by 1.3 percent, the ensuing decades show growth rates below 0.8 percent per year for the Maris; moreover, the Mari rates fall short of general Soviet population growth.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Mari and Mordvin languages form the Volgaic Branch of the Finno-Ugrian Language Family. Two languages are spoken by Maris, Meadow Mari (Olyk Mari) and Hill Mari (Kuryk Mari), each consisting of several dialects and each having a written form of its own. Initiatives to create a single written language have not had practical results. The differences between the two languages are mainly lexical and phonetic. Meadow Mari is based on the Morki-Sernur dialect. The unwritten Eastern dialect (Ervel Mari or Üpö Mari) spoken by the Maris living east of the Republic of Mari, a significant subgroup of Meadow Mari, is often called Meadow-Eastern Mari. The Kozmodemyansk dialect forms the basis of Hill Mari: less than 20 percent of Maris belong to this group. Among the Finno-Ugrian languages, the Mari language has experienced the strongest Turkic (Chuvash and Tatar) influences. Turkic elements were adopted long ago and involve both grammar and vocabulary, whereas borrowing from Russian is a relatively new development, which has intensified since the nineteenth century. More or less regular publishing in Mari was initiated in the late nineteenth century by the Kazan-based missionary movement. Both of the written Mari languages use the Cyrillic alphabet. At the time of the 1989 census, 81 percent of all Maris regarded Mari as their native tongue; in the Mari Republic the figure was 88 percent. The fact that the number of Maris considering Mari as their native language stopped growing after the 1970 census is suggestive of increased linguistic assimilation. Surveys concerning actual language use have shown that among the younger generation, especially in urban settings, lingual Russification is strongly underway. In the mid-1980s Mari was used as a medium of instruction at the lower grades of a number of rural schools in the Mari and Bashkir ASSRs.

History and Cultural Relations

The shaping of the ethnic community of the Maris was completed around the turn of the first and second millennia A.D. Intense contacts with Turkic peoples constitute the prominent feature of medieval Mari history: from the tenth until the mid-thirteenth century the Maris were subjects of the Volga Bolgar Kingdom and then, until the middle of the sixteenth century, they were in a kind of vassalage to the Kazan Tatars. The bulk of Maris remained loyal to the Tatars until the collapse of Kazan in 1552.

Submission to Russian rule took place painfully: a series of violent uprisings erupted, known as the Cheremis wars. By the onset of the seventeenth century—only after the Russians had erected a set of forts in the Mari areas—the struggles gradually ended. Later, the Maris were quick to join peasant uprisings but these were more ventures to relieve economic burdens than attempts to win back independence. Conversions to Russian Orthodoxy began on a large scale in the second half of the seventeenth century, and missionary pursuits further intensified in the following century. Results were poor, however: adoption of Christianity remained mostly superficial, and large numbers of Maris chose to escape to the Bashkir lands. The outcome of this move was the formation of the group of Eastern Maris; among this group paganism prevailed until the present century. In the tiny circles of Mari intellectuals, the beginnings of ethnic awakening became apparent around 1900. A number of Mari territories that earlier were divided among several provinces were united in 1920 into a single administrative entity, the Mari Autonomous Area. In the 1930s the Mari intelligentsia fell victim to Stalinist purges even as Mari autonomy was formally elevated to the ASSR level.

Settlements

Prior to Russian domination, the arrangement of buildings in Mari villages was irregular. Later on, a street plan was gradually adopted. In the 1920s the average size of a settlement varied from about thirty households in the northern areas to fifty-five households in the southern areas (i.e., approximately 160 to 300 inhabitants respectively). A traditional Mari house (*pört*) was built of logs with a peaked roof and window frames decorated with carvings. The house and outbuildings formed a closed four-cornered

yard. The summer kitchen (*kudo*)—a place of prayer and sacrifice as well—was constructed of logs and had no ceiling, no window openings, and no chimney. The fireplace was located at the center of the dirt floor. Today, rural houses are also built of bricks or manufactured elements. The yard has become more compact and the surrounding buildings are joined together. The entrance into the yard is through a wooden gate the height of a person. In recent decades, as a result of the concentration of agricultural production, a large number of villages have died out. Though increasing, the Mari portion of the population in urban centers remains relatively small. For instance, over 50,000 Maris live in the capital of the republic, Yoshkar-Ola, but they constitute less than a quarter of the population of the city.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. At the close of the nineteenth century practically all Maris were engaged in agriculture. The main cereals cultivated were rye, oats, barley, buckwheat, and millet. Horses and cattle were kept but, as a whole, animal domestication did not play any prominent role in the traditional economy. Beekeeping had been an important activity for a long time, and hunting was also pursued—in particular, in the backwoods and swamps of the left side of the Volga. Honey, furs, tar, and wood coal served as market goods. Today agriculture is carried on in large units—collective and state farms. Wheat, potatoes, and flax have grown in importance as cultivated plants. The expansion of the area cultivated for fodder speaks of increased livestock rearing and dairy farming. During the Soviet era, industrial output grew manyfold. The metal industry is now in a leading position, and paper manufacturing, woodworking, and light industries are also well developed.

Industrial Arts. In the past a girl's abilities were, to a high degree, judged by her weaving and embroidery. Despite being officially replaced in the 1930s, the woman's folk dress continues to be an important means of ethnic identification and a sustainer of handicrafts. Currently, however, most of the aprons, smocks, caftans, head scarves, imitation silver coin embellishments, and boots needed for weddings and other special occasions are made in state-owned workshops. Traditional basket weaving persists, as does the making of various folk-art wooden articles.

Land Tenure. In feudal Russia, the Hill Maris were privately owned serfs, whereas the Meadow Maris were state owned. Village communities practiced a three-field system of agriculture. After emancipation, the separation of the peasants from their communities involved many difficulties; the process accelerated somewhat only after the Stolypin reforms of 1906, but the reforms also added to the economic polarization in the countryside. The Soviet regime collectivized agriculture by 1937; the peasants' privately run plots were limited to subsidiary smallholdings.

Kinship, Marriage, and Family

Kinship. Past Mari settlements were made up of "corners," or neighborhoods, each inhabited by families belonging to the same patronymic group. Awareness of a common forefather was the main basis of kinship communities of a higher order as well—on the levels of lineage cluster, village, group of villages, and so on. Ancestor worship and joint rites during sacrificial ceremonies helped maintain a shared consciousness within kinship communities.

Marriage. Traditionally, marriages were arranged, often without the consent of the couple being wedded. It was a common habit to marry off sons at the age of 14 to 16 years but to postpone the marriage of the daughters.

Mari marriage involved transfers of property in two directions. The bridegroom's parents paid for the bride, usually with money; the payment was made during the wedding, at the latest. The bride's family paid a dowry—usually consisting of cattle to a large extent—which typically were not delivered until after the wedding, sometimes a year or more later. Compared to what the bridegroom's parents paid, the dowry used to be worth more. Traces of this custom have now disappeared, and the parents' word is no longer final in matters of marriage and divorce. In pre-Revolutionary times, the portion of marriages contracted across ethnic lines was quite small. After World War II intermarriages greatly increased. Russians are, overwhelmingly, the partners with whom the Maris intermarry.

Domestic Unit. Patriarchal extended family households continued in some places until the outset of the twentieth century. Families of this kind consisted of three to four generations of close relatives, and the maximum number of members in them was around 40. By 1900, however, smaller families with 3 to 12 members had already become predominant. Since then nuclearization has proceeded further: according to the 1979 data, 84 percent of Mari families in the titular ASSR consisted of 2 to 5 members, and two-generational families were by far the prevalent type. The average number of members per family was 4.4 in rural areas, and 3.4 in urban ones.

Sociopolitical Organization

The Maris are strongly attached to the peasant way of life; their involvement in industry and education still remains relatively slight. Immobility and firm ties with the soil explain to a considerable extent why the Mari participation in the Bolshevik Revolution was negligible. Later, too, the percentage of Maris who were members of the ASSR's Communist party organization generally lagged somewhat behind the titular nationality's proportion of the population. Like other Republics in the Russian Federation, the Republic of Mari has certain symbols of statehood but administratively it ranks as a province (oblast). It is divided into fourteen districts; in about half of them Maris are a nominal majority of the inhabitants. The districts, in turn, are broken down into rural councils, which are the basic units in the countryside. Each administers around ten villages on the average.

The first manifestations of Mari nationalism became apparent in the late nineteenth century: sects striving to protect old religious habits expressed the idea, "To undo our faith is equal to undoing us." A formally organized national movement got its start after the February Revolution of 1917, but in the course of the 1920s the possibilities for spontaneous ethnic organization again diminished; soon the policy of indigenization (*korenizatsiya*) of administra-

tion and culture was also ended. Those supporting ethnic freedom were brought under strict party control. Moreover, the national intelligentsia was harshly persecuted. Collectivization obviously caused some ethnic tension as well. For decades all this dampened popular initiative and hindered the formation of genuine ethnic self-consciousness. Only after the political atmosphere changed with *perestroika* were there again some signs of emerging ethnic organization among the Maris. The reclassification of the Mari ASSR as the Republic of Mari is one outcome of this change.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs and Practices. Indicative of the Maris' superficial adoption of Russian Orthodox Christianity is the persistence of elements of older beliefs: more than one-half of present-day Mari believers either link together—in varying combinations—traditional customs and Christianity or adhere exclusively to the traditional Mari faith. Typically, Maris practicing syncretism put the matter as follows: "We pray to two Gods: the one of the church and the one of the forest." The presence of non-Christian elements increases from west to east: almost nonexistent among the Hill Maris, these elements are strongest among the Eastern Maris. The Meadow-Eastern group has also experienced Islamic influences. Certainly, religion has lost most of its previous strength over the course of the twentieth century. Compared with the local Russians, however, the Maris have, to a somewhat greater degree, kept their religious habits. One reason for this may be that religious rituals provide them with a channel for maintaining their identity. The similarities one can find in religious procedures—even in the minute details—all over the geographically scattered Mari habitats bear witness to an ancient and highly developed religious culture. The traditional shamanist-animist religion of the Maris included a host of divinities, ancestor spirits, and supernatural beings personified in celestial bodies, clouds, rivers, earth, trees, and forests. The supreme god, Jumo, represented all heavens and weather together. The core of the site of sacrificial ceremonies and prayer meetings was a fenced section of untouched grove; there were separate sacred groves depending on whether they were for the prayer of the whole community, the clan, or the kin group. All domestic animals except pigs and hens were suitable for sacrifice. The participants in the ceremony—sometimes thousands of people—were dressed in white.

An ethnoconfessional movement, Kuga Sorta (Big Candle) gained a large circle of supporters in the second half of the nineteenth century. Attempting to reconstruct the traditional religion to meet the challenges of the new times, the sect acknowledged aspects of both the traditional Mari faith and Christianity. Ascetic rules were followed in regard to clothing and drinking; further, the members of the sect renounced some ancient divinities of lower rank, various genies and gnomes, for instance.

Arts. Characteristic of the rich Mari folklore is the muro, a lyric song often built on repetition, parallels, contrasts, and comparisons, and combining happiness and sorrow. The rhythm of the verse and the pentatonic melody of the songs point to a Turkic influence.

Typical of the traditional texts of the songs is that the focal image is often taken from human life, whereas the supplementary images represent phenomena in nature or objects in the domestic sphere. Frequently, the lyrics of the songs can be understood properly only in the context of the accompanying music, and particularly its rhythm, since many seemingly meaningless nonmorpheme sound sequences are added to the text to make it correspond to the music in length. A stringed instrument widespread among the Maris is the *gusli* (*kusle*), a zitherlike stringed instrument held on the knees and played with both hands. It was used to create atmosphere during sacrificial ceremonies and later as an accompaniment to dancing. The reed pipe, the bagpipe, the birch-bark horn, and the drum are other important Mari musical instruments.

Medicine. Trachoma, goiter, and tuberculosis—the main sicknesses from which the Maris suffered in the past—have been brought under control through advances in medicine. In folk medicine, drugs were based on herbs, tar, honey, formic acid, the fat of wild animals, and so on. In case of serious illness, people sought advice through sorcery, and the sauna was considered a remedy for many evils.

Death and Afterlife. The invisible part of a human being was called *ört*. Even when the person was alive, the ört would at times move about—leave the body for a while—but at death its departure was irreversible. The ört would linger somewhere near the dead body, however; it might also become embodied in the form of a butterfly. At the funeral, it was the custom to put into the coffin some food, money, tobacco, and other necesseties for the life beyond the grave. In addition to the funeral prayers, prayers were said for the deceased on the third, seventh, and fortieth days after death. The repast on the fortieth day was very ceremonious, and it was dedicated to other dead relatives as well. As a symbol of the participation of the late kin at the occasion, one close friend played the part of the deceased by dressing in his clothes. It was also traditional for a portion of food to be put on the table for the deceased each morning during the first forty days.

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SEPPO LALLUKKA

Meskhetians

ETHNONYMS: Meskhetian Turks, Turks; Russian: Meskhetinskie Turki

Orientation

Identification. The traditional homeland of the Meskhetians is in south-southwestern Georgia, to the south of the Meskhetian mountain ridge. This is a highland region, with a temperate-cold climate quite different from the subtropical conditions in the Georgian lowlands. Agriculture and other aspects of the culture reflect the ecological niche in which the Meskhetians lived.

Location and Demography. A compact population of Meskhetians, presently numbering around 500,000, inhabited that region of Georgia until the 1940s. In November 1944, as part of the Stalinist policy of deportation, the Meskhetian ethnic group was denounced as "enemies of the Soviet people," forced to leave Transcaucasia, and resettled in Central Asia (mostly in Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, and Kirghizia) without the right to change their places of residence or leave their territory of resettlement. The entire population, inhabiting over 200 villages in southern Georgia (115,500 people, plus 40,000 who were at that time serving at the front), was deported.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Meskhetian language is classified in the Oghuzic Subgroup of the Turkic Family.

History and Cultural Relations

A Meskhetian population, speaking a language from the Oghuzic Subgroup of the Turkic Family, can be identified in Meskheti as early as the eleventh to fourteenth centuries. This was a time of cataclysmic events in Transcaucasia, of continual fighting in this area between Ottoman Turkey and Safavid Persia. The ongoing expansion of the Turkic world (the penetration of the Seljuks, the Tatar-Mongolian invasions, the devastating onslaughts led by Tamerlane) resulted in a massive influx of Turkic settlers into Transcaucasia and the mixing of the latter with the native populations. The territory of Meskheti was not protected from Turkic areas by any sort of natural barriers, and nothing impeded the swift migration of Turkic nomadic herdspeople toward the north and their gradual sedentarization. The mass influx of Turkic peoples into the region and their subsequent assimilation resulted in the Turkic substrate of what was later to be the Meskhetian people. The province of Meskheti (the former Georgian principality of Samtskhe-Saatabago, the Akhaltsikhe pashalïk of Turkey), being a border territory between Georgia and Turkey, had been the site of a distinct national-cultural development long before the expansion of Ottoman Turkey in the sixteenth century.

Until their deportation, the Soviet Turks were compactly settled in villages, some of which were homogeneously Turkish, others with a mixed population: their neighbors included Georgians, Armenians, and Kurds. The intensity and direction of interethnic contact reflected the nature of agricultural activities, ethnocultural characteristics, and religious affiliation of the peoples involved. Despite the long period during which a sizable segment of the Meskhetians were under the cultural and administrative hegemony of Christian Georgia, they maintained their distinct ethnocultural identity. Several factors contributed to this. Among the most important was their physical isolation from Georgia, which limited the extent of their contacts. In contrast, the villages at lower altitudes, were in zones of interethnic contact and maintained closer ties with their Georgian neighbors. The tendency was nonetheless to have contacts only within the Meskhetian community. As it was administratively within Georgia, relations between Meskheti and Turkey were restricted. However, despite the fact that the Meskhetian settlements were more distant from the cultural and administrative centers of Turkey than from those of Georgia (e.g., Batumi, Borjomi), the intensity of cultural and religious ties with Turkey and the historic opposition between Muslim and Christian regions served to hinder any strong influence of Georgian culture.

The above-mentioned factors did not exclude various forms of contact, the foremost being exchange and trade. Meskhetian agriculture was highly developed, including the widespread use of irrigation with wooden and ceramic conduits, cattle herding (with the animals being taken to summer pastures in the mountains), and gardening. This provided them with a variety of products to bring to Georgian markets: fruits, vegetables, wool, meat, and dairy products. Certain villages specialized in the production of honey and tobacco. At the same time, the market served as a locus for contact with Georgian material culture. The influence of Georgian and general Caucasian culture is especially visible in traditional clothing and other aspects of material culture. Contact with the neighboring Armenians was primarily through trade in agricultural products and also through the practice of lodging the larger livestock with Armenians during the winter.

Among the groups with whom the Meskhetians were in contact were the so-called Franks (Firenk). It is not possible at present to determine the ethnic identity of this group. It has been established that the Franks in this region were Georgian- and Armenian-speaking Catholics, distinguished from their neighbors by the lighter color of their skin, hair, and eyes and also by the absence of a prohibition on the eating of meat from cattle that died from natural causes. It is well known that the designation "Frank" was applied throughout the East to European Catholics. Taking into account the religious affiliation and the physical features of the Firenk, one might postulate that they represent the remnants of Christian soldiers who had participated in one of the unsuccessful campaigns of the Crusades. Somehow they found themselves in Meskheti, where they took up residence, eventually being absorbed into the local population. Another possible explanation is that the Franks were connected with the activity of Jesuit missionaries in certain isolated communities.

With the deportation of the Meskhetians in the mid-1940s, their relationship with the peoples of Transcaucasia was severed. The subsequent period might be considered a new phase in the formation of contemporary Meskhetian culture. The Meskhetians, resettled in Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, and Kirghizia, found themselves in a situation

quite conducive to ethnic contact. Given that the local populations were practically all Muslims who spoke Turkic dialects, conditions seemed ideal for interethnic exchange. In principle, one would expect this small immigrant group, sharing a common religion and language with their new neighbors, to be readily absorbed into the population. This did not happen, however, for a number of reasons. Among them was the intensification of Meskhetian ethnic self-consciousness, a development typical of forcibly deported peoples. The attitudes of the local ethnic groups also played a role. Although the immigrants, on the whole, were received amicably, the natural opposition between "natives" and "newcomers" was exacerbated by the political situation. Physical differences between the groups were also a barrier to close ties. Another factor was the typical opposition between "nomadic" and "settled" populations, especially in Kazakhstan and Kirghizia. At the end of the 1960s the status of the Soviet Turks as "special migrants" (Russian *spetspereselentsi*) was abolished, and a new wave of migration began into a wider area of settlement. A significant number of Meskhetians resettled in Azerbaijan. The number of immigrants there sharply increased after nearly two dozen Meskhetians were slain in the summer of 1989 by Uzbeks in Fergana. This ethnic conflict had become so violent that in the end practically all Turks left Central Asia (especially Uzbekistan). This recent wave of migration has resulted in the dispersion of the Meskhetians among all of the republics of the former USSR except Georgia.

Economy

Much of traditional Meskhetian material culture was lost as a result of the forced resettlement. The loss was especially marked in regard to agricultural practices, food, clothing, and architecture. The Turks, finding themselves in new ethnic and economic situations and lacking the experience necessary to cope with them, resorted to borrowing from their neighbors the basic components needed for daily life. Among these were the systems of agriculture and animal husbandry and the basic forms of the contemporary dwelling. Even as they maintained several symbols of their traditional culture (festival costumes, several characteristic types of headgear, food ingredients, festival cuisine), the Meskhetians borrowed other cultural elements from the Central Asians (some aspects of traditional dress, cuisine, and the interior layout of the home). There were in essence two types of borrowing: (1) those necessary to cope with the needs of daily life and (2) borrowings that functioned as communicative signs in the realm of interethnic contact. The loss of their traditional agricultural practices, in the context of the further disruption of their traditional way of life, has compelled the Meskhetians to adopt new techniques compatible with their new circumstances. For the most part, this has been within the framework of village agriculture and gardening on the private plots allotted to collective farmers. The produce is sold at the market. It must be noted that until their expulsion from the Caucasus, the Meskhetians practically saturated the markets of Georgia with high-quality agricultural products. Today the goal of the Meskhetian population is to rebuild their ruined villages and cultivate once again their abandoned fields.

Kinship

Marriage among the Meskhetians was contracted between parties considered to be blood relations, but the pool of eligible partners was supplemented with artificial (or fictive) kin, who are not related genetically. This practice pertains to a person's patrilocal group (*kirva*), the social function of which is similar to that of one's godparents. This group might include representatives of other ethnic communities. When one family takes on the role of artificial parent of a child from another family, the two groups are considered blood relatives. One way of doing this is the adoption of children from families with many children. The fact of adoption is confirmed by a ritual, at the conclusion of which the woman adopting the child, in the presence of her husband, passes the naked infant through the opening below the hem of her undershirt, in imitation of giving birth. These traditional practices served as a kind of self-regulating compensatory mechanism, allowing the continuation of preferred (structurally) endogamous marriage, whereas the various forms of artificial kinship enabled fresh blood to enter the genetic pool. Given the restrictions of endogamy, the institution of artificial kinship provided for the viability of the society.

Marriage and Family

At the beginning of the twentieth century large extended families were still present among the Meskhetians. Patriarchal and Islamic traditions have been maintained in the domestic sphere. Marriages were endogamous and patrilocal. If today tradition is not as stable, there are still preferences in regard to marriage, with the most typical being marriage between relatives whose common link was four generations earlier. The marriage was traditionally contracted when the couple was quite young. The matrimonial cycle consists of the agreement, the official matchmaking at the fiancée's home, an evening banquet, and the wedding itself. On the day when the wedding date is set, the father of the bride receives the bride-price, usually worth about 10,000 rubles. By custom, half of this sum is returned during the preparations for the wedding. On Thursday, the day before the wedding celebration, the matrimony is confirmed according to Sharia (Islamic religious law) in the presence of a mullah and two witnesses. Meskhetian weddings are colorful affairs with many people participating. This tradition appears to be stably maintained to the present day. Despite the disappearance of many components of the traditional way of life, the matrimonial cycle has not only been preserved, but has collected (and continues to collect) within its structure many elements that had vanished from other spheres of the culture and that earlier had not been part of the wedding rituals. The contemporary Meskhetian wedding, with its accumulation of variegated elements of the traditional culture, has become a special repository for an otherwise disappearing culture. The matrimonial cycle concludes with the procession of the newlyweds to the husband's home, which was specially constructed for this occasion. Here the newlyweds com-

able whether a more positive resolution of the impasse can be expected.

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EMMA KH. PANESH AND L. B. ERLOMOV
(Translated by Kevin Tuite)

Mingrelians

ETHNONYMS: Self-identification: Margali, Megreli. Others: Mingrelets, Tubal, Zanar.

Orientation

Identification. Mingrelia (Samargalo) is situated in the western half of the Georgian Republic in the former USSR. It comprises seven administrative districts (*raions*): Abasha, Senak'i (renamed Tskhak'aia by the Soviets), Khobi, Ts'alenjikha, Chkhorots'q'u, Mart'vili (formerly Gegech'k'ori), and Zugdidi. The region is ethnically homogeneous except for significant Russian minorities in the towns of Poti, Zugdidi, and Senak'i. Mingrelians also make up large numbers in the Gali and Ochamchire regions in the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic, which is part of Georgia. The Gali region is considered by many Mingrelians to be part of Mingrelia.

Location. Mingrelia is bound on the north by Abkhazia and by the mountainous region of Svaneti. To the east and the south are the Georgian provinces of Imereti and Guria, and to the west, the Black Sea. Of the total land area of 4,339.2 square kilometers, approximately 1,260 is lowland river valley and rolling hills and the remainder foothill and mountain zones mainly in the northeast (Ts'alenjikha, Chkhorots'q'u, and Mart'vili regions). The former swampland of the coast and the Rioni River valley contain rich soils that support a variety of crops including silk, citrus fruits, and tobacco. The lowlands have a subtropical climate with temperatures ranging from averages of 4°–5° C in December to 23°–24° C in July. Winters last no longer than a month. The mountain regions are cooler, especially in the winter months (−6° to −2° C on average in January). The annual rainfall in Mingrelia is between 150 and 230 centimeters.

Demography. The population of Mingrelia in 1939 was officially 323,811. With the addition of Mingrelians living in Abkhazia and elsewhere in Georgia, one author estimates this number was closer to 500,000 in 1941. In 1979 the official population figure for Mingrelia was 405,500, which is almost 10 percent of the total Georgian population. One hundred and forty-five thousand, or 32 percent, lived in five towns and five large settlements (*dabebi*), the rest in about 370 villages. In the 1926 census, in which Mingrelians were listed separately, 242,990 identified themselves as Mingrelian and 284,834 claimed Mingrelian as their first language. There have been no official reassessments of these figures since then.

Linguistic Affiliation. Mingrelian is a Kartvelian (South Caucasian) language, not mutually intelligible with Georgian. Most former Soviet and some Western experts recognize Mingrelian as belonging, along with Laz, to a separate division within the South Caucasian Family of languages, known as Megrelo-Ch'an or Zan. The Soviet Georgian scholar A. Chikobava discerned two closely related Mingrelian dialects: the western Samurzaq'an-Zugdidian and the eastern Senakian. Mingrelian is not a written language, and although Mingrelians generally speak it at home, they have adopted Georgian (Kartuli) as their literary language. There are no Mingrelian language schools, books, or newspapers, although there were periodic attempts at establishing Mingrelian as a literary language in the late czarist and early Soviet periods. In the pre-Soviet period, Mingrelian was one of the best-described South Caucasian languages, and today studies of Mingrelian folklore are extensive. Georgian remains the language of business and government. The number of Mingrelian speakers is declining, and most Mingrelian speakers positively identify themselves as "Georgian" (Kartveli).

History and Cultural Relations

Mingrelians now occupy part of a region that was known by ancient Greeks and Romans as Colchis or Lazica, and by western Georgians as Egrisi. In the fourteenth century, it became a separate feudatory under the princely Dadiani family and was known as Odishi. It was not until the nineteenth century that "Mingrelia" became the popular name for the region. Mingrelia has always been part of the broader Georgian cultural and political sphere, in large part through the influence of the Georgian Orthodox church. At times, however, in common with western Georgia, it has come under different cultural influences from the Georgians in the east (Kakhetians and Kartlians) who were separated from the western regions (Georgian *imier*, "over there") by the Likhi mountain range. The Greek, Roman, and Byzantine empires had much more influence in west Georgia. In the seventeenth century Georgia was divided into two by the Persian and Ottoman empires. West Georgia, including Mingrelia, became part of the Ottoman sphere and east Georgia, part of the Persian. The Georgian church was likewise split into two, and Mingrelia, which established its own mint and customs barriers, became one of the competing feudatories of west Georgia

mence their life together in accordance with the norms of Islam and the customs of traditional Turkish society. Kinship relations (and likewise the entire system of kinship terminology) correspond to those of classical Turkish Islamic culture, with the exception of certain local variations.

Sociopolitical Organization

The possibility of Meskhetians returning to their historical homeland in southern Georgia was severely curtailed by the abolition of the status of special migrants. This was a result of the position taken by Georgia, linking the return of the Meskhetians to the republic to the requirement that they acknowledge themselves to be Georgians and replace their Turkish family names with Georgian ones. An insignificant number of Meskhetians accepted Georgian nationality, but the overwhelming majority, with a stronger sense of ethnic self-consciousness, rejected the conditions. They continue to insist on their Turkish national identity while trying to negotiate their return to Georgia. The conflict among segments of the Meskhetian community was resolved at the 9th Congress of Turks held in Kabardino-Balkaria (named the "Congress of Unity"), which took the form of a traditional meeting with the blessing of a mullah: the congress denounced the advocates of the "Georgian" position and required them to acknowledge the error of their views. But the problem of resettlement remains unresolved to the present day, even more so given the decision by the Georgian government to resettle those Georgians victimized by the 1991 earthquake in Meskheti.

In view of the condition of temporary residence outside of Georgia, contacts between the Meskhetians and local populations have been reduced to a minimum, limited to economic matters. Relations with local groups are determined by the community. At the same time, there has been an increase in political activity among the Meskhetians, in conjunction with more than ten political congresses (which only in recent years have been held openly) and over 400 delegations to the leadership of Georgia and of the USSR in connection with the problem of repatriation. Until recently the members of the delegations, and likewise the participants active in the nationalist movement (the Return to the Homeland Committee), have been leaders whose popularity and authority derive from their political activism and readiness to make sacrifices for the cause of reimmigration. Among the contemporary leaders, those who a few years earlier were brought to trial because of their political activities and held in places of detention enjoy special esteem.

The intensification of nationalist processes throughout the country has also contributed to the formation of the Meskhetian leadership. Under conditions of the progressive increase of ethnic self-awareness, among the important factors contributing to the popularity of a leader are: taking a hard line in regard to the restoration of justice for the Soviet Turks, demanding offical acknowledgment of the illegality of the deportation, and striving for the realization of a consolidated and clearly developed adherence to the values of traditional culture. Recent political events and societal changes in the country have led to the transformation of Meskhetian society from a kinship-based community to a political one. This change was accompanied by a shift in the dominant function of the community from that of governing internal affairs to that of dealing with external matters and likewise a change in the leadership, with community elders being replaced by political leaders. At the same time, the community, maintaining internal relations while controlling the influence of outside groups, has revived the previously lost ethnocultural values and fostered the growth of ethnic self-awareness. For an ethnic group such as the Meskhetians, which has undergone resettlement and dispersion, the maintenance of endogamy has special significance. The community can be a regulating force if it is sufficiently close-knit, resulting in marriages within the group and the preservation of cultural traditions. (The degree of internal cohesion of the Meskhetian community is clear in the context of the other ethnic groups with whom they have had long-term contact.)

Religion and Expressive Culture

The religious and ritual practice of the Meskhetians is also consistant with Islamic norms and formally quite orthodox. There are only some insignificant deviations or additions in a few Muslim rituals. For example, while observing all of the classic canonical forms of the funeral rites, the Meskhetians, over the course of several nights after the burial of the deceased, light a fire over the freshly dug grave. For this reason, according to popular belief, anyone who sees a fire at night is induced to pray for the dead. Daily life is regulated not only by the strict canons of Islamic society, but also involves older pre-Islamic rituals, beliefs, magical practices, and sorcery, which have been preserved to the present day. One still observes the practice of inducing rain by imitative magic (the rattling of pebbles against a brass basin), the healing of people and animals with "moon water" (water left standing overnight under a clear sky), the wearing of various amulets and protective talismans, etc. Some rituals and festivals associated with agriculture and animal husbandry are still partially maintained. For example, echoes of the festival of the first furrow can be detected in the custom of breaking an egg against the head of an ox before plowing. Several components of the traditional spring festival *kïzgalin* (a folk celebration in the pastures after the spring weeding) have been harmoniously integrated into the contemporary wedding (dances, games, pantomimes, fortune-telling).

On the whole, in recent decades the distinctive culture of the Meskhetians has been greatly disrupted; as a result, its fundamental framework has all but disappeared. With the increase in political activism and because of the growing belief in the need to consolidate ethnocultural processes in Meskhetian society, however, there is a clear tendency toward a cultural rebirth. Although a certain segment of the population, owing to a lack of prospects for a return to Georgia, is inclined toward emigration to Turkey, the large majority of Meskhetians continues to concentrate in Azerbaijan, where land has been granted them. Despite the fact that the situation there is becoming more difficult because of the hostilities between Armenians and Azerbaijanis, all Meskhetians still enjoy the option of resettling in Azerbaijan if they wish. Still, this does not represent a solution to the problem of deportation, and it is question-

until it was finally taken under Russian protection in 1804 as an autonomous territory. Autonomy was withdrawn after a revolt in 1856–1857, by Mingrelian peasants who seized the regional capital of Zugdidi and threatened czarist control of the region. In 1867 the kingdom was formally abolished by the Russian Empire. Under Russian rule, the serious problem of malaria was solved by draining swampland. Between 1918 and 1921, Mingrelia was part of an independent Georgia; in 1921 it became part of the USSR.

There had been little conflict in the past between Mingrelians and their neighbors, except on a dynastic level. The assimilation of Mingrelians by the Georgians, which accelerated in the nineteenth century under the impact of modernization, was completed after the Soviet annexation. Some half-hearted attempts by local Bolsheviks to establish autonomy failed. Abkhazian and Mingrelian relations in the mixed southern regions of Abkhazia were soured by the Georgianization policies of Lavrenti Beria (a native of Mingrelia) in the 1940s and 1950s. Conflict between local Georgians (mostly Mingrelians) and Abkhazians emerged briefly in the 1960s and 1970s. In July 1989 there was a bloody conflict in Abkhazia between Mingrelians and Abkhazians over Abkhazian demands for secession; more than twenty people were killed. The majority of Mingrelians reject suggestions of a politically autonomous Mingrelia and identify with the struggle for Georgian independence.

Settlements

Despite rapid urbanization, the majority of Mingrelians live in rural settlements. High population density in the lowlands has not significantly altered the pattern of Mingrelian villages. Houses, each with its own fenced yard and outbuildings, are situated some distance from one another. Villages may extend for several kilometers. Formerly, settlements adopted the name of the dominant kin group. Today, villagers with a common lineage may still be located in one area of the village. Housing has vastly improved from the variety of primitive wooden or mud huts of previous centuries, such as the *amkhara*, *jargvala*, and *godora*. The majority of rural Mingrelians today live in two-story wooden or preferably brick houses with bedrooms on the second floor and communal rooms (kitchen, storeroom) on the first. The five towns in Mingrelia—the largest being Zugdidi, Poti, and Senak'i—contain a mixture of independent dwellings and state or (increasingly) cooperative apartment complexes. The latter are typically two-bedroomed and in buildings no more than five or six stories high. Private housing construction is now permitted in towns.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. Mingrelia remains a primarily agriculturally based economy. Traditionally, villagers subsisted on *ghomi* (*Panicum italicum*) and, since the eighteenth century, maize, which remains the staple crop, although the rich soil and subtropical climate has led to major tea and citrus-fruit industries. Georgia supplied the USSR with over 90 percent of its domestically produced citrus fruit and 97 percent of its tea, much of which comes from Mingrelia. Pig, cattle and—in the highlands—sheep breeding are important. Mingrelia also produces excellent wine, honey, and cheese, much of it privately. The extended family in the village remains the basic economic unit. Its economic base is diverse, with some family members often working in the local food-processing sites or in other industries, such as lumber, furniture, silk, or cotton. Mingrelia's main urban industries include car components, construction materials, and light manufacturing. Poti is a major port. A naval base located there made it a closed city until recently.

Industrial Arts. Traditionally, most families in Mingrelia would weave silk or cotton. They were also known for their basketry, pottery, and wooden utensils. The mountain villagers produced felt carpets and felt clothing. Such craftwork continues, though on a much smaller scale today.

Trade. Formerly, Mingrelians on the Black Sea coast had a reputation for trading skills. Today most trade is controlled by the state and conducted in Western-style stores, although there are open-air and covered private markets in all urban areas to which Mingrelian farmers bring their produce.

Division of Labor. In the traditionally patriarchal society of Mingrelia, different male and female qualities are taken as given. In the past, the gender division of labor was stressed at birth when baby boys were made to touch a plow or sword and baby girls a thimble or scissors. Agricultural tasks were divided, although men and women both worked in the fields. Domestic work such as cheese making, cleaning, cooking, child care, and weaving was almost exclusively female. In the main, men were the potters, basket weavers, and utensil makers, but women were—and still are—considered mistresses of the home. Today women still concentrate on domestic tasks, although men are expected to make repairs to the house and will share in shopping and, to a degree, in child care. Younger women before childbirth are given only lighter tasks around the home. The growing role of women in the labor force is somewhat reflected in their greater equality within the home.

Land Tenure. During the Soviet period, most land in Mingrelia was held by the state in the form of collective farms. Small private holdings and fruit or vegetable gardens were permitted, however, and much family time was spent on private agricultural activities. Under the new non-Communist Georgian government, privatization of land is expected and many collectives have already voluntarily disbanded.

Kinship

The most important kinship group in Mingrelia is the extended-family household. Common lineage or a common last name were also traditionally important; each clan or common-name group had its own patron saint and icon. Mingrelian surnames are distinguished by their *-(a)ia*, *-ua*, and *-ava* endings. Mingrelian society is patrilocal, patriarchal, and patrilineal. Lineage structures are based on male kin relationships and are exogamous. In addition, there are important fictive-kin relationships such as blood siblinghood, milk siblinghood (nonrelated children who were breast-fed by the same woman), sworn siblinghood (which can also take place between women), and godparenthood,

although only the latter two are still observed to any extent. Although women often keep their own maiden name when they marry, descent remains agnatic. Children adopt their father's name. Some scholars suggest elements of a former "mother-right" culture can still be detected in Georgian and Mingrelian society, as reflected in certain religious customs and language patterns. The patriarchal aspects of Mingrelian society have been somewhat weakened, especially in the urban areas. The lack of male heirs is no longer a social tragedy, bilateral kinship is slowly replacing the exclusivity of male kin relationships, and residence with the bride's parents may take place without social stigma.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Traditionally, marriage was arranged—even at birth on occasion—with the bride's eldest brother or her maternal uncle playing a decisive role. Marriage could not take place if couples had a common name, were related through fictive kinship, or shared the same clan icon. Apart from the latter, this generally still applies. Marriage in the same village was avoided and the eldest daughter was always married first. For one year after the marriage, newlywed couples would not communicate with each other in public. The average marriage age was 13 to 14 for rural Georgians, including Mingrelians, and kidnapping of brides was permissable provided a number of complicated rules were observed. Modern marriage is no longer arranged, and although couples still marry young and have children very soon afterward, 17 is now the minimum age. Women are expected to remain virgins until marriage. Divorce, while still infrequent—particularly in the rural areas—is relatively easy and women's rights in any settlement are observed and protected by law. The official marriage ceremony is no longer religious, although couples often undergo a "second marriage" in the church. Most postmarital residence is patrilocal. The major form of birth control has been abortion.

Domestic Unit. The extended-family household, which is a source of mutual economic and emotional assistance, remains the major domestic unit. Large families persist in rural Mingrelia, but the norm of lateral extension, particularly between married brothers, is declining in favor of the more limited lineal extension, incorporating grandparents or unmarried brothers and sisters. Lateral relations still tend to live nearby. In urban areas, the trend is toward nuclear families.

Inheritance. Historically, land and property inheritance went through male lines of descent, particularly among brothers, although women, notably affines, were not excluded from holding some personal private property. Legal codes now specify bilateral inheritance, although the law rarely intervenes in inheritance matters, which are seen as a matter for collective decision by the coresidents of the deceased's household and the extended family. Wills are rarely drawn up.

Socialization. Children are the center of family life. Young children are rarely punished physically. In the past, children were brought up to observe traditional gender roles. Boys were encouraged to be tough and proficient in horse riding, hunting, and with firearms; girls were introduced to domestic tasks. Observance of the father's authority was strictly enforced, as was respect for living parents and deceased ancestors. These patterns—although horses have been replaced with cars—remain intact today and their inculcation is the responsibility of all the family. The state takes a hand in socialization when children begin school at 7 years of age. From adolescence on, children are expected to participate more fully in work within the family household.

Sociopolitical Organization

Mingrelia, as part of the former Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic (the words "Soviet Socialist" have recently been dropped) and the USSR, was controlled by the Communist party. The regions that comprise Mingrelia elected representatives to the Georgian Supreme Soviet and their own regional and city councils. Mingrelia has no separate representation or regional autonomy—unlike Abkhazia, Ach'ara (Ajaria), and South Ossetia, all of which elect "national" representatives to the All-Union parliament's second house (the Council of Nationalities—to be renamed the Council of Republics). Since the election of a non-Communist Georgian government in October 1990, the role of the Communist party in local affairs has seriously declined, replaced by other parties.

Social Organization. The class structure in Mingrelia is occupational. The urban-educated, upper white-collar class wielded most power in the region through the Communist party and other governmental or administrative structures. Education and white-collar work carry high status. Rural Mingrelian society is seen as somewhat "provincial," although rural families are respected for their preservation of the "traditional" way of life.

Political Organization. The important organizations in local affairs were the village, town, and regional soviets and the local Communist party organizations. The Georgian government recently announced the replacement of soviets with committees of various party representatives. In the past, village soviets contained many non-Communists, although at city and regional levels Communists generally made up the majority. Communists no longer dominate local government, either in electoral or administrative posts and are being replaced by representatives from independent political parties.

Social Control. Conflict resolution and the maintenance of conformity was the function of both informal organizations such as the family, village, and peer group, and formal organizations such as the Communist party, school, local soviets, and the courts. Courts operate at the regional and municipal levels. (There are also circuit courts, which may visit workplaces and different settlements.) All judges are elected and formerly were almost always Communist party members.

Conflict. Mingrelians have always been on the frontline of Georgian conflict with their Moslem Turkish neighbors; the region has been invaded a number of times by the Turks, most recently in 1918. There were also conflicts with other Georgian regions in the times of dynastic struggle and peasant revolts in the nineteenth and early twenti-

eth centuries. In the Soviet period, interethnic conflict has been minimal. The July 1989 events in the southern regions of Abkhazia, however, have considerably worsened Abkhazian-Mingrelian relations.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs and Practices. The principal religion of Mingrelia, in common with the rest of Georgia, is Georgian Orthodoxy. The Georgian Orthodox church is autocephalic. Formerly each clan or lineage had its own patron saint and icon (*jinjikhat'i*) which were used to obtain spiritual intercession. Saint George was the most important saint and a number of his relics were allegedly kept in the most sacred of Mingrelian churches, in the village of Ilori. The archangels Michael and Gabriel (sometimes worshiped as a unit) also had high status in Mingrelia; other saints had specific spheres of competence and their name days were always observed. Ceremonies and beliefs of pre-Christian times are mixed in with Mingrelian religious observances. Formerly, Mingrelians believed in wood spirits and other pagan deities. Elements of such beliefs persist in certain customs and superstitions surrounding birth, marriage, and death and New Year or harvest festivals. Mingrelians are not, on the whole, devout churchgoers, although with the new liberal policies on religion, one may expect a degree of religious revival, as elsewhere in Georgia.

Arts. Mingrelian men, like Georgians elsewehere, are famous for their a cappella polyphonic music. Mingrelian song and dance, though in the Georgian style, contains regional distinctions. Distinctive Mingrelian musical instruments, such as the *larch'emi* ("reed," a form of panpipe), have now disappeared.

Medicine. Colchis, of which Mingrelia was a part, was renowned among ancient Greeks for its medicines. Medea, the enchantress, was a Colchian. Many folk medicines and cures persist, some of which have been incorporated into modern Georgian medicine. Most Mingrelians prefer modern medicines over traditional variants. Many fewer women now give birth at home.

Death and Afterlife. Death in Mingrelia is mourned openly and intensely. In both rural and urban areas, death reemphasizes kinship and lineage solidarity. Financial collections will be made for the deceased's family. Many traditional rules surrounding mourning and burial are still observed. The body is visted for four days during which time no food is prepared in the house, although a feast arranged by kin and close friends may be held for guests. Commemorative feasts are held forty days and one year after the death. Traditionally, close male kin would not shave or work on Saturdays for a year. Mourning can continue for ten to fifteen years, during which time offerings, candles, and food may be set on the grave. Mingrelians also have their equivalent of All Souls' Day (*suntaoba*), when families visit relatives' graves.

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STEPHEN F. JONES

Moldovans

ETHNONYM: Moldavians

Orientation

Identification. Moldova, covering about 32,500 square kilometers, was geographically the next to the smallest of the fifteen republics of the former USSR. In this article, "Moldavia," the former name of the republic, will be used when referring to the Soviet period.

Location. The present boundaries of landlocked Moldova run from the right bank of the Dniester River (its boundary with Ukraine) south to the Dniester estuary, then, following a jagged course, east to the Danube Delta and on to the Prut River (its boundary with Romania), northward to the Bukovina-Hertz region, then eastward again to the tall, sheer, and jutting cliffs of the Dniester's right bank. Thus, today's official boundaries do not include the historically Moldavian cities of Izmail, Kiliya (Chilia), and Belgorod-Dnestrovsky (Moncastro, Akkerman, Cetatea Albă), but Moldova does correspond fairly closely to the former Bessarabia minus strips on the north, south, and east. It contains the following regions: Baltzy (Baltsi) in the north, Kishinyov (Chişinău) in the center, Tiraspol in the southeast, and Kagul (Cahul) in the south. The capital is Kishinyov.

Moldova is an often hilly plain crisscrossed by many rivers, valleys, and ravines, interspersed occasionally by small wooded islands of oak, maple, and, sometimes, a

birch gleaming on the edge of the Balti steppe (as far south as birch will grow). This northern steppe is bordered by a rolling and more level steppe farther south with, here and there, a Bulgarian, Gagauz, or old German village (the latter typically close to the meager water sources)—the so-called valley settlements. The more elevated region in the center of the country is called Codri, which in Romanian is the plural of one of the words for "forest," and this, in fact, used to be wild and impassible forest—the home of wolves, bears, and buffalo, and a good place for such heroes as the Haiducq (brigands, often of the Robin Hood type) and, subsequently, partisans. The southeast area in and around the Dniester estuary contains many small lakes, marshes, stagnant pools, channels, and abandoned streams that create not only excessive moisture but are a haven for large flocks of many kinds of birds. In each of these regions farmers and state farms have been clearing forests, draining swamps, diking, and irrigating to plant grapes, vegetables, or fruit trees.

In the country as a whole the sheepherding of earlier times has been replaced by the farming of wheat, maize, barley, tobacco, watermelons, musk melons, and sugar beets. There are many peach orchards, walnut groves, and vineyards; Moldavia produced about one-quarter of the wine of the former Soviet Union. Cattle raising for beef and dairy products is also widespread, as are beekeeping and silkworm breeding. Moldova has a humid and continental climate with hot summers, cold winters, and unpredictable amounts of precipitation (as much as 50 centimeters per year). In winter the Crivăts, an easterly wind, brings low temperatures and blizzards.

Demography. According to the 1969 census, the population of Moldavia was 3.531 million and today it is about 4.3 million. With 105 people per square kilometer, the republic ranks eighth among the former Soviet republics in population density. A majority (more than 65 percent) are Romanian, with the other 35 percent consisting of Ukrainians, Russians (13 percent), Gagauz (about 200,000), Jews, Bulgarians, Gypsies, Greeks, Armenians, and Poles, among others.

Linguistic Affiliation. The language spoken in Moldova has local variations but is simply Romanian. Like the culture, it has undergone relatively strong Slavic influence with, for example, a higher frequency of words and expressions of Slavic origin—reflecting the proximity of Ukraine and the intermingling with Ukrainians—and more than 150 years of political and cultural exposure to Russia. Romanian belongs to the Italic Branch of the Indo-European Language Family; other Romanian dialects of eastern Europe include Aromanian, Meglenoromanian, Istroromanian, and Vlach (Voloh, Voloshan). Because of strong Slavic influence up to the second half of the nineteeth century, the official alphabet used in church and state documents was Cyrillic, not only in Moldavia, but also in Wallachia and Transylvania. The efforts of the Latin school of Transylvania and of outstanding Romanian intellectuals such as Hasdeu, Maiorescu, and Odobescu led to the introduction of the Latin alphabet, used until the Soviet occupation in 1940 when the Cyrillic alphabet was reimposed. Owing to popular demand, the Soviet Union in 1989 agreed to reintroduce the Latin alphabet and to recognize Romanian as the official language of the republic. Legislation was enacted giving non-Russians five years to learn the language. Some Russians and Ukrainians reacted vehemently against this; others started attending adult classes and sending their children to Romanian kindergartens.

History and Cultural Relations

The Bessarabian area, like the rest of Romania originally occupied by the Indo-European Dacians, was colonized by Greeks as early as the seventh century B.C. Trajan occupied the area in 102–104 and made it a Roman province; the Latin-speaking Roman colonists formed the core population that prevailed despite seizure by the Goths (250–270) and invasions and conquests by Huns, Avars, and Magyars. During these centuries Slavs also entered the region; from the ninth to the eleventh centuries it was part of Kievan Russia. Bessarabia was conquered by the Mongols in 1242 (under Batu during his eastward retreat). It contributed to Moldavia's emancipation from Hungarian suzerainty in 1359, but accepted the rule of the Polish king Wladislaw I Jagiello in 1387; a rivalry between Poland and Lithuania over Bessarabia ensued. Subjected to frequent raids by the Tatars of Crimea and Buzhak and attacks by the Ottoman Turks, the principality of Moldavia (which had been formed in 1367) finally accepted peace in 1479, but was again conquered by the Turks and Crimean Tatars in 1513. Many attempts to shake off the suzerainty of the Ottoman Empire were mounted with the active assistance of Poland, Hungary, the Zaporozhian Cossacks, and czarist Russia. Some rulers of Moldavia and their families fled to escape Turkish persecution and took up residence in Poland, the Ukraine, Russia, and Transylvania. The principality of Moldavia (including Bessarabia and Bukovina) at this time extended between the Carpathian Mountains and the Dniester River and from Poland to the Danubian Delta and the Black Sea. Bessarabia was occupied by Russia during the First Turkish War (1768–1774) and, after another war (1806–1812), obtained from Turkey by the Treaty of Bucharest. Romania gained the southern part (Belgorod, Kagul, Izmail) from Turkey after the Crimean War by means of the the Treaty of Paris (1856) but, after yet another war, this region was restored to Russia at the Congress of Berlin (1878), following the San Stefano Treaty. Moldavian and Bessarabian volunteers often served in the Russian army during its wars with Ottoman Turkey.

Under Russian rule the Moldavian boyars were integrated into the Russian nobility and regained their ancestral estates that had been lost to the Turks, and some of them played important roles in the politics of the empire: one, who had been elected to the imperial Duma, became involved in the assassination of Rasputin and was also one of the founders of the Russian radical nationalist movement known as the Black Hundreds, which organized the pogroms in Kishinyov; another founded the nationalist radical party known as the Iron Guard. Thus, Moldavians were often conspicuous in the extreme right during the czarist period.

During the civil war and the subsequent struggles many Moldavians, including Moldavian Jews, were active in the Marxist and Communist movements. The anti-Soviet

"Council of the Country" in Kishinyov, on the other hand, decided in 1918 to unite the Moldavian Democratic Republic (essentially Bessarabia) with the Kingdom of Romania. In response, the Soviet Union created the Moldavian Autonomous Republic (1924–1940) in a strip of border area along the east bank of the Dniester, with Tiraspol as its capital. On 26 June 1940 the Soviet Union, capitalizing on its agreement with Nazi Germany, sent an ultimatum to the royal government of Romania and obtained Bessarabia and part of Bukovina-Hertza; the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic was instituted and hundreds of thousands of Romanian Moldavians died or were deported to Siberia and elsewhere. But in 1941 these territories and also Transnistria (between the Dniester and Bug rivers) were reincorporated into the Romanian kingdom and as such became actively allied with Nazi Germany; many ethnic groups (e.g., Jews, Gypsies, German Mennonites) were almost eliminated and many thousands of Romanian Moldavians perished on the eastern front. The Red Army reconquered all of the Moldavian territories in question in 1944. Wholesale liquidation (execution and deportation) of right-wing and fascist elements followed, especially at the hand of the special branch of the NKVD known as "Smersh" (death to spies).

Under the peace treaty signed in Paris in 1947 Moldavia was again fragmented. Transnistria and Bukovina-Hertz were joined to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and only a few strips of territory along the Dniester were included in the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic. The former capital, Jassy, and the adjacent territory from the Prut River to the Carpathian Mountains remained with the Romanian Republic. Quite a few Moldavian patriots who opposed this were silently removed (at times all the way to Magadan on the Sea of Okhotsk), and some skilled technicians and engineers were sent deep into the USSR to improve industrial production.

Settlements

Early in its history, Bessarabia was divided into the large estates of the boyars and the wealthy monasteries and convents. For protection, villages were often hidden off the main roads on the slopes of hills to avoid the plundering incursions of Tatars, Turks, and others. Today the majority of the population is still rural, although some villages have recently been elevated to the status of towns or even cities—Edintsy and Kotovsk, for example. The twenty larger towns and cities include the capital, Kishinyov, and Tiraspol, Beltsy, Bendery, Kagul, Rybnitsa, Soroki, and Orgeev.

Rural houses are built of bricks made from a mixture of clay and straw. Clay floors and twig fences are typical in the forested areas, whereas clay fences are usual in the steppe to the south. Tile roofs are rare—most roofs are covered by fir shingles. A corridor separates the house into two parts: the guest room, ornate with embroidery, pillows, and beautiful carpets on the walls and the floors; and the living room, which includes the kitchen, a wooden table, benches, and footlockers covered with ornate carpets. At present those who can afford it have modern furniture and television. Outhouses or plain latrines are outside the vividly painted houses. The Moldovans plant colorful flowers in front of their houses and even along streets and highways. The Soviet Union promoted the building of modern skyscrapers in urban areas.

Economy

Previously Moldova produced grain, grapes, and fruit for the market, whereas sunflower seeds and maize were mainly for home consumption; maize meal mush, the traditional *mamaliga*, was often eaten instead of bread. The government of Romania introduced agrarian reform by reducing large estates to make more land available to peasants. Soon the peasant allotments became shredded into thousands of narrow ribbons because of inheritance and the dowries of daughters. Peasants struggled in a tangle of dues and taxes and some of them abandoned their homes and looked for employment in cities. Others migrated to the United States. Under Soviet rule, private property was abolished and replaced by state and collective farms. Large-scale mechanized farming has been introduced. The Communists claimed to have increased livestock herds and to have augmented the production of grain, grapes, fruit, vegetables, sugar beets, sunflower, and maize. An optimistic plan for 1990 claimed a harvest of nearly 1.5 million tons of vegetables, 1.3 million tons of grapes, and 1.7 million tons of fruit and berries. The plowed area of Moldova is only 0.5 percent of the plowed area of former Soviet Union, but it grows approximately 25 percent of the area's grapes, and nearly 9 percent of the vegetables. Plum brandy is very popular among the Moldovans. The first large hydropower station on the Dniester was completed at Dubossary, sending energy to Kishinyov, Orgeev, Grigoriopol, Tiraspol, and Dubossary.

Kinship, Marrriage, and Family

Kinship. Moldovan families trace descent bilaterally, although the lineage of the father is considered more important. Men usually carry the first name of their father as their middle name. The grandparents play a very important role in the education of the children; often, given the living arrangement, they teach the children side by side with the parents, while also handing down to them a rich heritage of stories, tales, and superstitions. First cousins often grow up together and are almost as close as siblings. The incest taboo extends only to first cousins; marriages among second or third cousins are common, although usually performed following special authorization from the church.

Marriage. Arranged marriages have not been very common. Particularly in the countryside, if parents did attempt to find a spouse for their child, the search would be conducted with the help of relatives and neighbors. The bride or groom would be chosen with as much regard to wealth, ethnicity, and religion as to personal qualities such as beauty, kindness, and, most important, being a hardworking man or woman. Even though parents today have less and less of a role in the choice of partners for their children, their opinion is still very important in making the final decision and, sometimes, the cause of intense disputes if their future daughter- or son-in-law is not considered good enough or is from a different ethnic or religious group such as Jews or Gypsies.

The period of courtship is quite important. During this time a man is supposed to invite a woman to different social outings such as parties with friends, long walks, or, in the country, dancing the traditional Perinitsa or Hora on Sundays after church. The two are supposed to meet each other's families and visit them. Going to each other's houses in the absence of parents is not regarded as very proper, particularly for the woman, since premarital sexual relations are condemned and considered sinful, especially in the country. Among young educated people in urban areas the taboos against premarital sex are disappearing, although living together without marriage still carries a social stigma. Often, in the countryside, young men who are the friends of the groom-to-be dress in traditional attire and walk in procession to the house of the prospective bride to ask her father for her hand.

Even under Communist rule, marriage was most often celebrated in the church, usually after the civil marriage. The godparents are the most important participants in the ceremony. The godmother stands next to the groom and the godfather next to the bride, each holding a large white candle. The godparents are considered to be the defenders of the marriage; they become part of the family. In the country, the wedding party crosses the village with pomp and musical accompaniment (usually accordion and violin) and people come out on their porches or into the street to watch the bride. (It is considered good luck to see a bride.) A wedding without music and dancing is regarded almost an anomaly, both in the country and in the city (where traditional music has largely been replaced with pop music and even rock 'n' roll). In Romanian fairy tales, anonymous ballads, or poems inspired from folklore (such as *Călin*, by the major national poet Mihai Eminescu, or the anonymous ballad *Mioritsa*), weddings are of cosmic proportions, with the godparents representing the moon and the sun, sitting at the heads of the wedding table.

Domestic Unit. After marriage, it is common for the couple to live with the family of the bride. The maternal grandparents participate more in the management of the new household and in the education of the children than do the paternal grandparents. In urban areas, where there is a shortage of housing and usually both the husband and wife work, living with parents is more of a necessity than a matter of choice. Children are left in the care of their grandparents. The typical rural family has three or four children, whereas the urban family generally has one or two. The education of the children is left to the mother, although the authority of the father is usually undisputed. The other members of the family, particularly grandparents, and sometimes aunts and uncles or godparents, also have some role in raising the children, whether in matters of discipline or in sharing their wisdom and knowledge of folklore (such as tales, proverbs, superstitions, and songs) or in the actual teaching of a craft (such as sewing, weaving, or embroidery for girls or wood carving or sewing leather for boys).

Socialization. After marriage, the baptism of children is the most important event in the life of the family and is performed with much attention to the nuances of the religious ritual. The godparents are also crucial to this ceremony. They have to be a married couple, for it is considered bad luck for the child to have single godparents. Although most children are baptized in church, it is not unusual for the rite to take place at home. The godparents carry large candles, tied with blue ribbons for boys and pink ribbons for girls. The godparents have to repeat after the priest a special prayer of purification from any influence of Satan, and thus, through them, the child is also protected from such influence. The godparents establish a lifelong relationship with the children.

For higher education, the populace used to depend on the well-known universities in Jassy and Chernovitsy, outside the boundaries of present-day Moldova. It was not until 1935 that the university of Jassy opened two departments (theological and agricultural) in Kishinyov (Bessarabia). The first university of Soviet Moldavia was inaugurated in 1945, while Kishinyov still lay in ruins, in an old school building that had survived the war. Since that time, seven institutions of higher learning, including the medical, agricultural, and pedagogical institutes and the conservatory, have been opened in Kishinyov. Hundreds of doctors, teachers, agronomists, and other specialists graduate annually and take up positions in Moldovan towns and villages. By the 1970s illiteracy had been eliminated, and over 700,000 children were in eight-year schools, almost all of them finishing the course of study. The Moldovan Academy of Sciences, originally established in 1949, continues to promote research today.

Sociopolitical Organization

By 1993 the Republic of Moldova was one of the eighteen members of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and was governed nationally by a unicameral parliament, a president, and a prime minister. The sizable Gagauz minority and the largely Ukrainian Dniester Republic have aspirations of autonomy that have been curtailed. These and other ethnic conflicts (e.g., with Russians, Gypsies, and Jews) are part of a general awakening of national aspirations. In 1989, in major assertions of identity, Moldova adopted the Latin alphabet, many Romanian-language publications appeared, and the Moldovan Democratic Movement and Moldovan Popular Front were formed; the latter, with over 1 million members, won more than two-thirds of the parliamentary seats and the posts of president and prime minister. Thus began a new era under the Romanian tricolor flag (red for the blood shed by soldiers, yellow for the fields covered with ripe grain, blue for the sky in times of peace). On 6 June 1990 Romanians on both sides of the Prut River covered its waters with flowers, and as many as a million people crossed the bridge; amid scenes of joy commingled with mourning for lost loved ones, families were reunited after more than four decades of separation. This event came to be referred to as the "Bridge of Flowers." The ideological thrust of the numerically superior Romanian-speaking population today is toward eventual reunification with Romania but, faced with the choice between the political and economic disaster of Romania itself and political exploitation by Russia (or Ukraine), Moldova for the present seems to be pursuing a path of semi-independence. The degree to which new movements have replaced older power structures at the local and national levels is difficult to ascertain.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. The religion of Moldova is Eastern Orthodoxy. A wooden or glass icon representing Christ on the cross or the Virgin Mary and the child is present in almost every household, even when its members are not fervent practitioners. Children are raised in "the fear of God" and are taught how to cross themselves and say prayers at an early age.

Ceremonies. Christmas and Easter are the most important holidays and are celebrated even by those who rarely go to church during the year. These holidays were celebrated even under the Communist regime. The Christmas tree is adorned and the gifts are given on Christmas Eve, and usually there are two festive dinners, one that night and one on the 25th of December itself. The traditional Christmas meal in Moldova is called *cutea* and is made of boiled wheat grains, poppy seeds, sugar, vanilla, and lemon mixed in boiling water. Other traditional Christmas foods are *sarmale* (stuffed cabbage or grape leaves), roasted pig, and sausages.

It is customary to fast the week before Easter, or at least on Good Friday. The Saturday midnight service takes place inside and outside the church, and everybody present is supposed to hold a burning candle and protect it against wind or rain as a symbol of Christ's endurance and resurrection. In every household eggs are meticulously painted; in peasant families drawing on eggs often becomes a real art. Very large loaves of bread and poppy or cheese cakes are made for Easter, usually round in shape and called *pasca*.

Saints' days are celebrated and name days are as important as birthdays. Saint George, Saint Peter, Saint Mary, and Saint Nicholas are some of the most important saints in the religious calendar of the Moldovans. Saint Nicholas, the patron of children, is honored on 6 December, and children receive gifts that night as well as at Christmas.

Arts. One poem depicts the name "Bessarabia" as a church projected into history with four white steeples, the chimes of which have been stolen. Poets in the first part of the twentieth century, such as Todor Plop-Ulmanu, wrote verses about the beauty of the Romanian language and expressed a poetic conscience haunted by the drama of a split national identity. More recently, notable literature has been written by Emilven Bucov, Andrei Lupan, Ion Druta, and Leonida Lari. A resurgence of Romanian ethnic consciousness currently animates the arts. Numerous institutions carry the names of Romanian intellectuals such as "Ion Creangă" for a pedagogical institute, or "G. Muzicescu" for the Kishinyov Institute of Art. Since the 1970s, cultural institutions such as the Moldovan Drama Theater or the Moldovan Opera have hosted the staging by Romanian intellectuals of entirely Romanian productions such as *Ovidiu* (named after the Roman poet exiled to the Black Sea) and *Sînziana and Pepele* (two of the most popular folk heroes), or *Luceafirul* (the name of Eminescu's greatest poem).

Moldovan folk music, dance, and other art forms are also basically Romanian; most folkloristic groups have Romanian names such as "Taraf," and they play on typically Romanian instruments such as the cymbal, panpipe, bagpipe, and *cobza* (a kind of guitar). The most common dance at Moldovan parties is the Romanian Perinitsa. The decade of the 1980s was marked by ever-increasing struggles to assert a Romanian identity, through demands for a Latin alphabet and the official use of the Romanian language, together with appeals to the authorities to recognize and take measures against the gloom of environmental disaster. Moldovans continue the struggle to be heard as a Romanian nation and to reappropriate the "stolen chimes" for churches.

Death and Afterlife. The best way to describe the beliefs about death and the afterlife of the Moldovans is probably via the Romanian national ballad, *Mioritsa*. Of three shepherds who are caring for their sheep somewhere in the edenic hills and valleys of the Romanian landscape, the Moldovan one is warned by his closest sheep of a conspiracy by the other two shepherds to kill him and rob him of his flocks. Rather than seeking ways to escape his fate, the Moldovan shepherd greets his imminent death as if it were a cosmic wedding. Death is his bride; the sun and the moon are the godparents; the entire universe, with its stars, trees, mountains, waters, and birds, participates in this grandiose celebration and journey. The funeral and burial rituals of the Moldovans reflect the belief that death is a passage into another stage of existence, sad but not hopeless, a form of marriage with nature and the elements. A dying person has to hold a burning candle. The dead are dressed in their best clothes; virgin girls who have never been married are buried in a white dress, the equivalent of a wedding gown. The corpse has to be watched during a three-day and three-night vigil. Since death is seen as a voyage, a silver coin is often placed on the chest or in the hand of the dead person, to pay the customs at the passage through the other world. For the same reason, food, clothes, and earthen pots and jars are given to people at the funeral, thus symbolically providing for the long voyage ahead.

The traditional food prepared for funerals is called *coliva* and is made of cooked wheat, sugar, and lemon peel. Nine days, forty days, and six months after the death and then once a year, there are memorial services for the dead; the family prepares coliva, as well as other foods to be given in memory of the dead. Red wine is drunk by the people present and is poured over the grave by the priest performing the service, in the form of a cross; if the service is performed in a church rather than at the grave, the wine is poured on the coliva. In general, graves are carefully tended, flowers and bushes are planted on top of them, and candles are lit with each visit.

The living keep a constant relationship with the dead, often talk to them in their prayers, and ask them for advice and help in trying times as if, once dead, that person has acquired some sort of divine power. Dreams are often interpreted as signs from the dead. Dreaming of the dead is usually considered a good sign, whereas dreaming of small babies is feared as a sign of misfortune and danger.

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DIMITRIUS DVOICHENKO-MARKOV AND DOMNICA RĂDULESCU, ASSISTED BY STELLA VINITSCHI AND GHEORGHE RĂDULESCU

Mountain Jews

ETHNONYMS: Self-designations: G'ivri, Isroil', Zhch'uch'ur; Dagchifut

Orientation

Identification. The Mountain Jews are a distinct Jewish subgroup (in the context of world Judaism) and one of the oldest ethnic groups in Caucasia and Daghestan. Following their migration, the "Eastern Diaspora," they have lived and their culture has evolved for centuries in a multinational environment also inhabited by Persians (Tats), Armenians, Turks of the eastern Caucasus, and, especially, the mountain peoples of Daghestan—hence the name "Mountain Jews" (Dagchifut).

A group of Mountain Jews, rejecting the term "Jewish" in order to conceal their real ethnic idenity in the context of Zionism and revivals of anti-Semiticism in the twentieth century, recast their history for a number of years, using the label "Tat" and presenting themselves as Tats, Iranians, or "Judaists." This led to an artificial Tatization of the Mountain Jews, although it is now well known that they are all members of one ethnic group.

Location. The great majority of Mountain Jews live in Daghestan, in the cities of Derbent, Makhachkala, Buinaksk, and Khasavyurt. Not long ago, many lived in a series of villages in southern and northern Daghestan—Majalis, Nyugdi, Mamrach, Tarki, Endreyaul, Kostek, etc.—and isolated remnants of the groups remain there. In Azerbaijan they live in Baku, Kuta, and Vartashen; in the northern Caucasus, in Grozny, Nal'chik, and Pyatigorsk. A small number of Mountain Jews have settled in Moscow, Leningrad, and other Russian cities.

Demography. Mountain Jews number about 50,000. A significant percentage of these, according to the census of 1989, listed themselves for practical purposes as Tats. The word "Tat," of Turkish origin, was originally not an ethnic but a social-class designation. The Turkish conquerors of the Middle Ages used it to designate the Persian-speaking peasants whom they had subdued and who paid them tribute. It was used primarily as the name for the Old Iranian colonists—the sun worshipers of the eastern Caucasus who became Muslims. These people are now largely assimilated and are often referred to as "Azerbaijani," even though the older generations retain their tribal Persian speech and traditional customs.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Tat dialects (including that of the Mountain Jews) differ so much from each other that the speakers cannot communicate freely. The Mountain Jewish dialect is known as Jewish Tat. This dialect, which acquired the status of an independent language in Soviet times, was the basis for literacy and a literature in the past.

Before World War II, the majority of Mountain Jews lived in cities and spoke Russian. For this and other reasons (including the Soviet policy restricting the use of ethnic languages), the Mountain Jews stopped using the Tat language for school instruction and instead used only Russian. Over time, this led to a decreasing interest in the earlier Tat literature and language and the folk theater. The death of the leading writers and the absence of a new generation to replace them also led to a decline in the traditional culture. The Mountain Jewish newspaper *Zakhmetkesh* (The Toiler) ceased publication and the formerly popular Tat theater was transformed into a state-farm/ collective-farm amateur theatrical group. The half-century of study in Russian led to the point where the younger generations of Mountain Jews no longer knew their native language. It is now known well primarily by the older generation. In 1974 a daily fifteen-minute radio broadcast was begun in the Tat language of the Mountain Jews, transmitting music, folklore, readings from Tat authors, performances from Tat theater, and the latest news. Since 1960 a yearly literary almanac, *Vatan Sovetimu* (Our Soviet Homeland), has been published. Even limited quantities of books, however, cannot be published because of the absence of a sufficiently large readership in the Tat language. The introduction of primary-school education and current measures to develop national languages hold the promise of a new stage in the history of the culture of the Mountain Jews.

History and Cultural Relations

The Mountain Jews have preserved almost no written records of their arrival and settlement in the Caucasus and Daghestan. But from generation to generation they have passed on the tale of their descent from the Israelite captives of the Assyrian-Babylonian conquest of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., known as the "Eastern Captivity." The original places of their settlement are designated as Babil (Babylonia) and Madae-Peres (ancient Media and Iran up to the eastern Caucasus and southern Daghestan). Many formerly Jewish settlements in this region date to ancient times, including those at Kuba (G'ulgatte), Myushkyur, Nyutyug, Orog, Garchok, Khameydi, and Nyugdi. The Jewish presence is indicated by remains of wells, cemeteries with Jewish gravestones, and, in many

mountain villages, epigraphic inscriptions, fragments of Jewish sacred books, prayer books, talismans (*mazuze*), and other evidence.

The influx of Jews from Iran and the eastern Caucasus into Daghestan took place throughout the entire period of the Achaemenid dynasty (seventh to fourth centuries B.C.) and Sasanid Persia (third century B.C. to the sixth century A.D.). The migration of the Jewish population from the southern pre-Caspian area north into the mountains of Daghestan became particularly heavy during the time of Arab and Turk conquests of the eastern Caucasus and the spread of Islam. Religious and political persecution were the basic reasons for the migration of the Mountain Jews from the Transcaucasus into Daghestan and Khazaria, where they found religious tolerance and propitious conditions. A literate, monotheistic people, well versed in Eastern agricultural skills, trade, and crafts, who existed as a distinct community and actively supported the mountain peoples and the Khazars in their wars with the Persian (and later Arab) conquerors, the Mountain Jews were active in the economic and cultural development of the region. Their aristocracy influenced internal and external trade and their rabbis influenced the spiritual life of the pagan mountaineers and the Khazars. Judaism evidently became the state religion in the first half of the eighth century, the formative period of feudalism in Daghestan and the northern Caucasus. There is a legend that has entered the scholarly literature regarding disputations about faith that allegedly took place between the Khazar khans and merchant-missionaries who had entered the country from Persia and Byzantium for the purposes of trade.

The choice of Judaism as the state religion in pagan Khazaria can be explained by the presence in the country of a large local Khazar-Jewish population, of Jewish proselytes among the mountaineers and the Khazars, and by the desire of the Khazar khans themselves to show, by their acceptance of Judaism, that they were politically independent of hostile neighboring states, of the Muslim Arab caliphate, and of Christian Byzantium. Another important factor in the acceptance of Judaism by the Khazar khans was the influence of the Jewish aristocracy: merchants, magnates, and rabbis serving at the courts of the Khazar khans as businessmen and advisers. The acceptance of Judaism by the Khazars led to an inevitable mixture, primarily of the Mountain Jewish aristocracy with the khans who were of the same faith, which in turn contributed to the emergence of a Jewish-Khazar kinship entity. It is therefore not surprising that the rulers of the new dynasty of the Khazar khans, after the reign of the Turk Bulan (who accepted Judaism and underwent the ritual of circumcision), were known under the names Avnil, Izro, Manashir, Obadiya, and Iosif. These names have been preserved unaltered among those Mountain Jews who consider themselves to be Jewish Khazars. There is a tendency in the scholarly literature to evaluate the Khazar state as an ephemeral formation. If that had been the case, the Khazar Khanate would not have been able to defend a wide territory in southern Russia against the incursions of powerful military-feudal states such as the Arab caliphate and Byzantium. Many Muslim Arab and Jewish Khazar historians and geographers—and medieval chroniclers (Persians, Armenians, Azerbaijanis, Georgians, and Daghestanis)—testify to the significance of the Khazar Khanate in the regional events of the time, to its widespread trade with the countries of the East and with Russia, and to the role of Judaism in its life.

After the fall of the Khazar Khanate to the Arabs from the south and the Russians from the north toward the end of the tenth century, some Khazars migrated to the Volga and the Crimea, and many Khazar Jews withdrew into the depths of mountainous Daghestan; those who remained in their old haunts found themselves in an oppressive feudal dependency on the Arab rulers of the Caucasus and their local agents. They were forced to bring tribute and other payments, and, to preserve their Jewish faith, to pay a special tax (*j'dzh*); many of them, particularly the converts from among the mountaineers and the Khazars, turned to Islam. The long struggle of the peoples of the Caucasus, the mountaineers and the Khazars, led to the disintegration of the Arab caliphate and the defeat of their agents. They were replaced by new conquerors (the Seljuk Turks, the Persian shahs, and Turkish sultans) and a series of Azerbaijani and Daghestani khanates and overlords. In conditions of feudal disintegration, the Mountain Jews found themselves under the control of local rulers with the legal status of dependent peasants. With the unification of Azerbaijan and Daghestan with Russia in 1813, the Mountain Jews accepted Russian citizenship, the status of "Jew" was imposed on them, and they began to be called into military service. The development of capitalism in Russia and the drawing of the Caucasus and Daghestan into the mainstream of trade and financial relations contributed to the intensive stratification of Mountain Jewish society. The majority, not having their own land, became laborers in the food-processing industries, the vineyards, the wine and liquor factories, and the fishing industries that developed in the region. From among the businessmen and entrepreneurs of the Mountain Jews there emerged merchants and a bourgeoisie.

The social oppression of czarism, to which were added the pogroms (especially in 1905–1907), weighed heavily on the Mountain Jews, and they found themselves particularly impoverished during the years of the civil war and the military intervention in the Caucasus. The White Guard bands of Bicherakov and Denikin, invaded the area in 1918–1920 and were responsible for pogroms and the destruction and looting of a series of Mountain Jewish villages in southern Daghestan: Mamrach, Orog, Garchok, Nyugdi, and others. Consequently, many Mountain Jewish families emigrated to Palestine, then under British mandate. In the period of the October Revolution and the years of the military intervention in the Caucasus, working-class Mountain Jews took an active part in the victory of the Soviets. With the establishment of Soviet power, and in accordance with Leninist nationalities policy, especially regarding the nationalities of the Caucasus and Daghestan, measures were undertaken to revitalize Mountain Jewish culture. Mountain Jewish refugees who had come down from the mountains received economic assistance; new villages were constructed; and new workmen's cooperatives, collective farms, and national (i.e., Mountain Jewish) village councils were created. To achieve these objectives, a special set of measures for economic and cultural transformation was developed. Within this context,

subgroups were designated as working class, collective farmers, and intelligentsia. These transformations were attained in the 1920s and 1930s. The plan also considered the interests of the small number of European Jews (Ashkenazim) living among them. At the same time, efforts were made to control anti-Semitism.

Political and economic change was accompanied by cultural developments. A writing system, a literature, a newspaper, theater, and schools were created in the Jewish Tat language. This Tat-language literacy of the Mountain Jews replaced the Old Hebrew literacy of the past, which had existed until the shift to a Latin alphabet, and then to the Cyrillic alphabet in 1938. By World War II, the Mountain Jews had made important socioeconomic and cultural advances. The works of poets and writers including Yuno Semenov, Manuvakh Dadashev, Mishi Bakhshiev, Daniil Atnilov, and Sergei Izgiyaev described the difficult times of the past, the recent changes for the better, and changes in the Mountain Jewish identity after they became a Soviet people. Another representative of the older generation of writers was Khizgi Avshalumov, who refers to the language of his writings not as Mountain Jewish but as Tat, and presents himself and the Mountain Jews as the descendants of Tats (Iranian) and Judaics (Yudaists). This ethnic camouflage was designed to conceal the fact that they were Jews.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. Most Mountain Jews were occupied, until the Revolution, with agriculture, particularly viticulture. Many were hereditary vintners. They also raised madder (organic dyestuff), tobacco, and rice. They sowed high-quality wheat in small quantities and raised sheep. The Mountain Jews did not engage in gardening in particular, but every vineyard was also planted with mulberry, fig, pomegranate, almond, apricot, and other fruit trees. Villagers kept livestock and raised large numbers of chickens. The Mountain Jews were renowned throughout the Caucasus for arts such as dyeing and tanning. Many were specialists in the processing of rawhide and the production of morocco leather. The more experienced Mountain Jewish women of Derbent and Kuba worked in wool and wove rugs. Small trade was well developed, carried out primarily by mendicant peddlers; there was also a widespread trade in manufactured goods, and Mountain Jewish merchants bought and retailed Persian and Caucasian carpets.

The economy and material culture of the Mountain Jews (dwelling, clothing, food) now differs little from that of the people among whom they live.

Clothing. Because of their urban life-style, the ethnic clothing of Mountain Jews has been particularly standardized: most wear contemporary clothing, footwear, and headgear. Only some elderly women still wear the head fillets covering the hair, various muslin and silk kerchiefs, and, instead of a coat, warm Caucasian shawls. Young women and adolescent girls wear various ornaments: gold earrings, rings, pendants, and, frequently, medallions with an engraved star of David. Men are accustomed to wearing fur caps and Caucasian boots along with their contemporary clothing.

Food. In contrast to the standardized clothing, the traditional ethnic foods have been retained. Of the common Caucasian dishes, the Mountain Jews prepare different kinds of *khinkal* (stuffed cabbage leaves), pilaf, shashlik, and the like. On the Sabbath, and particularly on holidays, the women of the house prepare ethnic dishes: roast beef, gefilte fish, pilaf with chicken, sauce from edible greens with grilled or fried pieces of fish, dishes with tomato stuffing, eggplant with peppers, etc. Before and after eating, Mountain Jews drink tea. In many houses there are special stoves for baking bread. At ceremonies and on holidays they serve wine, usually of their own making. In the homes of believers, Jewish food prohibitions and restrictions are observed. During Passover every family eats matzo (*gogol*).

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Until relatively recently the wedding was celebrated separately at the homes of the groom and the bride. For the betrothal before the wedding ceremony, the bride is brought clothing, ornaments, and a ritual pastry (*likakh*). Two days before the arrival of the groomsmen to fetch the bride, her friends would sing her songs of farewell from her family hearth. When the groomsmen arrived, the bride's friends would demand a bride-price before leading her out. The groomsmen would bear lighted candles, burning lamps, and even torches while accompanying her to the groom's house with music, songs, and dance. En route, from behind the finely dressed bride covered with a silk kerchief, they would throw candies and rice over her head—wishes for her good fortune and fruitfulness. Marriages between consanguines were possible, especially between cousins. As in the past, there are still some leviratic and sororatic marriages and the ritual of divorce known as *khalitse*. Today, the wedding is held jointly but is preceded by traditional customs such as courtship with a matchmaker, betrothal, collection of the bride-price (in the guise of gifts), and the negotiation of a marriage agreement (*ketubo*). The wedding itself is heavily attended, since not only all relatives but neighbors, friends from work, and ritual friends are invited. Every guest brings a gift—today usually an envelope with money, which is handed over to a special collector. The amount and the name of the donor are entered on a list so that in good times the debt can be repaid at the ceremonies of the donor family. The close relatives of the groom and bride provide material and practical assistance in the organization and consummation of the wedding.

Weddings are sumptuous, with tables of ethnic dishes and various drinks and appetizers. The wedding is celebrated with music, dance and songs, and innumerable toasts. The festivities are led by a designated toastmaster, the *tamada*. At the height of the wedding a dance is played especially for the bride. Surrounded by relatives and close friends, she dances with many of the guests, and the dancers give her money (placing it in her hand). Toward the end of the wedding sweets and tea are served.

Domestic Unit. The traditional family structure and way of life have remained relatively unchanged. Mountain Jewish families, as is usual in the Caucasus, have many children. It is not uncommon, even today, to find families

consisting of two or three generations. It is the rule for older married sons to move out, whereas the youngest, as in the past, continues to live with the parents and becomes the head of the family, although formally the eldest male (the grandfather) continues to be regarded as the head. The grandmother (*babushka*) or mother runs the household economy. The fraternal householders who have detached themselves preserve close ties among themselves in all aspects of life.

The Mountain Jews maintain the custom of hospitality from generation to generation. In many houses there is a special room in which one can receive ritual friends (*kunaks*). (This custom also occurs among Tabasarans, Lezgins, Dargins, Kumyks, Avars, and others.) Guests are treated with exceptional attention and concern, and ritual friends respond in kind in their homes. Kunaks provide each other mutual assistance and support, participating in weddings, funerals, and so forth.

Socialization. The birth of the first boy is marked by hospitality and the distribution of gifts. On the seventh day after birth he is circumcized. Earlier, a rabbi performed the ritual; today, as a rule, it is done by a physician. Children, for the most part, are named after deceased relatives, which explains the preservation of traditional Jewish names such as Avroom, Mishi (Moses), Isak, Yagu, Manashir, Avadya, Lie, Saro, Livgo, Istir, and so forth, which are passed down within one kinship line from generation to generation.

In the past, most Mountain Jews were illiterate and religious. Before the opening of Russian-Jewish schools at the beginning of the twentieth century, children (mainly boys) received their primary religious education in Hebrew schools, paying the rabbi. Only the most talented among them were sent to the Jewish schools (*yeshebot*) in Russian cities and towns and to European Jewish theologians to complete their religious education and attain the title of rabbi. Only some children from wealthy Mountain Jewish families could enter the secular educational institutions of Russia.

Sociopolitical Organization

To keep the working mass of Mountain Jews obedient, the bourgeoisie and merchants were active in philanthropy—they built synagogues and opened Jewish religious schools. Their rabbis emerged not only as guardians of the faith but as judges who strictly controlled everyday life in the quarters (or ghettos, *magaly*) in which the Mountain Jews lived, isolated from the surrounding population.

Religion

Religious Beliefs. The traditional religion of the Mountain Jews is Judaism. In the cycle of wedding, birth, and funeral rituals are a number of pre-Judaic and premonotheistic concepts, including belief in the purifying strength of fire, water, amulets, and talismans against evil spirits (water nymphs, devils, etc.). Some believing families have preserved the Judaic talisman called mazuze. Oaths are rendered by the Torah and the Talmud, but also by the hearth.

The great majority of Mountain Jews today are nonbelievers, in part because of efforts in this direction by members of the community. The visible growth in the departure from the faith is also explained by the increasingly negative attitude in the former Soviet Union as a whole to the Jewish religion, partially in reaction to the creation of the state of Israel. Jewishness came to be regarded as damaging, and the more conservative elements in the community began to link the leading elements of the Mountain Jewish population with Zionists. All this damaged the Jewish ethnic identity (constitutionally the equal of other ethnic groups). This also explains why many Mountain Jews began not only to conceal their Jewish faith but to call themselves "Tat." Many of them, even believers, stopped attending the three synagogues in Daghestan (in Derbent, Makhachkala, and Buynaksk). They are now used by a small number of believers, primarily of the older generation, mainly on the evening of Sabbath and on major holidays. There are now practically no qualified rabbis. That role is taken by those who are more devout, who at some time studied in Hebrew schools (and can therefore more or less read the sacred books and prayers), and who are able to perform the rituals.

Ceremonies. Presently the faith is maintained through the performance of traditional rituals in the home. By the same token, religious holidays are observed more because of tradition than belief. Most important are Purim (Omunu among the Mountain Jews), Pesach (Passover, better known by the people under the name Nisonu, from the name of the month of spring, "Nisan"), Rosh Hashanah (New Year), and Yom Kippur (Day of Atonement). Even today on the eve of the latter holiday, believing families sacrifice a bird and a chicken for each person. Hanukkah (Khanukoi) is the major winter holiday. More religious Mountain Jews observe the fasts and prohibitions of different holidays and give alms (*sadagho*).

Arts. The long coexistence of the Mountain Jews with the peoples of the Caucasus and Daghestan has led to many of them mastering the languages of their neighbors—Azerbaijani, Lezgin, Dargin, Kumyk, Chechen, Kabardian, etc.—and the music, songs, and dances of these peoples. This explains why the majority of Mountain Jews, depending on their historical place of settlement, prefer either Azerbaijani-Persian music or that of Daghestan–northern Caucasia. They have not only adopted Azerbaijani, Lezgin, Kumyk, and Chechen songs and music, but they have reworked them in accord with their own traditions. That is why so many Mountain Jewish singers and musicians have become professional masters of the arts, not only in Caucasia and Daghestan, but in the whole country; for example, the organizer and artistic director of the world-famous Daghestan national song and dance ensemble (called "Lezginko"), Tanko Izrailov, Folk Artist of the USSR, and his successor, Iosif Mataev, Folk Artist of the Daghestan ASSR, are Mountain Jews, or, as they are now called, Tats.

From the Mountain Jewish community come many well-known scholars and leaders in public health, education, culture, and art. Unfortunately, the names of some individuals known in Russia and even internationally cannot be cited here because, for the most part, they are officialy identified as Tats, Azerbaijanis, Daghestanis, and

even Russians. Today, measures are being taken to foster the cultural life of minorities. In Daghestan and Kabardia the teaching of Tat has been introduced in some schools. Courses are being organized for those desiring to study Hebrew. In Daghestan steps are being taken toward the rebirth of the Tat theater and the publication of newspapers.

Death and Afterlife. Many traditional funeral and memorial customs are still practiced, most of which follow Orthodox Jewish tradition. The deceased is buried on the day of death, in a Jewish cemetery. Not only all relatives, near and far, but also the entire local community of Mountain Jews, led by its clergy, take part in the funerals. Mourning (*yos*) takes place for seven days in the house of the deceased, with women, including professional female mourners, playing the main role. After seven days the first memorial service is organized, which marks the end of the mourning period for all except close relatives. After forty days the second memorial service is held, and the third and last on the first anniversary of the death. Depending on the circumstances of the family, a monument is set up, not infrequently a costly one with a portrait and a Hebrew inscription. Today these are inscribed in Russian. Engraved on the majority of monuments is a six-pointed star of David. These days religious communities have shortened the mourning and memorial periods. In religious families the son and the brothers read a kaddish (memorial prayer) for the deceased. In the absence of these relatives, the function is carried out by the rabbis, for which they are paid, and donations are made to the synagogue.

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M. M. IKHILOV

(Translated by Paul Friedrich and David Testen)

Nanai

ETHNONYM: Nanay

Orientation

Identification. The Nanai reside in the Russian Far East, mainly in the Khabarovsk District, along the lower Amur River. The autonym, "Nanai," means "local, indigenous person." In the scholarly literature, "Nanai" came into use in the 1930s. Before the 1917 Revolution, their name was "Gol'd," which was used by the neighboring Ul'chi to refer to the entire Nanai population, whereas the Nanai along the lower reaches of the Amur and the Negidal' used it to refer to the Nanai along the upper reaches of the Amur, the present-day inhabitants of the Nanai and Khabarovsk districts. In the seventeenth century, Russian pioneers used local names for Nanai subgroups—"Achan," "Natki," "Gold."

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the upriver Nanai groups (those upstream from the present-day Nanai District) called themselves "Kheden" and "Nanai." The downriver groups called themselves "Nani." Other names were based on location and the names of settlements and clans. The Nanai lived in dispersed settlements and had no collective autonym, no unified culture, and no economic unity. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the Nanai were fishers and hunters, and their culture during this period is well described in the ethnographic literature.

Location. Nanai settlements are located along a 700-kilometer stretch of the lower Amur River and along its tributaries and nearby lakes. A small group of about 400 lives in the Maritime region, along the Ussuri River, and about 170 Nanai lived on Sakhalin in 1989. The environment of the lower Amur is quite rich. There are over 100 species of fish in the rivers, with the *Salmonidae* the most important. Each year salmon runs last for almost three months. In the past, the problem for fishers was not too few fish, but how to preserve the large quantity taken. Fish skin was used for clothing, footwear, and other everyday items. In early times, moose, deer, wild boars, and a variety of furbearing animals were hunted.

Demography. Over 88 percent of the total Nanai population of 12,023 (1989) lived in Russia. In 1979 they numbered 10,005. A small group of about 1,000 lives in China.

Linguistic Affiliation. Soviet linguists have expressed various views regarding the Nanai language. Some have classified it within the Manchu Subgroup of the Tungus-Manchu languages, whereas others place it in the "Amur Subgroup" of Tungus. Although Nanai dialectology is not

completely studied, some experts classify Nanai dialects as speech varieties and others classify them as subdialects. For example, the speech of the Nanai of the Gorin River is considered a dialect by some experts and a subdialect by others.

Recent research suggets the presence in modern Nanai of features of a Pre-Tungusic language called Palaeoasiatic. Features from Turkic, Mongolian, Tungus, and Manchu languages are also found in modern Nanai; of these, the Tungusic language had the greatest influence on the Nanai language.

History and Cultural Relations

The Nanai have been a distinct culture for thousands of years. Traditional Nanai culture can be traced to the Neolithic period and to the influence of local tribes and migrant groups who entered the region over a long period, moving in from the south and west and later from the north. Tungusic influence on Nanai culture is especially marked and is second in importance only to that of the early aboriginal cultures. Later influences from Mongolian and Turkic cultural traditions are also evident but are of secondary importance. The earliest influences are most evident in Nanai fishing practices; many ancient words associated with fishing are still used. Continuation of past customs is also found in clothing preferences, especially the specialized fishing clothing made from fish skin. As with clothing, most aspects of Nanai culture show traces of complex historical development. These influences from other cultures can be found in building style, religious beliefs and practices, and kinship organization.

The Nanai always allowed the Manchu and the Nanai who resided in Manchu territory to resettle in Nanai territory. Wars with the Mongols in the thirteenth century and wars of unification in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries drove these peoples to the territory of the Amur Nanai, who allowed them to settle along the river bank and on islands; eventually intermarriage and marriage alliances took place.

Between 1858 and 1860 the Nanai were officially incorporated into Russia. By 1870 missionaries were active in the region, baptizing Nanai and opening mission schools. Russians established settlements nearby and greatly influenced Nanai culture. By the beginning of the twentieth century Russian influence was evident in the form of log dwellings, large seines, metal traps, and firearms. Vegetable gardening was also introduced by the Russians. The Russian administration encouraged Nanai participation in self-governance; there were Nanai elders in each settlement, and the Nanai participated in district administration and the courts. At the same time, the Nanai maintained some of their traditional culture into the 1920s, including the interclan courts, the territorial-neighborhood communities, and exogamous marriage rules.

The Soviet presence diminished the role of traditional practices and drew the Nanai into the Soviet nation. Beginning in the 1920s, young people began to travel to Khabarovsk and Leningrad for advanced education, and by the 1940s many young Nanai were employed as teachers and paramedics. Following World War II, a medical school was opened in Khabarovsk, and the Nanai studied there as well as in Leningrad, Novosibirsk, and Vladivostok. Today, about 25 percent of the Nanai live and work in cities in the Russian Far East.

In the 1930s a writing system was created for the Nanai language, and a considerable literature was produced. Writers and poets such as G. Khodzher, A. S. Passar, A. Smar, and others achieved international reputations. Nanai politicians became active in national politics in the 1950s. Nanai scholars are now found in Vladivostok, St. Petersburg, Khabarovsk, and Moscow.

Today, the Nanai face many problems related to local ecology and the near-disappearance of the Nanai language. For some time the Nanai have constituted only about 10 percent of the regional population, which has contributed to the disappearance of the language among those in the 20- to 30-year-old age group. For several years, efforts to revive the language have focused on language classes taught in the local schools.

Although some old traditions—especially as regards material culture—survive, the Nanai are today a modern people with a relatively high educational level. On the collective farms, fishers are mostly the elderly. In villages and cities the Nanai work in a range of occupations and are often highly trained and skilled. Women work mostly in service occupations, especially as teachers and in health care.

Settlements

Each traditional Nanai settlement was a territorial unit, composed of several families from different clans. Most settlements had two to five dwellings, with larger ones having from ten to fifteen.

Many structures used by the Nanai into the nineteenth century had features that can be traced to the origin of Nanai cultural development. These include semispherical huts (*khomira, khomara*), peak-roofed and pyramid-shaped hunting shelters (*ventekhe*), and fish racks (*diamko, degbimu*). When the housing style changed to one with heated sleeping benches, traditional terms continued to be used to refer to the new features. The Nanai also used conical huts of the Tungus type.

Economy

The family was the basic socioeconomic unit and owned all the basic tools and implements, buildings, means of transport, and sled dogs. Hunting territories were not owned by individuals, the family, the clan, nor the community. Hunting and fishing were carried out freely, wherever one wanted. There were traditional rules, however, that regulated the use of hunting territory (especially in the lower Amur region) and prevented disputes. The absence of laws and disputes governing land use was a result of the small number of Nanai using a very large territory, although it was also explained by some writers as a product of the "communistic" outlook of the Nanai.

Economic differentiation developed early among the Nanai owing to the fur trade with the Manchus and Chinese. From the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries there were trade fairs on the Sungari River, which were popular with the indigenous peoples of the region. Nanai traders served as middlemen.

Kinship and Sociopolitical Organization

The diverse origins of the Nanai are reflected in their clan composition. In the nineteenth century, there were nineteen clans ranging in size from 40 to 60 persons up to 900. Since 1897 this Nanai clan structure has remained stable. All clans on the Amur are classified into two larger groupings—"downriver" (below Lake Bolon), consisting of the Samar, Gaer, Tumasli, most of the Kile, and Khodzher, and "upriver," consisting of the Perminkan, Donkan, most of the Bel'da, and others.

Each clan consisted of several branches of different origins, and in the larger clans, such as the Bel'da and Khodzher, the subclans numbered several dozen. Members of each clan were dispersed across a number of settlements (even members of the smallest clans lived in two or three villages), often at great distances from one another. Marriage was clan exogamous, making marriage alliances an important feature of Nanai cultural cohesion and cooperation. Clans with few members, those whose populations were reduced by epidemics, and migrant groups all sought unions with other clans that would benefit them. The fusion of several Nanai clans can be traced through both documentary information and legends.

Every Nanai clan was, in its origin, a complex union, the result of resettlement, fusion, enlargement, fission, and ties to other ethnic groups. Thus the development of each clan to the modern form was an extraordinarily complex process. The clans of the nineteenth century were also affected by more recent events, including the decline of some clans, the fragmentation of others, and the fusion of others. The largest clans were the Bel'da, Khodzher, Samar, and Kile. The fragments of disappearing clans were often eager to fuse with the Bel'da clan.

Small clans such as the Odzial, Saigor, Gaer, and others formed a distinctive type of alliance, the *dokha,* for mutual assistance. These clans were also exogamous, although a person in great need of a spouse for support, such as a widow, would sometimes be allowed to marry a man from another clan within the same dokha.

Alliances of various types were a vital component of Nanai culture and provided mutual assistance on a regular basis as well as an accompanying sense of security for individual Nanai. Mutual assistance was obligatory for all Nanai as well as outsiders; the Nanai, like their neighbors, often aided others from different ethnic groups.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Nanai religious beliefs are similar in many ways to those of other Siberian peoples, including strong beliefs in the sky and earth and animism. In the east, and especially among the Nanai of the Amur region, religious beliefs and practices have some more distinctive elements, including a belief in the soul, an interest in twins, and the shaman's role as the protector of children and adolescents.

See also Hezhen in Part Two, China

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Nenets

ETHNONYMS: Yurak, Yurak-Samoyeds

Orientation

Identification. The Nenets are the largest of the groups generally referred to as the "Samoyeds." The Samoyeds also comprise three other linguistically related ethnic entities: the Enets, the Nganasan, and the Selkup. Two more Samoyed peoples, the Mator and the Kamas, survived until modern times (the nineteenth and twentieth centuries) but are now extinct. The Samoyed peoples may be divided into three groups according to their ecological environments: the Tundra Samoyeds, the Taiga or Forest Samoyeds, and the Mountain Samoyeds. Culturally, the most archaic group of the Tundra Samoyeds is the Nganasan, whereas the Selkup are the most typical Forest Samoyed group. In this division, the Nenets and the Enets show a dual cultural affiliation in that they are comprised of both tundra- and taiga-dwelling groups; these groups are referred to as the "Tundra Nenets," the "Forest Nenets," the "Tundra Enets," and the "Forest Enets." The Mountain Samoyeds used to comprise the Mator and the Kamas. Although linguistically extinct, the latter still survive to some extent in the modern Khakas and Tuvan ethnic groups. An especially remarkable remnant of the Mountain Samoyeds is formed by the culturally unique northeastern groups of the Tuvans, the Tofalar.

The modern international name of the Nenets derives, through Russian, from the Nenets noun *nyenecyaq* (singular, *nyenecyq*), "human beings," used as an ethnonym by western groups of the Tundra Nenets. An etymological cognate of this item in the form *nyeesyaaq* (singular, *nyeesyang*) is used ethnonymically by the Forest Nenets, and further etymological cognates underlie the modern appellations of the Enets and the Nganasan. Eastern groups

of the Tundra Nenets traditionally call themselves Khásawaq (singular, Khásawa), "men." In the past the Nenets were normally referred to as the "Yurak" or the "Yurak-Samoyeds," or even simply as "Samoyeds." The other Samoyed peoples have also been known by a variety of alternative ethnonyms, all of them covered by the general appellation "Samoyed." In modern ethnic taxonomy the term "Samoyed" is used to refer to the whole group of the six distinct Samoyed peoples, with no specific reference to any one of them.

Location. The Tundra Nenets territory extends from Kanin Peninsula at the White Sea in the west (approximately 45° E) to the western part of Taimyr Peninsula in the east (approximately 85° E), a distance of some 2,000 kilometers. Descendants of a small group of recent Tundra Nenets settlers also live on Kola Peninsula. In the north the Tundra Nenets territory follows the arctic coast, but extends to a number of islands in the Barents and Kara seas, including Kolguyev, the southern part of Novaia Zemlia (approximately 72° N, now abandoned because of nuclear tests in the late 1950s), and Vaigach. In the south the Tundra Nenets territory follows the northern tree line, but also covers the forest tundra zone, yielding an overall width varying between approximately 100 and 700 kilometers north to south. The Forest Nenets territory, on the other hand, is more compact and is completely located within the taiga zone, extending over the region between the northern tributaries to the middle course of the Ob River (approximately 70° E) in the west and the upper course of the Pur River (approximately 77° E) in the east, a distance of some 400 kilometers.

The territories of both the Tundra Nenets and the Forest Nenets (as well as those of the Enets and the Nganasan) are climatically well within the arctic zone. The landscape is covered by snow for most of the year, and the rivers flowing into the Arctic Ocean are free of ice only for a few months, starting in June or July. The mean temperature of the coldest month (January) varies between −15° C and −30° C; that of the warmest month (July) is around +10° C. The tree line is mainly formed by the larch on the Siberian side, whereas in the European Arctic the birch is the typical northernmost tree. The climatic conditions are reflected in the fact that the principal garment of all of the Tundra Samoyeds is the fur coat, *parka* in Nenets (the source of the English word "parka"). Clothing is often worn in two layers, consisting of an inner coat with the fur inside and an outer coat with the fur outside. The main material for the clothing comes from reindeer hides, but hides from other mammals, including the polar fox, various seals, the squirrel, and the domestic dog are also used occasionally. During the summer the climate allows lighter clothing made of imported textile material.

Demography. The Nenets are today numerically the largest and in many respects the most vigorous of the so-called small minorities of the Far North. Numbering more than 34,000 individuals (1989), they are also the largest Samoyed people, by far exceeding in number the Selkup (fewer than 3,600 individuals), the Nganasan (slightly more than 1,200 individuals), and the Enets (less than 200 individuals). The overwhelming proportion—probably more than 95 percent—of all Nenets belong to the Tundra Nenets subgroup, whereas the Forest Nenets remain of marginal demographic importance. Unlike the other Samoyed peoples, whose populations are today either stable or declining, the Nenets show a steady population growth (about 20 percent between 1970 and 1989). Although no exact statistical data are available, it may be presumed that the death rate among certain segments of the Nenets population, notably young males, is still exceptionally high, as it is among all the "small peoples of the Far North."

Linguistic Affiliation. The Forest Nenets are separated linguistically from the Tundra Nenets by a considerable dialectal difference, rendering the two idioms almost mutually unintelligible. The dialectal differences within Forest Nenets are also relatively great, whereas Tundra Nenets is remarkably uniform over the huge territory where it is spoken. This situation makes the native language sociolinguistically viable as the vernacular of the Tundra Nenets even in the future. Nevertheless, the native-language proficiency rate is slowly deteriorating among the Nenets (between 1970 and 1989 it fell from some 83 percent to some 79 percent, but the figure is probably higher if only the Tundra Nenets are considered). At the same time, knowledge of Russian as a second language is increasing rapidly. This, in turn, is beginning to have demographic consequences in that it furthers an increase in ethnically mixed marriages. There is also local bilingualism with other neighboring languages, notably Komi and Khanty. Bilingualism with Nenets is widespread among the remaining Enets population. Although Nenets and Enets are two distinct and mutually unintelligible languages, the Nenets seem to have been assimilating parts of the Enets population for a long time. Historical data indicate that an intermediate idiom, today technically termed "Yurats" (or Yurak), still existed in the eighteenth century and was ultimately assimilated by the Nenets.

History and Cultural Relations

From archaeological and folkloric evidence it is known that the territory now inhabited by the Nenets had human populations long before the spread of any Samoyed language to the north. In all likelihood, traces of these populations still survive in the composition of the modern Nenets, although the original pre-Nenets languages have become extinct. This means that the modern Nenets may be assumed to have two basic ethnogenetic components: a northern component, continuing the earlier local arctic populations, and a southern component, connected with the introduction of the Samoyed language to the north. A similar dualism may be assumed to characterize the ethnogenesis of the Enets and the Nganasan. It has been assumed that Nenets society may still show traces of an earlier division into two exogamic phratries, corresponding to the southern and northern ethnogenetic components. Although not proven in detail, this assumption is supported to some extent by the information that an analogous phratrial division is characteristic of the aboriginal peoples living immediately to the south of the Nenets, notably the Mansi and Khanty, and also of the Selkup.

Together with the other Samoyed peoples, the Nenets belong linguistically to the easternmost or Samoyed Branch of the Uralic Language Family. The core territory

of the Proto-Uralic speech community was presumably located in the region of the southern Urals, from where the Samoyed branch separated by diffusion toward the east. The Proto-Samoyed speech community seems to have centered on the region between the middle courses of the Ob and Yenisei rivers in western Siberia, where it underwent further diffusion after the so-called Hunnic period in Central Eurasian history (beginning approximately 200 B.C.). As a result, the linguistic ancestors of the Mountain Samoyeds moved toward the Sayan region in the southeast, whereas the linguistic ancestors of the modern Tundra Samoyeds moved in a northern direction along the Yenisei Basin. The first group to separate from the Proto-Samoyed speech community seems to have been formed by the linguistic ancestors of the Nganasan, whereas the Nenets and Enets together constitute a second wave of linguistic expansion toward the north. The Nenets were first concentrated in the region around the lower course and the mouth of the Ob River, from where the language was carried further along the arctic tundra zone.

Settlements

Although the permanent settlements within the Nenets territory are the result of the recent involvement of alien (mainly Russian) immigrants and administrators, a considerable proportion of contemporary Nenets live, for at least part of the year, in these very settlements. Housed in Russian-style log buildings and even buildings with modern elements, these settled Nenets, most engaged in industrial and intellectual professions, are apt to interact intensively with the dominant Russian society in all aspects of life. A very regrettable practice is connected with the so-called internate system, involving the concentration of Nenets and other aboriginal schoolchildren of various nationalities in large education complexes located in the settlements. The working language of these education complexes is Russian, which hinders the development of native-language skills. At the same time, the children are also being deprived of the possibility of becoming fully familiar with the cultural and economic patterns of their traditional culture.

The traditional type of dwelling of the Nenets is the conical tent, the use of which is also necessitated by the nomadic mode of life connected with reindeer breeding. The Nenets tent consists of a framework built from twenty-five to sixty poles, which are carried along in a sledge during migrations on the treeless tundra. The tent covering consists of reindeer hides that are sewn together and, in summer, also of specially prepared pieces of birch bark. The interior is planned to house the whole household, up to several families, but if several households migrate together a corresponding number of tents are erected close to each other to form a camp. A sheet of iron for the hearth is placed in the middle of the tent, and a movable plank floor is built on either side of it. The rest of the floor is covered with grass mats and hides. Cooking on the hearth is facilitated by a central vertical pole that is considered sacred. The places for sitting and sleeping are occupied with regard to an established social ranking, with the back part of the tent considered sacred. A recently introduced alternative to the traditional tent is the *balok*, a rectangular box (approximately 2 × 2 × 4 meters in size), built from a wooden frame, having a reindeer-hide covering, and standing on a sledge. The balok has gained some popularity among the easternmost Tundra Nenets (and even more among the Nganasan), but it has not been able to replace the tent as the basic dwelling used by most Nenets reindeer nomads.

Economy

Arctic hunter-gatherers and reindeer breeders, the Nenets traditionally rely upon three resources: game, fish, and reindeer. Hunting wild reindeer seems to have been of particular importance in the past (as it still is among the Nganasan), but it has been largely replaced by systematic reindeer breeding, small-scale among the Forest Nenets and large-scale among the Tundra Nenets. Today the reindeer herds within the Tundra Nenets territory amount to at least one-third of the total reindeer stock in the Russian North. Not all of the local reindeer, however, are controlled by the Nenets: since the last century part of the trade has been in the hands of immigrant Komi (so-called Izhma Komi) reindeer breeders. Since forced collectivization (in the 1930s), Nenets reindeer breeders have found themselves in an especially difficult position economically, for the officially permitted number of private household reindeer has not been sufficient for subsistence. This has speeded the process known as the "lumpenization" of the Nenets, as also observed among the other small minorities of the Far North. (The term "lumpenization" was originally used by Marxist theoreticians to refer to the deterioration of the economic and social position of the proletariat under capitalist conditions, but, ironically enough, it is currently often applied to describe the effects of Marxism itself upon the fate of Soviet minority peoples, notably the small minorities of the Far North.) For the average Tundra Nenets there have traditionally been few choices of alternative occupation. Along the arctic seacoast, however, sea-mammal hunting has some economic significance to the local Nenets.

Intensive reindeer breeding among the Nenets has only become possible through the simultaneous development of an effective system of transport. Although dugout canoes in summer and skis in winter have been sufficient for short individual trips, the constant long-distance movements required by the seasonal cycle of the wandering reindeer have led to the perfection of the so-called Samoyed sledge, used both in winter on the snow and in summer on the bare ground. The sledge is normally drawn by one to seven reindeer, although dogs are also occasionally harnessed by the westernmost Tundra Nenets. The Samoyed sledge is characterized by a very elegant general construction, with flexible joints, very long and narrow runners, and high backward-leaning stakes. For specialized purposes, a number of sophisticated variant types are used, such as the women's sledge and the household sledge. During collective migrations, several sledges are tied together to form a caravan.

Kinship, Marriage, and Family

Kin Groups and Descent. Below the level of the two rudimentary and somewhat hypothetical phratries, the basic unit of traditional Nenets society was the patrilineal

exogamic clan. Each clan had its own territory with pasturelands as well as hunting and fishing grounds, a cemetery, and places of worship. Some 100 clans survive, each possessing a more or less well-preserved tradition concerning its origin. Most important in the present society, each clan still has a name of its own, today used as the official surname of the clan members. Thus, the Nenets are one of the very few among the small minorities of the Far North having a set of their own non-Russian (and even non-Russianized) surnames. Given names, on the other hand, are rarely of Nenets origin today, although an unofficial Nenets given name may occasionally exist beside an official Russian one.

Kinship Terminology. The Nenets system of basic kinship terms distinguishes between three senior (grandparent, parent, elder sibling) and two junior (younger sibling, child) age categories. The terminology is slightly more differentiated for males than for females, but several important categories (sibling, younger sibling, child, parent-in-law of husband, younger sibling-in-law of husband) are expressed by sexually undifferentiated terms.

Marriage and Family. Until recently marriage was a matter decided by clan leaders; there were occasional cases of polygyny and levirate. In the family, the position of women was once inferior to that of men, and taboo restrictions limited women's activities, especially in connection with menstruation, pregnancy, and childbirth. On the other hand, the strict division of labor in the severe arctic conditions—the men being concerned only with subsistance activities and the women taking care of dwelling, clothing, and children—tended to favor equality rather than inequality of the sexes. Children, too, used to be encouraged to be independent and are still being introduced today, at a very early age, to the sexually differentiated responsibilities of the adults.

Sociopolitical Organization

The Tundra Nenets territory is divided into three "autonomous" (previously "national") *okrugs*: The Nenets Okrug of Arkhangel Oblast (okrug area: 176,000 square kilometers; total population in 1979: 47,000); the Yamalo-Nenets Okrug of Tyumen Oblast (okrug area: 750,300 square kilometers; total population in 1979: 158,000); and the Taimyr or Dolgano-Nenets Okrug of Krasnoyarsk Krai (okrug area: 862,100 square kilometers; total population in 1979: 44,000). The Tundra Nenets population is centered in the Yamalo-Nenets Okrug (presumably about 75 percent of all Tundra Nenets), the rest being divided between the Nenets Okrug (some 15 percent) and the Taimyr Okrug (some 10 percent). The Taimyr Okrug also includes the territories of the Tundra Enets (to the east of the Nenets) and the Nganasan (to the northeast of the Tundra Nenets). The Forest Nenets territory is divided between the Yamalo-Nenets Okrug (the Pur Basin) and the Khanty-Mansi Okrug (the Ob Basin). In all of their administrative areas, the Nenets are outnumbered by other ethnic groups, notably the Russians. The latter tend, however, to live in compact urban centers, separated from each other by wide expanses of sparsely populated aboriginal areas. Only recently have mining and oil-drilling activities been intensified to the extent that they pose a serious threat to the Nenets population in many localities, particularly the Yamal Peninsula.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religion. The traditional religious conceptions and customs of the Nenets fall within the general definition of Siberian shamanism. The shamans, of whom there were several categories, were the principal mediators between humans and spirits. The latter used to be represented by anthropomorphic wooden idols, of which great numbers were assembled in the sacred places of the Nenets. During the last few centuries the traditional religious conceptions came to be mixed with elements of Christian origin, and figures from the Orthodox pantheon, notably Nikolai Chudotvorets, or Mikulay in Nenets, were adopted as patrons. Officially, Christianity reached only the western Tundra Nenets, whereas some of the eastern groups preserved shamanism until the Stalin period. Today the shamanist worldview seems to have largely vanished in favor of the official materialistic ideology.

Arts. Among the Nenets, the scope of figurative art is traditionally limited to the ornamentation of everyday artifacts and articles of clothing, but they have a rich tradition of oral literature and music. Two main categories of folklore include the long epic songs (*siudbabts*), as well as the short personal and lyric songs (*yarabts*). Sung in anhaemitonic pentatonics and following an archaic textual pattern with a complicated rhythmic superstructure, these songs seem to reflect a tradition of considerable age. Only fragments of the old epic poetry are still performed today, but personal and lyric songs are a living and developing genre. Several native poets and writers have emerged on the basis of these folkloric traditions. Some of them are today raising their voices to help save the cultural heritage and ethnic identity of the Nenets.

See also Nganasan; Selkup

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JUHA JANHUNEN

Nganasan

ETHNONYMS: Avam, Nya, Tarvgi-Samoyeds, Tavgi

Orientation

Identification. The Nganasan are settled on the Taimyr Peninsula, which is part of the Taimyr (Dolgan-Nenets) Autonomous District (*okrug*), which, in turn, is part of the Krasnoyarsk Krai of the Russian Federation. The Nganasan thus lack national autonomy, living as migrants with the Dolgans and other distinct ethnic groups. Several isolated families live in the district capital of Dudinka, others in other regions of the Russian Federation.

Location. The Taimyr Peninsula is entirely above the Artic Circle, in the permafrost zone. The Nganasan, as pastoralists, hunters of wild reindeer, and reindeer herders, mastered the territory in the center of the peninsula between 69° and 76° latitude and today move north in the spring and south in the fall, following the reindeer migration. The basic routes run along the North Siberian plain, which is enclosed between the Byrranga Plateau in the north and the Putorana Mountain in the south. The northern limits of the migration east of Taimyr reached 77° N, skirting Lake Taimyr. Practically all of this nomadic territory was in the tundra, covered with many small lakes and the sinuous channels of rivers bordered by clumps of low-growing willows, alders, and dwarf birches. In winter the Nganasan drew near to the forested tundra, situated along the divide between the basin of the Piasin River and the small northern tributaries of the Kheta and Khatanga rivers.

The climate is very severe. In the "spring" (i.e., the beginning of July) the rivers open up; icing over in the autumn takes place about the middle of September in the southern part of this land. On the northern lakes the ice usually melts toward the end of August, but sometimes endures throughout the entire short summer. The average mid-January temperature in Dudinka is −28° C; in July it is 12.9° C. Strong winds are frequent. Polar night lasts 65 days; polar day, 83 days.

Today the Nganasan are almost entirely concentrated in three small villages. The Western group of the Nganasan live in Ust'-Avam and Volochanka. The Eastern group (Vad) live in the village of Novaia Demografiia.

Demography. According to the 1989 census, the population of the Taimyr Autonomous District (TAD) was 55,000, of whom about 16 percent were peoples of the North. The number of Nganasan in the Russian Federation is 1,262. In the TAD they constitute only 1.7 percent of the inhabitants. Since 1979 their number in the Russian Federation has increased by 420; 347 now live in cities, as against 83 in 1979. About 31.6 percent live beyond the boundaries of the TAD.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Nganasan language belongs to the Northern Samoyed Linguistic Group, together with Nenets and Enets. The Western Nganasan speak the Avam dialect and the Eastern, the Vad dialect. They are mutually intelligible. Samoyed, along with Finno-Ugric, is part of the Uralic Language Family. Nganasan lacked writing until recently. In villages the native language is still used among Nganasan in all spheres of life, and it is the language in which radio broadcasts are made. Today Nganasan is taught in school and an ABC book is being created. All Nganasan except the very old have a good command of Russian, and speakers of the Vad dialect also speak Dolgan.

History and Cultural Relations

Among the ancestors of the Nganasan there are descendants of the oldest of the northernmost populations of Eurasia—Neolithic hunters of wild reindeer whose presence on the peninsula has been established through archaeological finds dating from the fifth millenium B.C. The subsequent migrations and cultural innovations—related particularly to the domestication and herding of reindeer and the emergence of bronze casting—did not affect a basic economic tradition that was mainly oriented to the reindeer hunt until the eleventh century A.D. After that there follows a lacuna in sources up to the seventeenth century, when written documents related to the Russian conquest of Siberia and the imposition of a tax (Russian: *iasak*) on the population of the peninsula begin to appear. In the eighteenth century, the Nganasan consolidated as a distinct ethnic group comprised of at least five different tribal groupings, including some Tungus speakers. The Nganasan pastoral areas to the south and east were adjacent to those of the Evenk and, to the west, of the Enets and Nenets. The Nganasan are culturally closer to the Enets. In subsequent centuries the Yakut penetrated the Taimyr Peninsula from the southeast, gradually assimilating the local Evenk. This gave rise to a new ethnic group, the Dolgan, which also included Russians. The Dolgan pushed the Nganasan yet further to the north. The southern areas remained unaffected and were controlled jointly by all inhabitants. From the seventeenth century on, the Nganasan gradually shifted to domestic reindeer herding, and by the beginning of the twentieth century they had become the wealthiest reindeer herders in the Taimyr area, preserving the traditions of hunters of the wild reindeer, particularly hunts by battue and hunts at river fords. After the establishment of Soviet power, kinship-based soviets were first established among the Nganasan, followed by nomadic and communal soviets as organs of self-government. The first state-controlled collective economic units were created in 1930. Between 1970 and 1983, in response to the rapid growth of wild reindeer herds, the Eastern Nganasan kept only one herd and the Western Nganasan lost all their domestic reindeer.

Settlements

At the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries the Nganasan lacked permanent settlements. Their nomadic collectives consisted of two or three related families, the migration routes of which—and they were not always the same—were worked out in advance among neighbors. For a more successful battue and hunt on the rivers, several collectives combined their efforts. A stopping place or site usually consisted of three or four conical dwellings (tipis) made of poles joined at the top

and covered with skins, easily transportable on sleds. Four to eight people, including children, typically lived in one tipi. In the 1940s small frame houses on runners and drawn by reindeer came into use. In the 1930s construction of villages of three to five houses was begun, with the goal of making the nomads sedentary and guaranteeing them medical aid and access to education and culture. In the 1960s these small villages were deserted and all construction was transferred to larger settlements. In 1988, 655 people lived in Ust'-Avam: 281 Nganasan and 319 Dolgan. Of the 991 in Volochanka, 385 were Nganasan and 361 Dolgan. In Novaia Demografiia, of 331, 81 were Nganasan and 212 Dolgan. The houses typically have three or four apartments and are heated with imported coal. There are also group (team) dwellings at distant centers of production. These villages are linked by air and, in the summer, by river transport.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. The basic orientation of the economy is fishing, hunting, reindeer breeding, and animal raising (blue arctic fox). Almost all the men are trappers and fishermen. The polar fox industry produces the highest income, followed by the income from hunting wild reindeer at autumn fords. Fish, fur, and venison are sold to agents at government-fixed prices. Part of the venison and fish remains in the local economy and is sold in village stores. Aside from this, all the inhabitants catch fish and hunt, storing food for the family. The rest is sent to the towns of Dudinka, Noril'sk, and beyond the boundaries of the TAD. Furs reach the central governmental departments and are sold at annual international auctions. The population obtains local food products and industrial goods through village stores, where imported vegetables and fruits are also bought and sold. The state invests considerable sums to subsidize these goods; to construct dwellings, clinics, and schools; and to pay the expenses of students.

Industrial Arts. In village sewing shops and at home, Nganasan women produce such items for trade as cured reindeer hides, national-style footwear ornamented with fur inlay, cloth, beads, small souvenir rugs, and, often, fashionings from reindeer hide and stitched fur clothing.

Trade. In the village stores supplies are usually brought in during the spring on navigable rivers. Later in the year they are transported by air. In the course of the winter a traveling merchant visits distant hunters. The hunting sites are connected by radio.

Division of Labor. Traditionally, as today, hunting and reindeer breeding were male activities. All housework is the woman's responsibilty, including the labor-intensive sewing of the hunter's fur clothing. The work of the women, who often live with preschool children at the hunting site, is extremely demanding. In the villages today, however, husbands stoke the stove, prepare the fuel for it, and sometimes even cook if the wife is busy.

Land Tenure. The land of the village soviets belonged to the state, which assigned hunting and fishing territories and controlled the nomadic movements of the reindeer breeders—for the most part in accord with the traditional sites and routes of migration. Current reforms in Russia will undoubtedly result in radical changes.

Kinship

Kinship Groups and Descent. At about the beginning of the twentieth century there were five exogamous clans with patrilineally inherited names among the Avam-Nganasan. Moreover, marriage was prohibited along both matrilineal and patrilineal lines up to three degrees. Given the relatively small population, it might seem from the outside that all of these people were more or less related; nevertheless, exogamy was strictly observed. In extreme cases Enets might emerge as marriage partners. Among the Vad at this time there were seven clans, which also observed bilateral exogamy but entered more freely into marriage with Dolgans. As long as exogamy was observed, premarital sexual relations were not condemned. In recent times there have been occasional breaches of exogamy. Marriages with members of neighboring groups are common now, usually between a Nganasan woman and an outsider. Such marriages are often unstable and, in the majority of cases, the children are considered Nganasan and remain with the mother. The formerly clear delimination of Nganasan clans is becoming less clear. For example, there are now Dolgan men with Nganasan clan names resulting from marriages to Nganasan women.

Kinship Terminology. By tradition, a younger person may not address an elder by name, but only by a kinship-affinity or relative-age term. Given exogamous names, a knowledge of kinship is vital. The terminology for members of the older generation and that of Ego is complicated and elaborate. The system as a whole does not have "descriptive" terms (i.e., for one particular type of relative) but, rather, is classificatory and reckons in terms of lineage and age.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Traditional marriage was concluded between young people at about 17 to 18 years of age, when they had shown they were capable of caring for a family: a man by success in the hunt and reindeer herding and by the ability to prepare sleds, tipis (Russian: *chum*), poles, and a wooden cradle; a woman by her ability to set up a tipi, process hides, sew clothes, and prepare food. Control over these matters was by the oldest generation. All negotiations between the clans of the groom and of the bride were conducted by specially selected persons, who reached an agreement about the gifts to be exchanged. During the first period after the wedding the young couple lived alternately with the parents of the groom and those of the bride. Then they set up their own dwelling and, with the support of relatives, organized their household economy. Premarital children were never an obstacle to a marriage and often remained in the family of the bride's father. Today marriage is registered in the village soviet in accordance with the law. The young couple settle in with parents or other relatives in the village, or at a hunting site. They eventually receive a government apartment.

Domestic Unit. Previously the nomadic collective included several related families. Now nuclear families pre-

dominate, usually consisting of a married couple in their productive years and their children. Parents often prefer to live separately from their grown children, unless they are left alone (i.e., by the death of a spouse). Older children usually study far from the family dwelling, returning only for vacations. Cooperation between families is common, and it is obligatory to provide old people with game from the hunt.

Inheritance. According to traditional law, the youngest son inherits his father's reindeer and his livestock mark. The nomadic dwelling is usually left at the grave site; sometimes it continues to be occupied by those who lived with the owner before his death (after a cleaning ritual has been carried out).

Socialization. Earlier, all education pertaining to the hunt, reindeer breeding, fishing, and knowledge of the kinship system and the management of the economy took place in the family or the nomadic group. Today the government, through kindergartens, schools, and special schools, has taken this obligation upon itself—for the most part tearing the children away from the traditional family. The influence of the family is sufficient, however, to make people regard their language as their native one, to value their ethnic identity, and to have some knowledge of their traditions. Usually after about the age of 30, having completed their schooling and returned to their family and their traditional activities, children begin to reacquaint themselves with their traditional culture.

Sociopolitical Organization

The Nganasan have their representatives in each of the three village soviets as well as in the Taimyr District Soviet. They do not have their own representative in any of the higher organs of power of the Russian Federation.

Social Organization. The majority of Nganasan are trappers and fishers, seamstresses, animal herders, and, to some extent, reindeer breeders. Some work in local institutions of public health or culture and in schools or boarding schools. Hunting brigades are sometimes formed according to traditional kinship principles.

Political Organization. In December 1989 the Association of Native Peoples of the TAD was set up for the defense of their rights; the Nganasan also joined. They also have a representative on the Council of the Association of Minority Peoples of the North, the founding meeting of which took place in Moscow in March 1990.

Social Control. Village soviets and groups for public control connected with state enterprises are called on to combat offenses against the norms of customary law. A major role in the local village is played by public opinion (formed under the influence of the older generation).

Conflict. Before the Taimyr became part of Russia, bloody conflicts often arose among the various nomadic groups, even between Nganasan groups that were related to each other. These conflicts, as reflected in folklore, were basically over the control of reindeer herds. Russian power reduced these conflicts, but there were still occasional skirmishes with small governmental military units until the nineteenth century, by which time the territories of migration and of the autumnal hunts at river fords were almost completely stabilized. The wealthier Nganasan and Dolgan reindeer breeders suffered because of collectivization policies and expropriation of the reindeer herds in the 1930s. Their ensuing revolt was put down and many people were repressed—including the shamans. Later the Nganasan took part in World War II (1941–1945); their collective economies supplied the army with warm clothing, meat, and fish.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Reverence for the Great Mother Sun, Earth, Moon, Water, Fire, etc. was characteristic of earlier, shamanistic folk beliefs and shamanism. In contrast to neighboring peoples, the Nganasan were not subjected to Christianization. The contemporary younger generation, which observes certain traditional customs, is basically nonreligious. The last acknowledged Nganasan shaman died in 1989. Old people, however, can sometimes give help by methods that are close to those of the shamans.

Ceremonies. At the beginning of the twentieth century there were still several seasonal holidays and rituals that were common to the Avam and Vadev. There were rituals for the success of the hunt, for preparing the herd, and for improving the health of the community. Today general governmental holidays are observed. There are attempts to reestablish ritual with the participation of a shaman, but at the level of a folklore festival.

Arts. The ability of women to decorate the national fur costume is still highly valued today. Up to the present time there are personal songs or melodies in use that can be given as gifts or transmitted by inheritance. Some old men preserve epic oral folklore, which they sing, as well as historical legends and myths. The basic musical instrument, which is disappearing from everyday use, is the shaman's tambourine.

Medicine. Popular techniques of curing are limited. The shaman was usually concerned with health and exorcising the spirit of evil. Today there is in each of the three settlements a small hospital with a staff of medical personnel and the potential for transporting an ill person out to a large medical center by air.

Death and Afterlife. Traditionally, death is a boundary beyond which life continues in another world with the same activities as in this life. The Nganasan hold a funeral for an old man by placing him in a sleigh above ground, in a tipi without a covering, and supplying him with the needed possessions and food for the road. Today, the usual grave in the earth is becoming more common. It is to be visited once a year on the anniversary of death, but after three years should be left in peace.

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Nivkh

ETHNONYMS: Giliak, Gilyak; Giriya(a)ku, Nibuhi, Nikubun (Japanese). Forms with final *-i* as in Nivkhi and Gilyaki are Russian plurals.

Orientation

Identification. The Nivkh live along the lower Amur River, especially near its estuary and on the island of Sakhalin—administratively a part of Russia. They call themselves "Nivkh" (Amur dialect) and "Nighvng" (South Sakhalin dialect), which means "human being, person." The ethnonym "Gilyak" comes from the name of a continental Tungusic group (Kil-, Gil-) that lived near the Nivkh when they were first discovered by the Russians as they were pushing toward the east.

Location. The present-day location of the Nivkh (approximately 53° N, 142° E) has probably been their home since Neolithic times. It is likely that, before contact with the Manchu and the Russians, the Nivkh occupied a larger, inland, area along the lower Amur and perhaps along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk.

Demography. In 1989 there were 4,631 Nivkh. Of these, 1,199 (or 25.9 percent) claimed Nivkh as their first (native) language. About half of the Nivkh live on the continent and half on Sakhalin.

Linguistic Affiliation. The language is an isolate (not demonstrably related to any other). It is classified as Paleosiberian (with Ket, Yukagir, and Chukchee-Koryak-Itelmen), an artificial remainder-group of North Asian languages. There are two main dialects: one spoken on the continent and in the north of Sakhalin and the other in the rest of Sakhalin.

History and Cultural Relations

The earliest settlers of the island of Sakhalin came from the Amur region in two waves, around 2000 B.C. and 1000 B.C. A Neolithic people, they are thought to have been, in part, the ancestors of the Nivkh. Today's Nivkh, therefore, are an amalgam of earlier and later populations. Another early group on Sakhalin were the Ainu, who came from present-day Japan, in the south. (The Nivkh names for the Ainu are "Kui" and "Khughi"; the Chinese name of the island of Sakhalin is "Ku-ye-dao," where *dao* means "island.") Beginning with the thirteenth century, Chinese historical records mention tribes by the name of "Ji-li-mi" and "Qi-li-mi." These references are probably to the ancestors of the Nivkh or their early neighbors. The earliest mentions of these people in Russian sources are in travel accounts from the seventeenth century.

The Nivkh were fairly well studied by the middle of the nineteenth century: there had been a large expedition to the area (under Leopold von Schrenck) from 1854 to 1856. This was followed by economic exploitation, the arrival of political exiles, and the visit of the famous author Anton Chekhov, who also mentions the Nivkh (Gilyak) in his book on Sakhalin (*The Island*, first published in 1893–1894). On the mainland, the closest neighbors of the Nivkh were various South Tungusic tribes; on Sakhalin they were in close touch with the Orok (also a South Tungusic tribe) and with the Ainu. Until 1917 only weak attempts were made to integrate the Nivkh into the imperial Russian economic and social structure. From 1905 to 1945 Japan owned the southern half (south of 50°) of Sakhalin. Japan also controlled portions of the economy in northern Sakhalin from 1918 until about 1940. In 1945, when the USSR occupied the entire island, there were about 100 Nivkh on the Japanese (southern) half of the island.

An alphabet for the Nivkh language, based on the Latin script, was created in 1931; books (mostly primers) were published in 1932; campaigns to encourage hygiene, collectivization, and general education were launched at about the same time. An alphabet based on the Cyrillic script replaced the one based on Latin in 1940. By 1990 there were two orthographies, to accommodate the two dialects. At present the Nivkh are integrated into the Russian economy and culture, with the degree of acculturation high and increasing; yet many Nivkh continue to engage in traditional occupations (seal hunting, fishing) and are aware of their heritage, which they are eager to perpetuate.

Settlements

Traditionally, up to about twenty dwellings constituted a hamlet or a village. Such settlements resembled those of other Siberian groups and had about 100 inhabitants. Villages (*wo, vo*) were generally near estuaries or along protected stretches of coastline. As seminomads, the Nivkh are impelled by their fishing activities to move about in groups during certain parts of the year, depending on the location of resources and on the season. Their houses (*tyf, taf*) are now above the ground (wooden, rectangular, with raised floor and gabled roof) but were semisubterranean (with a flat, earth-covered roof) in earlier times. Conical temporary shelters called *prshy* can vary in size; they were

traditionally made of fish skin and erected on the shore in the autumn, during periods of intensive fishing. The term *nyo* refers to a storehouse or plain house built on pillars.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. At least 50 percent of Nivkh subsistence activity consisted of fishing (with nets and seines) along the coast and along estuaries for Siberian and humpback salmon. In the spring, the Nivkh usually also hunted sea lions and seals, using harpoons and clubs. Hunting for land mammals (bears, marten, sables, otters) during the fall, after the fishing season, was and still is a secondary activity. The only traditionally domesticated animal is the dog. It served mainly as a draft animal but still plays a ritual role in religion. The domesticated reindeer was introduced after intensive contact with the Tungus; it serves as a draft animal. (Reindeer terminology, including words connected with castration and the names given to individual reindeer, is still transparently of Tungusic origin.) There was a limited amount of activity (about 15 percent) devoted to the gathering of small plants and the trapping of animals. Agriculture was introduced at the time of the disintegration of the native economy toward the end of the nineteenth century. It persists along with limited cattle breeding.

Industrial Arts. The Nivkh have always built sleds, woven rope, fashioned weapons for hunting and the equipment used in fishing and sealing, and made cooking utensils. Even before contact with the Russians there were blacksmiths among them, who reworked and reprocessed Chinese, Japanese, and Russian knives and weapons. Metallurgy never developed into an art, but there was work with copper (inlaid spear tips) and silver.

Trade. Before contact with the Russians, the Nivkh (especially those on the continent) had close commercial relations with the Chinese, in all likelihood mainly through Manchu merchants. Some Yakut seem to have moved to Sakhalin during the nineteenth century. In the twentieth century a great many Koreans came there as well. At present much of the Nivkh economy is collectivized. They are only marginally integrated into the petroleum industry in the northern part of Sakhalin.

Division of Labor. Traditionally, the women processed the skins of fish, seals, reindeer, and dogs; worked with birch bark; gathered plants; and sewed. They prepared food, raised children, and, to a large extent, perpetuated certain artistic genres (songs, tales, ditties). Men hunted, fished, and built boats, canoes, and houses; during the late nineteenth century some men hired themselves out to Russian entrepreneurs. There was a limited amount of slavery: slaves were relatively free and mostly did housework (fetching water, chopping wood); they are mentioned in native epics.

Land Tenure. Land tenure concerned mainly fishing and grazing grounds that were used seasonally. These grounds passed from father to son.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. There are several dozen Nivkh clans. Each clan is defined by clan exogamy and by payment of blood money and bride-price, and the expenses for burial, the bear festival, and clan-controlled storehouses. Clans are patrilineal. Yet anthropologists have noted and theorists have emphasized some important unique features, such as a man's relationship to his maternal uncle (ritual gifts, ransom money); some posit that these features point to an earlier matrilineal or matrilocal system. The bear, the hearth (fire), and the flint stone (for ritual fire) also symbolized the clan.

Kinship Terminology. For cousins, kin terminology followed the Iroquois system: father's sister's children are called by the same names as mother's brother's children (as contrasted with siblings and parallel cousins). Another kinship term that has two meanings is *err* (in the South Sakhalin dialect). It can mean both "my wife's father" and "my mother's older brother." Both of the persons designated by "err" are one generation older than the speaker and both are from the same clan.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. The preferred (and traditionally required) model was matrilateral cross-cousin marriage: a man married his mother's brother's daughter. This man—let us say, of clan B—took his wife from clan C (i.e., his mother's brother's clan) and gave his daughters in marriage to males of clan A. The groom paid the bride-price in goods to the bride's kin. Marital residence was patrilocal.

Domestic Unit. The basic group was the independent nuclear family. Monogamy was the rule, but there was a certain amount of polygyny. Group marriage among the Nivkh was reported late in the nineteenth century by L. Shternberg; it attracted the attention of Friedrich Engels, who published a note on it in 1893.

Inheritance. Local headmanship was inherited patrilineally; the designated heirs had precedence over sons. Movable property was divided equally among the sons. Those members of a clan who were unable to work were supported by the clan.

Socialization. Traditional family life was intimate. Children were weaned relatively late. The separation of the sexes was not rigid, except for the postpartum segregation of the mother. Maxims and sayings played an important part in perpetuating traditional social behavior. Hostility was easily expressed, but equally easily allowed to dissipate. Education was introduced in the 1930s by the Soviet regime. The traditional ethos forbade sexual relations for unmarried women, at least theoretically.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Age, among the Nivkh, is associated with wisdom and accorded respect. The shaman, however, may have more prestige and command more respect than an elder clansman. Traditional everyday life-style was dictated by the economy and the division of labor that was associated with it. Slavery was rare (see "Division of Labor").

Political Organization. Clans were also political units in the sense that it was the clan that dictated alliances and arbitrated settlements through the payment of blood

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ROBERT AUSTERLITZ

Nogays

ETHNONYMS: Ak Nogays (White Nogays), Noghaylar, Qara Nogays (Black Nogays)

Orientation

Identification. The Nogays are a Turkic nationality living in the northern Caucasus foreland: in the Nogayskiy District (*raion*), in parts of the Babayurtovskiy, Tarumovskiy, and Kizlyarskiy districts, and in the Daghestanian fishing villages of Glavsulak and Glavlopatin; in the Neftekumskiy, Mineralovodskiy (aul Kanglï), and Kochubeevskiy (aul Karamurzinskiy) districts of the Stavropol (Stavropol'skiy) Krai; in the Adïge-Khabl'skiy and Khabezskiy districts of the Karachay-Cherkess Autonomous Oblast (AO) (subordinate to the Stavropol Krai); and in the Shelkovskiy District of the Chechen and Ingush Republic. Nogays also live in cities such as Khasavyurt, Makhachkala, and Cherkessk. Official and scholarly publications sometimes include the Nogays as one of the "peoples of Daghestan" rather than describing them separately.

The Nogays of Stavropol are known in the literature as the "Ak Nogays" (White Nogays), a Soviet-era designation; the eastern Nogays were traditionally called the "Qara (Kara) Nogays" (Black Nogays), and the Nogays of the Kuban simply as the "Nogays."

Location. The steppeland between the Terek and Kuma rivers, known traditionally as the "Nogay steppe" (its western part is also known as the "Achikulak steppe"), is the most important area of compact settlement by the Nogays and covers an area of approximately 25,000 square kilometers located at approximately 43°75.5′–45° N and 45°–46°40.5′ E. Nogays living here are surrounded on all sides by Russians; their other neighbors include Kalmyks (Qalmïqs) to the north, Ukrainians and Turkmen (Trukhmen) to the northwest, and Chechens to the south. Other smaller areas of Nogay settlement are located at approximately 43°55.5′–44° N and 46°80.5′–47°90.5′ E in Daghestan. Here there are Russians to the north and Kumyks (Qumïqs) to the south, in some areas, and in other areas all around them except where there are Avars to the southeast and southwest. Additional small areas of Nogay settlement are farther west, at approximately 44°20.5′–45° N and 41°-42° E in the Karachay-Cherkess AO and the Stavropol Krai. Another village, Kanglï, is located at approximately 44°20.5′ N and 43° E. The Nogays living in the Karachay-Cherkess AO and this part of the Stavropol Krai are surrounded on all sides by Russians and Ukrainians; two areas of settlement in the southeastern part of this location, nearer to Cherkassk, have Circassians (Cherkess) as southern neighbors. Those Nogays who lived along the lower Volga (the Nogays of Astrakhan) and in the Crimea had assimilated to the local population by early this century. Descendants of Nogay emigrants of the nineteenth century live in Romania, Turkey, and elsewhere.

The Nogay steppe has a marked continental climate. Annual rainfall here ranges from 20 to 34 centimeters. In Kizlyar, just south of the Nogay steppe, the mean mid-January temperature is −2.3° C, and in mid-July it is 24.3° C. Winters are generally cool, with regular freezing rain or wet snow. Occasional severe snowstorms with hurricane-intensity winds are accompanied by temperatures that can dip to −35° C and snowdrifts that can be as high as 2 meters; such winters threaten the survival of livestock. Summers are sunny and dry. Summer temperatures can rise to over 40° C, and occasionally there is no rainfall during an entire summer. In the spring and summer hot winds sometimes bring duststorms that are damaging to crops. In the northern part of the Nogay steppe there are 160 to 180 frost-free days, and in the south the number of frost-free days rises to 220.

Demography. The Nogay population has been increasing steadily even though Nogays living in proximity to Kumyks are considered assimilated to them. According to the preliminary results of the 1989 Soviet census, the Nogays number 75,564, an increase of 26.9 percent over the 1979 figure of 59,546. The 1979 figure itself was a 15.4 percent increase over the 1970 figure of 51,784. In 1970, 41.9 percent of the Nogays lived in the Daghestan ASSR, 43.3 percent in the Stavropol Krai, 10.7 percent in the Chechen-Ingush ASSR, 2.1 percent in the Karachay-Cherkess AO, and the remaining 2 percent elsewhere in the Caucasus or in Central Asia.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Nogays speak a Turkic language of the Northwestern or Kipchak Group of the Turkic languages. The language has been classified as belonging to the Aralo-Caspian or Kipchak-Nogay Subgroup, which also includes Karakalpak and Kazakh. Other Kipchak Turkic languages closely related to Nogay include Karachay-Balkar, Kirghiz, Kumyk, Crimean Tatar, and Kazan Tatar; many other Turkic languages are also mutually intelligible with Nogay. There was no separate Nogay literary language in the pre-Soviet period, although some Nogays knew the Arabic script. During this period the smaller Turkic peoples with no separate literary tradition were familiar with other Turkic languages written in the Arabic script, such as Ottoman Turkish, Azeri, Chagatay, and, later, Tatar and Kazakh. In 1928 two separate Nogay literary languages, Kara Nogay and the so-called Ak Nogay, were established

money. During the periods of czarist and Japanese economic exploitation, there was little room for political organization, action, or expression. With the advent of the Soviet period, the Nivkh gradually melted into the new economic and political system after an initial period of hesitancy. A very small ethnic group that never posed a threat to the Soviet ideology or economic system (or to any other group in the area), the Nivkh were in a privileged position: they could exploit their political or cultural aspirations, if these were feasible and reasonable. Thus, even during periods of officially proclaimed and enforced atheism, the Nivkh enjoyed relatively more religious freedom than larger groups, which threatened Soviet ideology.

Social Control. Clan cohesion and a pyramidal system based on age allowed for a tight system of control. The payment of blood money replaced an earlier form of the vendetta—obligatory vengeance along clan lines. The rites connected with the payment of blood money were regulated by the members of a neutral clan, who also officiated at the ritual: confrontation, ritual duel, ritual killing of a dog, and payment of the sum.

Conflict. Sympathies and antipathies toward coterritorial groups (traditionally Tungusic and Ainu) are not pronounced. Relics and fragments in Nivkh folklore tell of "wars," but it is difficult to find empirical evidence of these. Nivkh armor is considered a treasure and seems to have been used mainly to make payments or for other obligations rather than in combat.

Religion and Expressive Cultures

Religious Beliefs. The Nivkh conception of nature is pervaded by animistic beliefs. There are vague notions about a god and about gods, but on a more explicit level, the mountains, the sea, and the rivers were all believed to have their "masters" (*yz, yzng*), who provided sustenance to humans. Because each clan also had a specific relationship to the bear and the bear was an yz, the bear festival, which was essentially a religious festival, also strengthened both clan cohesion and the perpetuation of beliefs. The island of Sakhalin was interpreted anthropomorphically, with geographic regions corresponding to parts of the human body. One cosmogonic myth invokes a flood and a reversal: today's mountains were seas and the seas were mountains. The Nivkh believe that certain animals are invested with supernatural powers and that some humans are capable of transforming themselves into foxes. Humans are admonished not to mistreat parts of fish left over after cooking and eating lest they offend the "sea master." Sixty-eight percent of the Nivkh counted in the 1897 census were reportedly Russian Orthodox; it is very likely that these people accepted baptism nominally, without an understanding of Christian doctrine.

Religious Practitioners. The shaman—whose main function is to diagnose and cure disease—is the intermediary between humans in this world and the gods in the other worlds. The shaman, who may be male or female, has both worldly and otherworldly assistants on the trip to the other worlds and in those worlds. During the shamanistic séance, the shaman beats a drum (*ghas*). The noise that results, as well as the noise from the appendages on the shaman's belt (which are often of metal), symbolize the shaman's trip and negotiations with higher powers. The shaman's payment is in goods.

Ceremonies. At a certain mythic level of discourse, the bear is kin to the Nivkh. The prime religious ceremony is, therefore the bear festival. It usually takes place in the winter and (like a drama) consists of a series of events: the receiving and feeding of the guests (of a determined clan), the teasing of the bear, the ritual feeding of the bear, the mock shooting followed by the real shooting of the bear, its dismemberment, the ritual exchange of gifts, the banquet, and the feeding of sacrificial dogs, which are then killed. During the festival there is also dancing and the performance of various games and sports.

Arts. Along with decorative arts (sewing, carving), there are verbal arts: folk tales, riddles, sayings, and epics. Epics are recited (generally by a respected bard) and contain sung portions. The bard is periodically encouraged by utterances of encouragement ("yes" or "carry on") from the audience. Music is pentatonic and has mainly four notes (G, C, D, E), with embellishments. Most songs (*lu*) are lyrical and depict a state of the soul or of nature. The Nivkh have a one-stringed instrument and the Jew's harp, made of metal or of bamboo. Ditties are recited by women toward the end of the bear festival; their recital is accompanied by the rhythmical striking, with sticks, of a specially prepared and decorated tree trunk. A viable and active national intelligentsia has developed since 1917. Since 1989 there has been a Nivkh magazine, published partly in Nivkh and partly in Russian.

Medicine. Disease is thought to be caused by the breaking of taboos. It is the shaman's task to drive out evil spirits and to negotiate with higher powers on the patient's behalf. Along with the shaman's intervention there is a very large array of plants and plant matter (and also some animal parts) that are used either to cure diseases (remedies) or to prevent diseases (talismans).

Death and Afterlife. Death is believed to be caused by evil spirits (called *milk* and *kinr* or *kins*). One of the shaman's functions is to combat these. After death, the soul wanders off to the underground world (*mly-wo*). The Nivkh both cremate and bury their dead. The clan's function is again evident (as in the case of the bear festival, which is in part connected with the cult of the dead) in that the inte. ˋent must be carried out by clan members. It is accompanied by various rites, such as the breaking of the deceased's kettle, gun, and sled and the killing of dogs. The remembrance of the dead calls for the construction of a ritual miniature wooden house (*raf*) into which is placed a memorial tablet (*ghag*). The Gilyak cult of dead twins has attracted much attention.

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using the Latin script. The Cyrillic alphabet was adopted in 1938 for a single Nogay literary language.

History and Cultural Relations

The greater territory that is home today to the Nogays has been inhabited by sedentary and nomadic peoples since prehistoric times. Prior to the Mongol invasions, the Nogay steppe was home to the Iranian Alans (also known as the As) and a series of Turkic groups, the last of which before the thirteenth century were the Kipchak Turks (also known as Polovtsians, Cumans, and Kanglï). Although elements of these groups can be found among the Nogays, the later arrival of various Turkic and Mongol tribes in the thirteenth century played a more important role in the later formation of this people. The Nogay Horde was formed in the wake of the disintegration of the Golden Horde in the second half of the fourteenth century, and later Nogay rulers (*murzas*) of the sixteenth century claimed descent from Edigü, leader of the Mangït tribe (d. 1419). The ethnonym of the Nogays is usually connected with the Golden Horde commander or tribal leader Nogay (d. 1299), although the Nogays' link to the Mangïts cannot be established satisfactorily on the basis of contemporary sources. The first references to the Nogay date from the fifteenth century, and from the sixteenth century on, various branches of the Nogay Horde controlled vast portions of the steppe region extending from the Crimea and the Black Sea littoral in the south to Kazan in the northern forest-steppe zone, and from the Prut River in the west to as far as the Irtïsh River in the east.

In the seventeenth century, the Great Horde of the Nogays, which had controlled the lower Volga region, migrated west and south under pressure from the recently arrived Kalmyk Mongols. The Nogays became subjects of Russia in the 1780s. Toward the middle of the nineteenth century, the Nogays consisted of the Kara (Tümen) Nogays, inhabiting most of the present-day Nogay steppe; the Jemboyluk, Yedisan, and Yedishkul Nogays of the western part of the Nogay steppe in the present-day Neftekumskiy District of the Stavropol Krai (also known as the "Achikulak Nogays"); the Aksay (Yakhsay), Kostek, and Tarki (Targu) Nogays of the plain between the Terek and Sulak rivers (also known as the "Kumyk Nogays"); the Beshtav-Kum (Beshtav, Kum, Kara murza) Nogays of the present-day Mineralovodskiy and Kochubeevskiy districts; and the Kuban Nogays along the Kuban (Kuban') and Maliy Zelenchuk rivers of the present-day Adïge-Khabl'skiy District of the Karachay-Cherkess AO. In the Astrakhan steppes lived the Astrakhan (Hajitarkhan) Nogays, divided into the Kundura (Karakash or Karaagash) and Yurt (Kara üyli) Nogays. Other groups included the Khazlar (Kaz) Nogays of recent Kalmyk Mongol origin who nomadized with the Jemboyluk; the Crimean Nogays; and the Bujak Nogays of Moldavia, Wallachia, and the Black Sea littoral. (Other classifications also include local territorial groups such as the Kasay, Kaspulat, Mansur, Novruz, Tokhtamïsh, and Ishterek.) Following the czarist period, the Nogays of the northern Caucasus and the adjacent steppe came under the short-lived United Mountain Republic in 1918, but it was soon incorporated into the USSR, at which time the first of the modern administrative units were formed.

Settlements

Most Nogays were pastoral nomads until the early twentieth century. They traveled in groups later known as *auls*, consisting of as many as fifty wheeled carts, sometimes more. Some groups, called *otars*, were comprised of members of one family, but it is believed that most groups consisted of members of different families and tribes. They traveled together in winter, but dispersed in summer owing to the limited availability of water. The nomads had two kinds of shelter, the fixed round shelter (approximately 4 meters in diameter) on wheels called an *otay* and the larger *terme*, which could be disassembled for transport to the next pasturage. When setting up camp, the carts would be assembled in one inner and one outer circle, with the animals kept between the two circles.

The earliest reports of sedentary groups of Nogays (along the Kuban River) date from the end of the late seventeenth century to the early eighteenth. It is thought that the first settlements were winter quarters for nomads who traveled to other areas during the summer. After the Kuban Nogays, the next to settle were the Terek-Sulak Nogays and then the Yedishkul and Jemboyluk Nogays of the Achikulak steppe. The Kara Nogays, the largest group, were nomadic until the early twentieth century. The earliest homes were single-room structures made of mud and straw bricks, with no courtyards. Structures were eventually built to fence in animals. The process of sedentarization, completed in the twentieth century, has meant the creation of countless new planned settlements, often near transportation routes or sources of water. The Soviet period has also seen a rapid change in the styles of homes. The most common homes dating to the 1920s to early 1930s are two-room units with a front dayroom leading to a bedroom in the rear of the house. Most common in the Nogay steppe is the style of the 1930s and 1940s, the one-story brick house with three or four rooms and a glassed-in porch. Many homes are oriented so that the side faces the street and the front window opens on the courtyard. Most recently, four- or five-room and multistory houses have become more common for rural dwellers, but urban dwellers live in Soviet-style apartment complexes. By 1970, 16.2 percent of the Nogays were urbanized.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. Until the early twentieth century most Nogays were pastoral nomads raising sheep, goats, cattle, horses, and camels. The Kuban and Kumyk Nogays and later the Nogays of Achikulak grew mainly millet but also oats, wheat, maize, watermelons and other melons, and squashes. Some Nogays also fished. Arid conditions, however, made the life of both pastoral nomads and agriculturalists difficult, and droughts and harsh winters sometimes brought great devastation to the herds and crops on which the Nogays relied for subsistence. In the twentieth century, improved availability of water (including more extensive canalization, already begun in the nineteenth century) and modern techniques have made the Nogays more productive as farmers and animal breeders. Today the recently sedentarized groups on the Nogay steppe raise sheep and cattle, whereas agriculture plays a greater role for groups sedentarized earlier, such as

the Achikulak Nogays or the Nogays of the Kuban. Wheat is a major crop, and the importance of other crops is increasing. The availability of water, especially in river basins and along canals, makes orchards and vineyards practical. Today in the Terek-Sulakarea, fruits and vegetables such as apples, pears, plums, cherries, apricots, peaches, grapes, tomatoes, cucumbers, cabbages, onions, eggplants, squashes, watermelons, and other melons are cultivated. Many of the crops resulting from such cultivation were unknown in the traditional diet. Along the Kuban, other crops such as sugar beets and sunflowers are also important.

Industrial Arts. Many of the wares that were traditionally produced from wool, leather, and wood (also from clay by sedentarists), such as clothing and household utensils, have given way to modern commercial products.

Trade. In earlier times horses and domestic wares were traded with neighboring peoples and Russian merchants in return for bread, salt, textiles, leather footwear, and manufactured goods. In the nineteenth century sedentarized Nogays also traded agricultural products such as wine. Today agricultural products from private plots in the Caucasus are sold throughout the former Soviet Union.

Division of Labor. In traditional nomadic families the livestock were collectively owned and managed, usually including the livestock brought by brides joining a family. Men tended the animals, were engaged in the field, were responsible for construction activities, and acquired goods from outside the household. Women were occupied with domestic chores. The female head of the household managed domestic affairs and organized the work of the females of her household. A symbol of the authority of the female head of the household was her chain of keys to the trunks and cashbox. She kept the male head of the household informed of the state and needs of the household and kept track of expenses. The female head distributed products for preparing meals, she or her first assistant cooked, and she served the food that was prepared. There was a strict hierarchy among women, with younger women obliged to obey the orders of the older women. Older women were responsible for preparing milk products, preparing grain and flour, spinning yarn, weaving cloth, and sewing clothing. Young daughters-in-law performed the heaviest tasks: gathering dung for fuel, laundry, cleaning the residences, sorting fleece, making felt, carrying water, and washing utensils. Today the division of labor is less stark; in many households there is cooperation between men and women. Nevertheless, women still tend to perform domestic chores in addition to managing the household budget, and men still tend to perform outdoor chores such as watching after the animals, tending the gardens, etc.

Land Tenure. Under the Soviet system, land was owned by the state, although this part of the former Soviet Union had the highest proportion of privately cultivated plots.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. All Nogays, including territorial groups or confederations (*bet*) such as the Yedisan or the Jemboyluk, consisted of subgroups often identified as separate tribes (*küp*), such as the Kïpshak (Kipchak), Mïng, Kongrat, Mangït, Keneges, Kanglï, Nayman, Uygïr, Irgaklï, As, Uysin, Kos tamgalï, Kazankulak, Ashamaylï, and a large number of others. For example, at the end of the nineteenth century the Kara Nogays remembered the four tribes Kïpshak, Nayman, Terik, and Mïng. Although it is suggested that each of these tribes shared a belief in descent from a common ancestor, there has been no evidence in historic times to substantiate this. These tribes were further subdivided into subtribes or lineages (*taytsa, kavïm, tukïm, ürim, uruv*). For example, the Nayman were divided into the lineages (uruv) Moynapa, Harnalïk, Hazan ulï, Shursha, Kalimerden, Üshkübi, Ökresh, Bakay, Keli avïl, and others. The Nogay Kïpshaks apparently consisted of eleven lineages: the Hazankulak, Shiyira Kïpshak, Küdir Kïpshak, Tüyinshekli Kïpshak, Hurama Kïpshak, Shekli Kïpshak, Tizginshekli Kïpshak, Ayuvshï Kïpshak, Ötekay ulï, Shabay ulï, and Kartïsh ulï.

Other traditional fictive kin relationships included *atalïk*, in which one family sends a child to be raised by another family, leading to close ties between the two families. Children raised by another family considered the fictive siblings *emshek* (*kardash*)—"nursing sibling," or *sütles*—"milk sibling." In another form, an older person could adopt a younger person, or a younger person, sometimes poor, could adopt an influential father (who could adopt more than one child). Yet another form of fictive kinship was adoptive siblinghood (*kardash tutuv, dostutuv, adanas tutuv*; sometimes *atalïk tutuv*), in which two unrelated youths concluded eternal friendship and siblinghood. Two such males were known as *doslar* (friends), and two females as *kïymaslar* (unparting girlfriends). Between opposite sexes the male was *adanas* (brother) and the female was *karïndas* (sister), and if the female was older the male would address her as *èptey* (older sister).

Kinship Terminology. Descent is patrilineal, and relatives through the father's line are collectively known as *kazan ülesken kardashlar* (relatives who share the pot). There is a separate set of kinship terms for relatives in the matriline (*ana bet*), who are collectively referred to as *nagashïlar*. A rich separate terminology applies to the relatives of the women who join the family. The system of kinship terminology is thought to reflect the past importance of the extended family.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Traditional marriages were arranged by the parents. The head of a family unit could have as many as four wives; other males had only one. The age of marriage for women was 13 to 15, for men 15 to 25, although many men could not marry until the age of 30 to 40 because they could not yet afford to pay the *kalïm* (bride-price), an important feature of Nogay marriage agreements. The kalïm, formerly paid in livestock and later in cash, would be distributed among members of the same lineage. In addition to the bride-price, the groom also had to provide lavish gifts for the mother and adoptive mother of the bride. Marriage was strictly exogamous to the patriline. In some areas marriage was prohibited to any prospective couple sharing an ancestor seven or eight generations back in the father's line. In other areas exogamy extended not just to the line of the father but to the whole tribe. As a result,

Nogays were well aware of the origins of their lineage and tribe. There may also have been regular marriage relations between two tribes, although this has been documented only in one area and is considered a relic of earlier practices. Marriage to relatives through the matriline, however, was totally unrestricted. Today marriages are decided by the future bride and groom on the basis of romantic love, and payment of a bride-price is a rare phenomenon.

Domestic Unit. By the late nineteenth century the nuclear family was prevalent among nomadic Nogays, whereas among the sedentarized Nogays the extended patrilocal family was more common (the extended family is considered an earlier form). Extended families among the nomadic Kara Nogays consisted of seven to twenty-five members spanning three generations, although it is believed that such families were in the process of disintegration at the time. "Uncomplex" nuclear families consisted of parents and unmarried children; "complex" nuclear families also included some kin of the husband. Today most families are nuclear families, although Nogays have relatively large numbers of children.

Inheritance. When large families were divided into smaller families, property was distributed either according to Islamic religious law (Sharia) or customary law (*adat*). Upon the death of a father who was head of a household, property was divided among the sons of the father; the younger generations did not have a separate share. Unmarried daughters received half of a son's share (although according to customary law they could not share in the house or land). Under Sharia, the wife received one-eighth of the property of the entire family. If the property was divided during the lifetime of the head of the household for the purposes of dividing the large family, the father received most of the property. Property was usually divided equally among the sons, but custom allowed supplements for the oldest and the youngest sons. Multiple shares could also be apportioned to the youngest unmarried son to provide for the expenses of marriage and establishing his own household. If there were no male heirs, the daughter had to give up even her share to the closest relatives in the male line, whereas the son could inherit all if there were no female heirs.

Socialization. Children traditionally were reared by the women of the family. The head of the household was an absolute authority with the right to punish members of his family. Respect for elders was important, and strong traditional customs regarding hospitality continue to have some importance. Mass education began in the Soviet period.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Urban Nogays are employed in industrial or other urban occupations. Rural Nogays raise livestock or agricultural products as members of collective or state farms.

Political Organization. The Nogays are considered one of the constituent nationalities of Daghestan, but they do not have any special territorial-administrative recognition of their separate identity except as the indigenous population of one raion. Nogays outside Daghestan have no territorial-administrative status at all. Since the establishment of the Daghestan ASSR (1921) and the Stavropol Krai (1943) and the reestablishment of the Karachay-Cherkess AO and the Chechen-Ingush ASSR (1957), changes have been limited to the renaming of towns and raions.

Social Control. The community traditionally would attempt, through mediation and restitution, to arrive at a peaceful resolution of incidents such as murder. The murderer was known as *kan ishken* (blood drinker) or *kanlï yav* (blood enemy); if the death was accidental he was known as *kan yavgan* (splattered with blood). If the matter could not be settled in a peaceful manner, the murder was to be avenged by the closest male relative through the father's line. Sometimes the murderer had to leave his village for a period of years. It is believed that this practice ended in the Soviet period. Religious (Sharia) courts also existed in the pre-Soviet period but were replaced by the Soviet court system. Conflict was rare in Nogay society.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs and Practices. Since perhaps the thirteenth or fourteenth century the Nogays have been Sunni Muslims, although pre-Revolutionary travelers have noted that the Nogays were not a very religious people. The pre-Islamic Nogay word for god is *tengri*, which is associated with the traditional animistic religion of the nomadic Turks. Important ceremonies are held at birth, marriage, and death, traditionally presided over by the mullah, the local religious leader. In the earliest sedentary communities one of the first permanent structures was a mosque, although the mullah would travel with the community during the summer.

Arts. Nogays once possessed a rich material culture in which they made all the articles of daily life. Special decorative techniques were applied to fabrics and jewelry. They also possessed a rich oral literature, including songs based on heroic epics known as *batïr yïrlar* or *kïska kazak yïrlar*, such as "Mamay batïrdïng yïrï," "Shorabatïrdïng yïrï," "Targun batïrdïng yïrï," and "Edigeding yïrï." These were sung at weddings and other occasions.

Medicine. In the Soviet period sanitary conditions were improved and health care became widely available.

Death and Afterlife. Apparently there was a belief in the spirit of death following families in which many children had died. Such families would send their children to be raised by other families.

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ULI SCHAMILOGLU

Old Believers

ETHNONYMS: Beglopopovtsy, Beguny, Belokrinitsy, Bespopovtsy, Chasovennye, Diakonovtsy, Edinoverie, Feodoseevtsy, Filippovtsy, Onufrievtsy, Pomortsy, Popovtsy, Spasovtsy, Staroobriadtsy, Starovery, Stranniki

Orientation

Identification. The Old Believers include all those groups that trace their origin to the religious revolt against the liturgical reforms that the Russian Orthodox Patriarch Nikon of Moscow (r. 1652–1658) introduced in the seventeenth century.

Location. The Old Believers live in all parts of the former Soviet Union and have colonies in Poland, eastern Germany, Romania, Bulgaria, Brazil, Argentina, Australia, New Zealand, the United States, and Canada.

Demography. From the time the Old Believers first appeared in Russia, there have always been great difficulties in determining the Old Believer population. Religious persecution, which included imprisonment, exile, and even death for religious dissenters, naturally discouraged them from honestly answering the questions of census takers.

In 1859 the Ministry of Internal Affairs concluded, after an intense, secret investigation of Old Belief, that there were some 9.6 million Old Believers in the empire—about ten times the official figure. A census in 1912, by contrast, reported only 2,206,621 Old Believers—a definite undercount. Old Believers probably numbered between 15 and 20 million immediately before the 1917 Revolution.

Soviet persecution of religion (especially intense between 1928 and 1941 and between 1959 and 1964) decreased the number of Old Believers; in the 1970s, the Belokrinitsy, the largest Old Believer church in the former USSR, had about 800,000 members. There may be as many as 5 million Old Believers worldwide.

Linguistic Affiliation. Most Old Believers speak Russian, an East Slavic language of the Indo-European Family.

History and Cultural Relations

Old Belief arose as a protest against the liturgical and textual changes that Patriarch Nikon introduced. In 1653 Nikon began to revise the Russian Orthodox liturgy and service books to make them conform to Greek practice. In particular, he replaced the traditional Russian two-fingered sign of the cross with the Greek three-fingered sign, changed the direction of the priestly procession around the altar, and reduced the number of loaves of altar bread used in the liturgy.

Although they apparently consisted of mere external rituals, Nikon's reforms attacked the very essence of Orthodoxy in the view of many of his contemporaries. By subordinating the Russian liturgical practice to that of the Greeks, Nikon denied the principle of Russian cultural and religious superiority that Metropolitan Makarii (r. 1542–1563) and Czar Ivan IV (r. 1547–1584) had so carefully cultivated in the church councils, canonizations, and religious publications of the mid-sixteenth century. Nikon's opponents, such as Archpriest Avvakum Petrov (1620–1682), pointed to the unbroken line of Orthodox rulers who had governed Russia since 988; as the only independent Orthodox power in the world since the Muslim Turks had conquered Constantinople in 1453, Russia, Avvakum and his followers argued, should serve as the model for the rest of the Orthodox world—not vice versa. The opponents of the new reforms claimed to stand for the old faith and took the name "Old Believers." Despite their efforts, they failed to reverse the reforms. An international Orthodox church council met in Moscow in 1666–1667 to confirm the Nikonian reforms and anathematize the recalcitrant Old Believers.

Old Belief gained some support from settlers on the periphery of the Muscovite state. Many of the Don Cossacks who had fled to the southern frontier to escape the rigid stratification of the Muscovite state became Old Believers. Likewise, in northern Russia, where the Orthodox church had never had much influence, the peasants resented Nikon's efforts to extend his control over them; they supported Old Belief as well.

With no single organized center, the Old Believers quickly split up into many different denominations. The most radical movements, known collectively as the Priestless, contended that Nikon's heretical reforms had actually destroyed the one true church that remained in the world—Russian Orthodoxy—and had heralded the reign of the Antichrist. The Priestless denied the validity of all sacraments save those which a layman could perform (baptism and confession); the strictest groups demanded that their members remain celibate, since the sacrament of marriage no longer existed. Over time, some Priestless Old Believers

modified this doctrine to regularize family life among their followers, but others continued to insist on celibacy.

Today the Priestless community includes six major denominations: the Pomorians (Pomortsy), the Theodosians (Feodoseevtsy), the Filippites (Filippovtsy), the Chapellers (Chasovennye), the Wanderers (Beguny), and the Saviorites (Spasovtsy). The Pomorians, the most moderate of the six denominations, permit marriage and have a Higher Ecclesiastical Council in Vilnius, Lithuania. The Theodosians, who still insist on celibacy, maintain the autonomous community of Preobrazhenskoe in Moscow, whereas the Filippites, who originated in a schism with the Pomorians in 1739, have nearly disappeared. The most radical movements—the Chappellers, Wanderers, and Saviorites—have no single center and usually gather illegally; in general, they rejected the Soviet regime as part of the kingdom of the Antichrist. Although they insist on radical separation from the world, the Wanderers in particular, grew during the Soviet period, despite intense persecution, because of their missionary work. The Chappellers have important émigré colonies in the United States (including Alaska) and Brazil. Old Believers are today benefiting from the general growth in interest in religion.

The more moderate brand of Old Belief, the Priestly, also condemned the Nikonian apostasy but held that they, as defenders of the ancient faith, continued to constitute the true church, complete with sacraments and holy orders. Unfortunately, because they had no bishops, the Priestly could not ordain priests of their own and had to persuade Orthodox priests who had been ordained in the official church to convert to Old Belief. From their method of obtaining priests, these Old Believers were known as the "Fugitive Priestly" (Beglopopovtsy).

Splits among the Priestly occurred most often as a result of their efforts to create a valid hierarchy. In 1800 the Russian church, in an effort to bring the Old Believers back into the Orthodox fold, created a uniate movement (the United-in-Faith or Edinoverie), which permitted certain Orthodox priests to conduct the liturgy according to the pre-Nikonian service books. But because it refused to lift the anathemas pronounced on the Old Believers in 1667, the church gained few willing converts with this maneuver. Today the three major Priestly denominations are the Edinoverie, the Belokrinitsy, and the Church of the Fugitive Priestly Accord.

The Old Believer Church of the Belokrinits Accord traces its origins to 1846, when a group of Priestly Old Believers convinced Ambrosius, a Bosnian bishop, to join them and consecrate an Old Believer hierarchy. In 1853 they established a diocese in Moscow, which serves as their present headquarters; today, with about 800,000 adherents, they represent the largest single group of Old Believers allowed to practice their religion in the former USSR.

The Church of the Fugitive Priestly Accord refused to accept the validity of Ambrosius and his hierarchy but later obtained bishops of their own when Archbishop Nikolai (Pozdnev) of Saratov and Bishop Stefan of Sverdlovsk converted from Russian Orthodoxy to Old Belief in the 1920s. The archdiocese of Novozybkov in the Briansk District serves as their main center.

The Soviet government severely persecuted all branches of Old Belief until the German invasion of 1941 forced the state to seek support from all sectors of the population. In 1971 the Russian Orthodox Church lifted the anathemas that the 1667 council had pronounced upon Old Belief and its adherents.

Today three branches of Old Belief—the Belokrinitsy, the Fugitive Priestly, and the Pomorians—have legally recognized national organs.

Settlements

By 1700 Priestly Old Believers had established colonies among the Don Cossacks, on the Kuban River in the Caucasus, in the Kerzhenets forests near Nizhnii Novgorod, in Starodub'e (near the Polish border), and in Vetka (in Poland itself). About the same time, the Priestless also founded colonies in Poland and in the northern and northwestern parts of Russia. Old Believers also fled to Siberia, where they became particularly numerous in the diocese of Tobol'sk and in the present-day Buriat Republic.

The reign of Catherine II (1762–1796) witnessed the birth of a number of new colonies. After the Russian armies had destroyed the Priestly settlement of Vetka, the refugees regrouped to form a new community on the Irgiz River in Saratov Province in 1762. To speed Moscow's recovery from the bubonic plague epidemic of 1771, Catherine allowed the Old Believers to open their own communities in the city. The Priestly center of Rogozhskoe Cemetery on the east side of Moscow and the Priestless communities of Pokrovskaia and Preobrazhenskoe grew increasingly important; today Rogozhskoe and Preobrazhenskoe continue to function as centers of Old Belief.

The Bolshevik Revolution drove many Old Believers west into the Baltic states, the western Ukraine, Poland, Moldavia, Romania, Bukovina, and Bulgaria.

Typically, Old Believers built their settlements along rivers (such as the Chika River in the Buriat Republic). They designed their streets to run parallel to the river. A typical cottage consisted of three chambers: a covered shelter (*sen'*); the main room of the cottage (*izba*), which contained the stove (*pech'*); and a separate, brighter, adjoining room with larger windows (*gornitsa*). Because the gornitsa was expensive to heat, nineteenth-century peasants used it only during the summer. A wooden fence enclosed the cottage courtyard. Unlike their Russian Orthodox neighbors, who built their homes directly overlooking the street, Old Believers often hid their houses behind a fence and courtyard so as to escape "worldly blandishments."

Econony

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. Many Old Believers grow vegetables, berries, and nuts in their personal gardens. The Wanderers of Tomsk District, for example, earn their living by selling berries and nuts. Old Believers in Moldavia and the Far North supplement their diet with fish they catch themselves.

To escape from Stalin's campaign to collectivize the countryside (a nationwide effort that began in 1929), some Old Believers moved entire villages to remote areas in Siberia or the Altai region. Until 1950, for example, a colony of Old Believers lived almost completely isolated from the world near Iaiurevo in Siberia. Only the village headman ventured occasionally into town to trade for

metal fishing and hunting gear, salt, and iron for tools. These Old Believers spun their own cloth, made their own boots and clothing, and remained secluded until 1950, when the Soviet secret police (called at that time the Ministry of Internal Affairs) discovered and arrested them for belonging to an "anti-Soviet organization." Ethnographers from the Soviet Academy of Sciences continue to discover isolated settlements of this type in Siberia and the Far North.

Not all Old Believer communities were so isolated, of course. The more moderate groups had urban centers in Moscow and the Baltic republics. Yet even in the city, where they of necessity participated in the Soviet economy, Old Believers tended to be a marginal element of that economy. Housewives, pensioners, and unskilled workers were overrepresented among the Old Believers. Antireligious prejudice, discriminatory state policies, and the Old Believers' own desire to maintain a community separate from the world combined to marginalize the dissenters' contribution to the Soviet economic system.

Industrial Arts. Before the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, Old Believer families played a dominant role in the Russian economy. Under Peter the Great (1689–1725), the Pomorians of the Far North and the Demidov family in the Urals mined iron. As a widely dispersed minority within the Russian Empire, the Old Believers used their religious connections as a commercial network. The Old Believer ethic also encouraged the accumulation of capital, since it discouraged the use of alcohol and often encouraged or required celibacy. By 1917 families such as the Riabushinskiis and the Guchkovs manufactured everything from textiles to automobiles.

In 1918 the Bolshevik state nationalized private industry, forced many of the Old Believer capitalists into exile, and permanently ended most of their economic influence. Some Old Believer communities, however, struggle to remain self-sufficient and produce their own clothing, houses, and books.

Old Believers tend to be very conservative in the clothes they produce and wear, although styles differ from region to region. Many women among the Siberian Old Believers, for example, continue to wear sleeveless tunic dresses (*sarafans*), even though most other Siberian Russian women have switched to a more fashionable combination of skirt and blouse. The traditional costume for Old Believer women in the Bukhtarma River valley included the sarafan, a knee-length blouse (*rubakha*), an apron, a wool belt, and a bonnet (*shamshura*)—the prescribed style of which differed greatly according to the age and status of its owner. Their male counterparts wore wide bloomers called *chembary* and a knee-length, collarless shirt (rubakha). In the summer, both men and women wore shoes (*chirki*) of soft cow leather, which they tanned and dyed themselves; in wintertime, they donned fur coats and fur-lined boots of deerskin. For holidays and weddings, the Old Believers donned special clothes decorated with glass beads; as part of their dowry, young women prepared several such holiday dresses. Traditionally, Old Believers preferred a mix of bright colors, especially red.

Old Believers decorate their homes with elaborate woodwork. The Old Believer village of Shul'gin Log in the Altai region, for example, was famous for the carved ornamentation on the roofs of its houses as well as for its decorative paintings. Fish, dragons, snakes, and roosters were common motifs. Old Believers also made practical household implements such as distaffs and spindles. These they decorated with elaborate geometrical patterns.

Old Believers have always been justly famous for their love of books, in which they preserve their religious teachings as well as their own history. From the mid-1960s to the present, archaeographical commissions of the Academy of Sciences have discovered isolated Siberian workshops in which Old Believers copy, recopy, bind, and repair books of their own making.

Trade. The government of the former USSR had outlawed most forms of private capital since 1929, and this severely restricted private trade. Until the reforms under Mikhail Gorbachev, farmers' markets (*rynki*) were one of the only places where such trade was permitted. Today Old Believer peasants continue to sell their produce in such markets throughout the former USSR.

Division of Labor. The antireligious policies of the Communist party and the Soviet state severely limited educational and economic opportunities for Old Believers, who tend to work as unskilled or semiskilled labor. The Old Believers' desire to maintain a separate identity from that of the atheist state accentuated this process. Contemporary changes in the division of labor remain to be ascertained.

Land Tenure. Land in the Soviet Union was collectivized in the 1930s. Old Believer peasants who did not flee into isolated communities in the Soviet wilderness lived and worked on collective farms, which were dominated by the atheistic Communist party. Without an independent economic base, Old Believers found it difficult to maintain their separate religious culture in such an ideologically hostile environment. Nevertheless, there are still some villages, especially in the Buriat Republic, that are primarily dominated by Old Believers or Old Believer ethnic groups. Because Soviet authorities tried vigorously to suppress Old Belief in these regions, very little information is available about these communities. A Soviet antireligious work published in 1976 noted that between 32 and 36 percent of the residents of the rural areas around the city of Ulan-Ude, the capital of the Buriat Republic, were observant Old Believers. Despite their large numbers, these Old Believers had no open church and so had to resort to meeting illegally in their priest's home.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Descent is patrilineal and agnatic. Kinship groups provide an important matrix of social ties that an Old Believer can rely upon for material help; the Oregon Old Believers make substantial purchases of property by borrowing large sums—without interest—from their relatives. The fictive kinship of the godfamily (*kumstwo*) also provides an important social network. Lineages, too, are important; Siberian Old Believers, for example, retain oral traditions about their immigrant ancestors who initially settled in the east.

Kinship Terminology. Like other Russians, Old Believers use lineal terminology for the first ascending generation. Kinship terminology reflects the structure of the traditional Old Believer household with its extended family and practice of exogamous, virolocal marriage. In the nineteenth century these households contained three or four generations and included up to fifty members. After marriage, the son brought his wife into his father's household, where she became an integral part of the domestic unit. Kinship terminology indicates the crucial importance of the assimilation of the new member. For example, the word for "bride" (*nevesta*) and the very similar word for "brother's wife" (*nevestka*) are etymologically related to the Russian "unknown" (*nevedomyi*). Both a bride and a brother's wife were strangers who had to be assimilated into their father-in-law's household. In the same spirit, both the sister's husband and the daughter's husband, who each remove a woman from the home, are referred to by the same term: ziat'. Even today the Oregon Old Believers repeat the old proverb the "ziat' loves to take" (*ziat' liubit brat'*).

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Among the Old Believers who accept marriage as a sacrament, the Orthodox church's canonical rules against incest ensured exogamous marriage: at least seven degrees of consanguinity must separate an Old Believer couple. Under pain of excommunication, Old Believers must marry within their own religious community. Fictive kinship also restricts the number of an Old Believer's potential spouses; a man cannot marry the daughter of his godfather or godmother, for example. A person can marry no more than three times during his or her life. Marital residence is virolocal.

Although the Priestless initially rejected marriage, most groups now observe some form of marriage, which includes the mutual consent of the couple, a parental blessing, and a prayer by the preceptor. Today only the Theodosians, the Saviorites, and some of the Wanderers continue to oppose marriage.

Domestic Unit. Old Believer households consist of a linearally extended family and can include three or even four generations. Large households were more common in the nineteenth century; some even contained as many as fifty members, but these became increasingly rare in the late nineteenth and the twentieth centuries. Ideally, the authority of the male head of the household was unquestioned. Under Soviet rule, however, the state and the Communist party tried to undermine the traditional authority of the Old Believer elders. Antireligious books and pamphlets presented the traditional Old Believer household as a stifling, reactionary vestige of Russia's "feudal" past. New sources of authority challenged the religiously observant Old Believer on every front; Old Believer peasants had to conform to the Communist leadership on their collective farms, Old Believer children were expected to ignore their consciences and join the atheistic Young Pioneers, and Old Believer workers were subordinate to the factory committees of the Communist party. These rival authorities, which represented the dominant power in the former USSR, vigorously competed against the religious and patriarchal authority invested in the head of the Old Believer household; nevertheless, as Soviet antireligious literature shows, some Old Believer patriarchs, especially in the Far North (around Arkhangel'sk) and Siberia, continued to exercise their customary supervision over their families.

Inheritance. Inheritance is through the male line.

Socialization. Old Believers require their children to observe the Orthodox fasts by the age of three. In observant families, the religious value of the fast outweighs all other considerations; parents, for example, ignore the bitter complaints of their children, who are forbidden to eat meat or drink milk during the fasts. In cases of disobedience to family elders, Old Believers resort to corporal punishment to maintain their authority.

Even grown children are expected to obey and respect their parents, especially in their choice of a spouse. Children who marry outside their faith often face excommunication and social ostracism.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. According to the few Soviet sociological studies of Old Belief, about half of the Old Believers in the highly urbanized Baltic were workers; the other half were invalids, pensioners, and housewives. In remote rural areas, such as the Komi and Buriat ASSRs, three-quarters of the Old Believer population were pensioners.

Political Organization. The former USSR, where most Old Believers live, was a Socialist, atheistic state in which, until 1990, the Communist party was constitutionally guaranteed the leading role. Since atheism was a prerequisite for membership in the Communist party, Old Believers were effectively excluded from exercising political power. The Council for Religious Affairs, a state organ, regulated all officially recognized religious communities. Historically, it severely restricted the practice of religion and completely forbade religious proselytism. Only the most moderate groups—the Belokrinitsy, the Fugitive Priestly, and the Pomorians—had national centers. More radical groups, which regard the world as the kingdom of the Antichrist (such as the Wanderers and the Saviorites), maintained illegal, unregistered congregations.

Social Control. The Old Believers employ public censure and excommunication (expulsion from the community) to ensure adherence to their canons.

Conflict. Since their condemnation in 1667, Old Believers have struggled against the state and its established ideology. State persecution was particularly severe under Czaritsa Sophia (r. 1682–1689), Empresses Anna (r. 1730–1740) and Elizabeth (r. 1741–1762), and Emperor Nicholas I (r. 1825–1855). Old Believers resorted to armed revolt (as in the Vulavin Mutiny of 1707–1708 and the Pugachëv Uprising of 1773–1775) and to mass suicides to protest this persecution. In the Soviet period, Joseph Stalin (during the 1930s) and Nikita Krushchev (from 1959 to 1964) presided over the cruelest antireligious repressions in Russian history, yet Old Believer protest took less violent forms; they formed secret communities, engaged in clandestine propaganda, and opened unofficial seminaries and illegal monasteries. After the fall of Krushchev in 1964, the state gradually relaxed its persecution of religion; in

1971, the Russian Orthodox Church (the largest religious organization in the former USSR) lifted the anathemas against Old Belief, and in 1990 the Supreme Soviet passed a law guaranteeing a greater degree of religious freedom for believers.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Practitioners. Among Priestly Old Believers, an ordained priest is the primary religious practitioner; Priestless communities elect a preceptor (*nastavnik*) to lead their services. The Soviet government did not permit Old Believer communities to open seminaries or academies to train their religious leaders, but some groups (especially the Wanderers) founded underground schools to teach pastors and missionaries. Before the Revolution, Old Believer missionaries were in contact with the Tatars of western Siberia and the Finno-Ugric peoples, especially the Cheremis and the Mordva.

Ceremonies. Priestly Old Believers continue to observe the liturgy of the pre-Nikonian Orthodox church. Priestless Old Believers, on the other hand, celebrate as much of the old service as they can; because they have no priests, they simply omit those parts of the Orthodox liturgy that the priest must recite.

Old Believers observe the twelve traditional feast days and the four annual fasts of the Orthodox church. Outside the church, they celebrate the Christmas holidays (24 December–6 January) and Butter Week (which precedes Lent) with folk dances, organized fistfights, and elaborate costumes.

Arts. Old Believers have for centuries copied and recopied religious manuscripts that predate the Nikonian reforms and record their own history. They also have preserved a rich oral tradition of songs and folklore as well as valuable icons and other religious objects manufactured before 1653.

Medicine. Most Old Believers have access to modern medicine but may choose instead to consult a folk practitioner. Many groups maintain a rich oral tradition that includes information about medicinal herbs as well as charms and prayers designed to ward off or heal disease.

Death and Afterlife. Old Believers have traditionally held that only those who accepted their faith could enter heaven after death. Old Believers express their continuing kinship with the dead on Pentecost, when they eat a meal of eggs on the graves of their ancestors. They also revere the graves of those coreligionists they consider to have led particularly holy lives.

See also Old Believers in Vol. 1

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J. EUGENE CLAY

Orochi

ETHNONYMS: Self-designations: Nani, Orochisel

Orientation

The Orochi are one of the peoples of northern Russia, inhabitants of the Far East living in Khabarovsk Krai, mainly near the month of the Tumnin River; in the past they also lived along the tributaries of the Amur and on Lake Kizi. Their population in 1989 was 915 (in 1926 it was 647 and in 1970 it was 1,089). They speak the Orochi language of the Manchu-Tungusic Branch of Altaic. Their dispersed settlement pattern led to many mixed marriages, even in the nineteenth century. At present marriages with Russians predominate. Many young people have modern professions and live in cities and towns with mixed populations. Most of the young people no longer have a command of their national language.

Settlements

The Orochi lived in small settlements (usually of one to three houses; rarely, of four or five) along rivers in the taiga. Half-earthen constructs with two sloping sides served as their winter dwellings, made warm by coverings of earthen blocks, as well as carpets. Some of the Orochi lived in winter dwellings with Chinese-type stove-bench heating, analogous to the type also known among the Nanai and Ul'cha of the Amur.

Summer dwellings were located along small rivers. These homes were rectangular bark houses or conical huts with two sloping sides. During the summer they changed locations several times, depending on the success of the catch. Winter dwellings served for decades, whereas the summer dwellings were seasonal.

Economy

The Orochi engaged in fishing and in forest and marine hunting in the Tatar Strait. Every man was a fisher, a hunter, and a constructor of wooden and bark dwellings and other buildings, boats, skis, and sleds. The Orochi forged metallic objects and fashioned nets and snares, etc. They caught fish year-round, partitioning off the rivers with nets and seines and fished with spears; for marine mammals they used harpoons. In the taiga, they hunted large animals year-round with spears, bows, and guns (since the nineteenth century), luring them with fifes. During the winter they used a wide variety of snares and nets to catch smaller animals. Dogs pulled transport sleds of various types.

Women's labor was not less significant than the men's. Women preserved the fish and meat caught by the men; created stocks of wild-growing edible, medicinal, and fibrous plants; prepared vital equipment from birch; worked the skins and furs of forest and marine mammals and fish; and sewed clothing and footwear from them for all members of the family, as well as making other household articles. They also fed and raised the children.

Fish constituted the basic nourishment. To a considerable degree, dried salmon (Russian: *yukola*) provided the subsistence for the family. They caught the fish during the summer and fall, stocking up yukola for the entire year. The leftovers from the preparation of the yukola were fed to the pack dogs. The fat of fish and mammals, as well as their flesh, was also an important food source.

Traditionally, specialized seasonal hunting attire was an important part of Orochi clothing. Overcoats were fashioned from reindeer and *nerpa* (freshwater seal) skins, whereas summer clothing was made of suede, the pelts of wild goats, or cloth. The men's nerpa-skin frocks, overcoats, short fur breastplates under the clothing, and aprons over the clothes were characteristic apparel. Both men and women wore robes of cloth or fish skin, the women's being distinguished not by their cut but by the large quantity of adornments; the long woven breastplates (similar to those of the Evenki) were another characteristic element of the female costume. They had a large variety of footwear, depending on the undertaking and season. Specific hunting caps and helmets were also worn.

The Orochi had close ties with their neighbors—the Nanai, Ul'cha, and the Udegei—which are witnessed in their culture. They sold furs to these peoples' traders. In the eighteenth century La Pérouse reported seeing Orochi men and women wearing robes not only of fish skin but also of Chinese fabric.

In the middle of the nineteenth century Russians settled among the Orochi on the Tumnin River (Imperial Harbor). The Orochi were Christianized. They acquired various equipment for the hunt, as well as everyday items, from Russian traders. Among the Orochi themselves there was little material inequality. At the turn of the century, the Russian administration designated the most well-to-do people as the leaders.

Kinship, Marriage, and Family

Nearly twenty clans were enumerated among the Orochi, numbering from 140 persons down to two or three families. Clans lived "dislocally"; their origin was complex. Exogamy was observed, as well as the custom of mutual aid; several clan festivals were celebrated. Distinctive unions existed, consisting of four to eight clans.

The traditional territorial community held great significance in their lives and required cooperation among its inhabitants. It dictated the appropriate rearing of children and represented the preservation of the traditional culture.

The families were predominantly small, with few children; unseparated families were uncommon. Occurrences of polygamy were for the most part the result of the custom of levirate. Women had high status.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Although the Orochi have formally adopted Christianity, the ceremonies associated with the reverence of spirits of nature—believed to reside in the taiga, the rivers, the sea, and fire—have been preserved from ancient times. Many women were shamans. The costume, drum, and belt with metallic pendants resembled the equipment of shamans among the Nanai and Ul'cha. An ancestor cult as well as cults of the nerpa, tiger, killer whale, and the bear existed. The Orochi kept a bear in captivity for two to three years (as did the Amur Nivkh and the Ul'cha). At the end of this period, kin and friends gathered; the festival entailed leading the bear around the houses and was accompanied by food, sacrifices, games, and dances, ending with the slaughter of the animal, the ceremonial eating of its meat, and burial of its bones. Deceased Orochi were buried in the ground or laid to rest on planks on several pillars.

Ornamental arts such as wood carving, appliqué and pressing on birch bark, embroidery on fabric or leather, and the creation of fur mosaics were highly developed.

Orochi lore is very rich. Its genres are historical tales and legends, folktales, riddles, songs, and dances, as well as children's and young people's games.

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(Translated by Gregory S. Anderson)

Orok

ETHNONYMS: Self-designation: Ul'ta; Uilta Wilta

Orientation

The Orok are one of the indigenous peoples of Sakhalin Island. They are divided into two groups: the Southern Orok live near the Bay of Patience and the Northern Orok on the Val River. The Russians on Sakhalin have erroneously called them "Orochi" or "Orochoni." In the census of 1897, 446 Northern and 334 Southern Orok were counted. In later censuses, they were not distinguished as a separate People of the North. According to the data of ethnographic researchers during the 1970s, the Orok population stood at about 450 to 500. They continue to speak their native language, which is a member of the Manchu-Tungusic Branch of the Altaic Family. Despite the linguistic similarity of the two peoples, the Orok almost never came into contact with those Evenki who had moved over to Sakhalin in the 1860s.

Soviet linguists maintained that there are ancient Altaic residues in the languages of the Orok, the mainland Ul'cha, and the Nanai, which would point to the great antiquity of the settlement by these three peoples in this territory. It has also been maintained that in both Orok culture and language, there are many ancient autochthonous (non-Nivkh and non-Tungusic) traces. All this new information refutes earlier claims that the Orok were later settlers on the island.

Economy

The main occupations of the Orok were fishing and forest- and marine-mammal hunting, which provided them their basic foods; they used the furs and skins of the animals and fish for clothing and footwear. They exchanged the products of fur hunting for cloth, metallic instruments, and agricultural products.

The Southern Orok have abandoned their characteristic reindeer herding. Contacts with neighbors—the Nivkh and Ainu, as well as the Ul'cha and Nanai families that came over to Sakhalin from the mainland—and not infrequent jaunts to the Amur area were evident in all spheres of Orok culture. Reverse influences, however, are also noted.

Equipment similar to that of the Ul'cha and Nanai was employed in hunting and fishing: nets, harpoons, bows, spears, and snares. Hollowed-out boats were of the Nivkh type. In general, the material culture of the Orok had a characteristic lower-Amur appearance: they used Amur-specific boots of the skin of fish and sea mammals, men's frocks of freshwater seal (Russian: *nerpa*) fur, "left-flap" robes, and so forth. The terminology that predominated was similar to that of the Ul'cha.

The Orok were distiguished from all other peoples of the lower Amur and Sakhalin by the practice of reindeer breeding for transport: they used reindeer under packs or saddles and they harnessed them to sleds. The system of reindeer herding and many objects associated with this branch of the economy (for example, the construction of the sled) had no analogy among other reindeer-herding peoples of Siberia and the North. The same can be said about their summer dwellings. Alongside the conical dwelling—a type of Evenki tent, but covered with fish skin—the Orok used conical lean-tos with two sloping sides.

Among the Southern Orok, the types of dwellings were not distinct. This group used dogs for transport and sleds of the Amur type.

Kinship and Sociopolitical Organization

The clan makeup of the Orok was special: only one of the twelve clans was related to the Ul'cha; the remainder were autochthonous and not close to any other group.

The Orok are divided into several communities, each one uniting a number of small families. Each of the Northern groups nomadized during the winter along several closely spaced mountain rivers and engaged in forest hunting; during the summer (three to four months), all the Orok frequented one and the same bay, year after year, while nearby, members of the community pastured the reindeer and simultaneously worked the rivers and sea. In each such group there were related and unrelated families; mutual aid was characteristic among both, and intermarriage was allowed if the rule of exogamy were observed. As among the peoples of the Amur related to them, the custom existed of forming conjugal unions between different clans, including between Nivkh and Ul'cha and between Southern Orok and Ainu. Reindeer entered into the bride-price of the Northern Orok, whereas clothing and equipment constituted the dowry. The bride was brought on a reindeer sled.

As a whole, the Northern Orok were poor. In 1925 there were 1,011 reindeer among forty-six families; some families were reindeerless, and many had fewer than five head. The wealthiest possessors of reindeer exercised strong influence over the community. The power of elders was great in resolving conflicts, regardless of their material standing.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Orok religious beliefs are associated with the surrounding environment. A world-creator, Xaddău, taught them trades, hunting, and the rules of relations. They also revered the master of the sea, Teomu; his assistants, the killer whales; and Dooto, the master of the forest. They performed bloodless sacrifices to the spirits before and after the hunt. They returned the skull, bones, and eyes of a slain nerpa seal to the sea.

Like other peoples of the Amur, the Orok revered the bear. The ritual of the bear hunt, the festival after catching the animal, the observance of a number of taboos during meals, the ritual burial of the bones of the consumed animal—all this differed from customs carried out in such instances by the Ul'cha, Orochi, and Nivkh. The same can be said about the bear festival, which is held two to four years after keeping the animal in captivity (beginning as a small cub). The captivity itself was dependent on several prohibitions. They considered the bear the son of the master of the forest; deviation from the ancient rules (i.e., violation of the taboos) incurred the anger of the master and

required the death of the violator or one of his kinsmen. A huge crowd gathered for the bear festival, at which reindeer races and games were organized.

Orok shamanism was most similar to that of the Ul'cha. Human spirits, the spirits of good and evil, and the neutral assistants of the shaman all came into play. The basic energies of the shaman were directed at the activity of the spirits of the sick and the spirits that try to help them. The shaman regularly fed these spirits, which were his assistants during special procedures. Sometimes he would go around in his complete outfit (special suit, drum, belt with rattles) visiting all the houses of the settlement to receive aid from his fellow villagers—sustenance for the spirit helpers. The Orok buried the dead in plank coffins in high pillars (up to 2 meters). The burial, in which the shaman did not take part, was preceded by various ceremonies (there were many), whereas after the burial there were various memorials. Orok spiritual culture (folklore, ornamental art) is no less rich than that of other peoples of the Amur.

In the nineteenth century the Orok adopted Christianity. Some people, generally those possessing larger reindeer herds, traveled to Nikolaevsk on the mainland, where they traded pelts and had their children baptized.

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(Translated by Gregory S. Anderson)

Ossetes

ETHNONYMS: Digor, Ir, Iron, Tual

Orientation

Identification. The Ossetes mainly inhabit both sides of the central Caucasian mountain chain. To the north are the North Ossetian Autonomous Republic and its capital, Vladikavkaz (former names: Dzæwjyqæw, Ordzhonikidze). The North Ossetian Republic belongs to the Russian Federation. The South Ossetian Autonomous Region on the southern side of the Caucasus, occupied by the Tual branch, is a part of the Georgian Republic; the capital of South Ossetia is Tskhinvali. Besides Ossetia proper there are also Ossetic communities in Kabardino-Balkaria and the environs of Stavropol, both in the northern Caucasus region; in the south Caucasus, the Ossetes are found in Tbilisi, the Georgian capital, as well as in numerous places in eastern Georgia.

Beyond this, there also exist some Ossetic villages in central and eastern Anatolia that were founded by Ossetic Muslims in the previous century, when several Caucasian tribes who had been converted to Islam fled to Turkey and settled there. In recent years many Ossetes have left their traditional territories in the Caucasus and established themselves in various places in the former Soviet Union, especially in the Russian metropolitan areas.

There is no common ethnonym in Ossetic for the people as a whole. They call themselves by two primary tribal names: "Ir" or "Iron" is the proper designation used by the Ossetes living in the eastern part of the area, a subset of whom, in the south, term themselves "Tual" or "Tuallæg." The Ossetes who inhabit the northwestern territory call themselves "Digor." The terms "Ossetes" and "Ossetia" are based on Russian "Osetiny" and "Osetiia," which are derived from the Georgian name for the area, "O(v)seti" (Georgian-Os, "Ossete").

Location. North Ossetia borders Kabardino-Balkaria to the west, Russia to the north, and Chechen-Ingushia to the east; the southern frontier with the South Ossetian Autonomous Region within Georgia is a natural one: the main ridge of the Caucasus itself divides Ossetia into two parts. This geographic division is also responsible for a generally independent development in historical, administrative-political, economic, and cultural terms. The territory of northern Ossetia (about 8,000 square kilometers) includes the basin of the Terek River and its affluents, whereas southern Ossetia (about 3,800 square kilometers) covers the whole southern side of the main Caucasus chain and its promontories. The variety of geographical relief corresponds to a wide diversity of climatic conditions. The plains of northern Ossetia have the typical south-Russian-steppe climate, which can be characterized as comparatively warm and dry. In the low foothills adjoining the steppe to the south a milder and more humid climate prevails. In the mountains, the climate varies from zone to zone depending on elevation; in the high mountainous regions, especially all of central Ossetia, the weather is usually raw and cold with long and severe winters. In the wooded mountain range of southern Ossetia the climate is more temperate, and in the adjoining foothills the weather is pleasant and warm. The beginning of the growing season differs in the various climatic zones and agricultural conditions vary accordingly.

Demography. According to the 1970 census, some 430,000 people within the Soviet Union declared themselves Ossetes. (There is no information available on the number of Anatolian Ossetes.) During recent decades the official number of the Ossetic population has not changed significantly; the main reason for this may be that, since the middle of the nineteenth century, there has been a continuing trend toward smaller families, especially in the plains. At the present time, the typical Ossetic urban family consists of only three to four members, whereas in some out-of-the-way mountain villages families with eight to twelve members can still be found, although this is exceptional. Another reason for these population patterns is that a considerable number of Ossetes who have been living for more than one generation in areas dominated by other languages and cultures (i.e., mostly in Russia and Georgia) have assimilated and lost their Ossetic ethnic identity.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Ossetes are the only descendants of the medieval Alans, themselves descended from the Scytho-Sarmatian tribes who in antiquity lived in the vast steppes of southern Russia. Together with Yaghnobi

(spoken in the Pamir region of Central Asia) and Pashto (spoken in Afghanistan), Ossetic is classified as a language of the North-East Iranian Branch of Iranian. Modern Ossetic has two distinct major dialects, which from the phonological and morphological points of view can be regarded as two successive stages in historical linguistic development. The Digoron or West Ossetic dialect is spoken in the western part of North Ossetia (it is relatively archaic and has many Circassian borrowings). Iron or East Ossetic is the dialect of the entire remaining Ossetic area; the Tual variety of Iron has absorbed many Georgian elements. Iron was the mother tongue and the linguistic medium of the national poet Khetægkaty K'osta (1859–1906; in Russian, Kosta Khetagurov), who is considered the creator of the literary language; the Iron dialect was consequently chosen to serve as the literary language for all Ossetes. From the period preceding this we have only some sporadic documents. The oldest one, a text from the Alanic period, is a short grave inscription (the Zelenchuk inscription) written in Greek characters, which has been dated to 941; it was discovered in 1888. The very few remaining early Ossetic texts consist of verses and glosses indirectly transmitted in Byzantine and Hungarian sources.

The first larger documents, which appeared 200 years ago, were religious books and gospels. The script used for the first book (Moscow, 1798), a bilingual Slavonic-Ossetic church catechism, was in an adapted form of Cyrillic. The earliest South Ossetic texts, however, were written in the Georgian script (*khutsuri*), with some additional letters. In 1844 a new variant of the Cyrillic alphabet came into use; this was replaced by a Latin script in 1923. Since 1938 another expanded form of Cyrillic has been used in North Ossetia, whereas in South Ossetia the *mkhedruli* variant of Georgian was customary until 1954, at which time the North Ossetic variant of Cyrillic was introduced as well. According to the linguistic data, all the remaining Iranian languages show a relatively clear continuity in their historical and areal development, whereas Ossetic contrasts with them in many respects. The reason is that Ossetic (as well as its predecessors, Scytho-Sarmatian and Alánic) has been isolated from the rest of the Iranian world for some 2,000 years and has at the same time been deeply influenced by the surrounding non-Indo-European languages. In the northwest, Ossetic borders the North-West Caucasian Circassian and Kabardian and the Turkic languages of the Nogays and the Karachay-Balkars; in the east are the North-East Caucasian Nakh (Veinakhian) languages Ingush and Chechen; in the southern regions there is a gradual linguistic transition to Georgian. In all these contact spheres bilingualism has long been common. Recently, Russian has become the new lingua franca, especially in the northern Caucasus. In North Ossetia Russian is the official language used in all spheres (education, administration, etc.), whereas in South Ossetia Georgian serves the same purpose. All these situations of linguistic contact have left numerous traces in the phonology, morphology, syntax, and lexicon of Ossetic.

History and Cultural Relations

There is no written history of the Ossetes; indeed, information even from indirect sources is limited. The most important source from which we can derive knowledge about the origin and past of the Ossetes lies in the findings of historical-comparative linguistics. Following the guiding principle of Jakob Grimm ("Our language is also our history"), Vasili I. Abaev, the founder of modern Ossetic philology, has succeeded in elucidating the history of the Ossetic people by using the methodological principles of historical-comparative reconstruction and the study of linguistic contacts. Further sources are oral literary traditions and folklore in general. Before the results of linguistic study were known, the Ossetes were not aware that they do not belong to the autochthonous peoples of the Caucasus, much less that their language is a member of the Iranian Linguistic Family and that they are descended from the Alanic and Scytho-Sarmatian tribes.

The Scytho-Sarmatians, who lived in the vast plains of southern Russia in antiquity (especially in the Ponto-Caspian steppes), left few linguistic remains. The only direct evidence consists of several proper names in Greek inscriptions from the first centuries A.D., some of which show phonological innovations that are characteristic of Ossetic but that are atypical of all other Iranian languages. The little we know about Scythian life we owe to certain classical authors, most particularly Herodotus. Aside from an Old Ossetic/Late-Alanic gravestone (see "Linguistic Affiliation"), we have no direct Alanic documents. Our scant knowledge about the Alans has been gathered from reports and references to them in contemporary sources, mainly Byzantine texts.

The Alans, who were a loose tribal confederacy in the Ponto-Caspian steppe region, are mentioned for the first time in classical sources in the first century A.D. During the period of the great migrations, and especially in the early fifth century, a segment of the Alanic tribes moved far west with the Goths, Vandals, and others. But the western Alans did not survive as an ethnic entity: they were totally absorbed by the autochthonous peoples. A comparison of the vast area of the eastern Alans in southern Russia and the limited area inhabited by the Ossetes in later centuries leads to the question, in which period did the late Alans (or early Ossetes) arrive in the region they currently inhabit? The main impetus to leave the plains of southern Russia and to retreat gradually to the mountains and valleys of the Caucasus must have been the the Mongol invasions. Despite stiff resistance, Alanic territory had been brought under the yoke of the Golden Horde by 1233.

After Tamerlane's conquest in 1395 the Alans totally disappeared from the northern foothills. After the Mongol period diverse Turkic and autochthonous West-Caucasian peoples and tribes forced the Alans to recede even further. In addition to these political reasons there were other motives for migrations, including the chronic lack of arable land, infertile soil, hunger, epidemic diseases, and avalanches and landslides that often devastated entire villages. Also, the strict traditional rule of blood vengeance not only caused the person directly involved to flee but sometimes obliged the entire clan to leave the hereditary residence. These migrations, which were common until the last century, ultimately resulted in all the Ossetes leaving the fertile North Ossetic plains. On the other hand, in the regions of South Ossetia and eastern Georgia, which have better climates and soil, the Ossetes have been present

continuously since their first immigrations in the Middle Ages. After Russia annexed Ossetia at the end of the eighteenth century, thousands of Ossetes from the high mountainous regions started to recolonize the north Caucasian plains, hoping for amelioration of their basic living conditions under the protection of their new lords. Practically all the villages and towns founded in the present North Ossetia date from this period, whereas many settlements in southern and central Ossetia can be traced back to the sixteenth century (sometimes to the thirteenth or fourteenth century, or, in one case (Dmanisi), even to the ninth century. Information relevant to these issues consists mainly of the oral histories of the various clans and families; sporadic written documentation is available as of the eighteenth century. Until the beginning of the Soviet era, the Ossetes never succeeded in forming a state of their own. The various clans and rural communities were to a great degree independent of one another; they were bound politically and economically only to their various feudal lords. This situation changed in the 1920s when the South Ossetian Autonomous Region on Georgian soil (founded in 1922) and the North Ossetian Autonomous Region of the RSFSR (founded in 1924) were created. In 1936 the status of North Ossetia was upgraded to that of an autonomous republic, signifying greater independence.

Settlements

Every traditional Ossetic settlement (*qæw*) is subdivided into several quarters (*sykh*). In the past it was common for all inhabitants to be members of a single family or of closely related groups. Although this tradition has been more or less maintained in the rural parts of central and southern Ossetia, a more mixed settlement was predominant in North Ossetia (with the exception of the high-mountain regions) by the nineteenth century; there each family had a quarter of its own. The ground plan of the mountain settlements almost always had to be adapted to suit the topography. To save land for agricultural use, the living quarters and farm buildings normally occupied different floors under a single roof. In the valleys and foothills, better conditions allowed separate buildings under separate roofs, aligned horizontally. Houses often had two or three stories and were 20 or more yards wide and deep. In the mountains, the main criteria for choosing a settlement site were the proximity of fresh-water springs, arable soil, and hay fields. In the higher regions, relative safety from avalanches was an important factor as well, leading in some cases to situating the village far from the nearest spring. Otherwise, Ossetic settlements used to be built on one or both sides of a watercourse. There are no streets in the mountain villages, only tortuous narrow lanes connecting the houses to one another. The center of social life in such a village is the square (*nykhas*), where all community issues are discussed. The cemetery, and often the family vaults, are found close by the settlements. In the past nearly every village had its own watchtower, many of which still exist today. The defense and residential towers were always located in the center of the village. Nearly every village had its own holy shrine or temple (*dzwar*), which could be in the shape of an altar, a small hut, or a pile of rocks.

There are several traditional types of houses (*khædzar*). Differences in construction and material (stone, wood, and later also brick) are found not only between the mountain and foothill types, but also also between northern and southern Ossetia. Originally, the khædzar consisted of one large room that was divided into two parts, one for men and one for women. Domestic and familial life were concentrated in this room. The most important object was the fireplace (*k'ona*), with a continually burning fire and a heavy chain (*rækhys*) hanging above. This chain was traditionally the most sacred object for every Ossete; they even used to swear by the rækhys, and theft of the chain called for murderous revenge. Ossetic families took their rækhys with them when they moved from the mountains to the plains. Another important, sometimes even mystical, place in the Ossetic house was the larder (*k'æbits*), which guaranteed survival in severe winters. During recent decades the rural style of life has become less important; economic motives and a desire for more education have led to the migration of thousands of country people into the towns of Ossetia (Vladikavkaz, Mozdok, Tskhinvali, Alagir, Beslan, Ardon, Digora) and other republics.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. For centuries dairy farming and cattle breeding have been the most developed economic activities. Ossetic butter, kefir, and cheese (*tsykht*) from the milk of cow and sheep are famous throughout the Caucasus. Because of the harsh geological and climatic conditions in the mountains, agriculture did not play an important role there. The only species of grain that could be cultivated in the higher regions was barley, but it was constantly in danger of perishing from the cold. The other cereals with which the Ossetes were already familiar were millet and wheat, but their cultivation, as that of fruits and vegetables, was limited. The general situation changed for the better when Ossetia became a part of Russia and many peasants settled down in the fertile plains. Since the middle of the nineteenth century, maize, rye, and buckwheat have also been brought under cultivation. Today, agriculture and the raising of cattle and sheep are the most profitable economic activities. In keeping with the economy, traditional Ossetic cooking is relatively simple, with a restricted variety of ingredients and dishes. Some Ossetic dishes are *fyjjyn* (a cake with meat), *wælîbækh* (a cake with cheese), *churek* (a kind of maize-bread), various milk products, and *fizonæg* (shashlik). The brewing of beer (*bægæny*) has been an Ossetic specialty for hundreds of years.

Modern North Ossetia is a center of metallurgy; deposits of mineral resources have enriched several areas, as has scientific metallurgy. The numerous rivers in the Ossetic mountains have made it possible to develop a profitable hydroelectric industry. The forest industry has become another important part of the Ossetic economy.

Industrial Arts. The production of wooden utensils and furniture, as well as textile manufacture, have a long tradition in Ossetia; in part they are still practiced as cottage industries. Other handicrafts and applied arts, such as specialized smithery (in particular the production of knives, swords, and special scimitars) were very important in the

past, and in several cases can be traced back to the Alanic period.

Trade. Ossetic trade is tied into the framework of Soviet trade. Until recently there were few opportunities for personal initiative. The daily shopping situation is characterized by the same problems that one finds elsewhere in the former Soviet Union. Markets and other comparable institutions, such as cooperatives, to the extent that they exist, are normally distinguished by a better and richer assortment of goods than the official shopping centers.

Division of Labor. In the traditional Ossetic family every member had sharply defined duties. The paterfamilias, who normally was the oldest man of the clan, assigned the various tasks to the men of the family and supervised their work; he also received guests and performed some light work, such as repairing tools and equipment. In addition, he was responsible for trade of every kind and represented the family. Each of the younger male family members had to carry out a specific task: for example, one had to care for the cattle, another was engaged in fieldwork, a third had to do temporary work in the nearest town. The profits from the various jobs went to the common fund of the family. The female members of the family had to obey the paterfamilias's wife, who was held in high esteem by the entire clan. Her main responsibility was taking care of the common pantry and supervising the other women. The distribution of female work followed an exact hierarchical order: cooking was always the task of the eldest daughter-in-law and the preparation of cheese and other dairy products that of the other senior daughters-in-law. The younger daughters-in-law had to carry water, heat the fireplace, milk the cows, and clean the house, stable, and courtyard—the most unpleasant housework was always the job of the youngest daughter-in-law. The daughters were in a relatively free position, as they were considered to be only temporary members of the family. Spinning, weaving, and sewing were the common tasks of all women.

Today, under urban living conditions and with smaller families, many details have changed. The situation of the housewife has not become much easier, however, since much work that was formerly done by many women now has to be done by one woman. Moreover, most Ossetic women, like women everywhere in the former Soviet Union, hold an outside job.

Land Tenure. In the past almost all landed property was in the hands of a few feudal families, whereas the farmers had the status of leaseholders. Since the Revolution of 1917, privately held land has in most cases been turned into state property in Ossetia as elsewhere in the USSR.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Until the Revolution the traditional forms of social and familial structure existed. The highest level within a close blood relationship was the *mykkag* (family, clan), which consisted of several patronymically related extended-family households. Such a large family is called *îw fydy fyrttæ* (sons of one father); the patronymic family, in which all male members had the same ancestor, was considered to be the "family of the first category." The name of this ancestor served as the base for the formation of the common name of the clan; this has become the modern surname. This kind of family consisted of all the brothers with their wives and children, their parents, their uncles with their families, their grandparents, and so on. They all lived and worked closely together and shared, for example, defense towers and cemeteries. A very important position in the family was occupied by the oldest woman (*khîstær ûs*). The "family of the second category" was represented by more distant relationships. The law of exogamy, which had been absolute within this group in the past, is still observed in most cases. A member of the "family of the second category" is called *ærvad* (member of the same family). Another form of relationship was that with the *qonaq* (fictive kin): anyone other than blood-related persons could obtain the status of qonaq, including members of other Caucasian peoples. Qonaq friendships were considered to be as binding as familial relationships; the duties were the same, including even the reciprocal obligation of blood vengeance.

Kinship Terminology. Ossetic kinship terminology has a simple structure and coincides with the common Iranian system. Some expressions, however, show interesting semantic changes. For example, ærvad, which reflects the Old Iranian word for "brother," now denotes "brother in an enlarged sense, kinsman"; the original word for "daughter," *dyghd*, exists only in the compound *kho-dyghd*, "the husband's sister." It has been replaced by *chyzg*, "daughter," which is derived from a Turkic word.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. The possibilities of marriage within Ossetic society were strictly defined by the rules of endogamy and exogamy, which prohibited marriage between relatives and restricted marriages between members of different religions or social classes. Until the Soviet era, marriage was based mainly on the bride-price and on sociopolitical motives, but almost never on love. The rituals before, during, and after the wedding festivities were very complicated and involved large amounts of money and time. Specifically the wedding involved at least five principal stages: a meeeting between the two families to discuss the bride-price, dowry, and similar matters; a gathering of all the bride's relatives to celebrate the engagement; a second meeting of both families to discuss gift giving; the "small wedding" at the home of the bride's parents, for which animals were slaughtered and the groom's family presented a calf to that of the bride and the "big wedding" at the groom's home. (As of the late 1970s 30 to 70 percent of these stages were being realized in weddings.) Whereas traditional marriage was monogamous, the Islamic part of Ossetic society also practiced polygyny, although for material reasons polygyny was found almost exclusively among rich feudal families. In Ossetia there was a customary obligation that an unmarried brother marry the widow of his dead brother, so that the family could keep her economic contribution and there would be no need to pay a bride-price once more. Typically, it was the bride who left her parents' house, but if her family had no son the bridegroom could be accepted at the house of his parents-in-law—this was quite common in southern and central Ossetia. After the birth of the first son, which formerly was a cause for great celebration, the position of the young

mother in the family was strengthened. At the present time, social and material reasons have led to smaller families. As elsewhere in the former Soviet Union, abortion is considered a normal form of birth control. Divorce, which was rare in traditional Ossetia, has also become acceptable in modern Ossetia.

Domestic Unit. As a rule, the traditional extended households no longer exist. The small family itself is the ideal domestic unit, but in many cases the lack of new apartments leads to two or three families living together involuntarily.

Inheritance. The inheritance of land, houses, and cattle was strictly defined. The brothers and the widow of the deceased had to divide the inheritance into equal shares among themselves. The best part of the inherited property was reserved for the eldest brother, who also obtained a special "share for the eldest one."

Socialization. Traditionally, the younger family members had to follow the advice of the elder ones. The male and female leaders of the family were responsible for maintaining the tranquility of their community. Although in the past they were respected absolutely, at the present time young people follow their own wishes more and more, often leading to conflicts between the generations.

Sociopolitical Organization

North and South Ossetia conformed to the sociopolitical structures of the RSFSR and the Georgian SSR. Private or any other nonofficial initiatives in social or political organizations were not tolerated until recently.

Social Control. In the extended-family household social control was based on respect for the elderly and for tradition. The exactly defined roles that the family members were assigned did not allow for many mistakes. In the Soviet era laws came to have more weight than family guidance.

Conflict. The Ossetes are one of the numerous peoples of the former USSR longing for greater freedom. Like most other Caucasian peoples and tribes, they demand more independence in the spheres of politics, economics, and culture; the similar wishes of other ethnic groups, however, have led to an ongoing conflict of interests, in which the Ossetes are deeply involved.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Because of a lack of written records, knowledge about the beginnings and development of Christianization and Islamicization in Ossetia is limited. In the course of their history, the Ossetes must have been converted to Christianity twice. A few remarks in Georgian sources indicate that the Alans came into contact with Christianity soon after the Christianization of Georgia in the fourth to fifth centuries, the Georgians themselves acting as intermediaries. Many ecclesiastical buildings, dating mainly from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries, give evidence of a comparatively wide expansion of the Christian religion during the following centuries. The Ossetic pagan high god was partly assimilated to Saint George. The Mongol invasion had supplanted this early period of Christianity by the end of the thirteenth century. An extensive revival of old pagan customs and the changing of many churches into pagan cult-places resulted. A second phase of Christianization started in the eighteenth century under Russian influence.

At present the Ossetes, to a large extent, confess the faith of Christ, whereas Islam, which was introduced through Kabardian mediation toward the end of the seventeenth century, has never been a widespread religion. There is a tradition of mutual tolerance and respect for interdenominational marriages, practiced mostly by the Digor-speaking part of the Ossetic people. Alongside the official religions, there remain some traces of surviving older beliefs and pagan rites. Neither Christianity nor Islam has been able to erase them completely. On the contrary, it seems that Christian/Islamic and pagan rituals have coexisted over the centuries, mutually influencing each other. Indeed, neither Christianity nor Islam could really change the Ossetic traditions; they have merely served as renewed exterior forms for old animistic and totemistic beliefs. To a certain extent, this mixture of religions can be seen at the present time (for example, in the way in which Christian and Islamic festivals or funerals are celebrated). The names of Christian saints are often no more than masks for pagan gods and demons, which in this way continue to be worshiped in the guise of Christianity.

Ceremonies. Many traditional holidays are still observed. Almost every settlement had a saint of its own, who was worshiped on a special day of the year. There were also ceremonies for purposes such as assuring fertility, healing, rain, or protection in the mountains. The most interesting ceremony is that of *bækhfældîsyn*, the shamanistic "dedication of the horse," which is celebrated at funerals in rural areas even today. The *bækhfældîsæg* has to cut off the ear tip of the horse of the deceased. The ear tip takes the place of the whole horse, which formerly (until the Mongol invasion, in some areas later) had to follow its owner to the grave. The highlight of the ceremony is the speech of the bækhfældîsæg, in which he describes the good works of the deceased in this world and his ride into the other world. Because of the mixture of the various traditions, the celebration of Christian and (sometimes) Islamic holidays, even at the present time, shows traditional influences.

Arts. In modern Ossetia all kinds of arts enjoy great prestige. Much attention is paid to folk music, dance, and poetry. In the past almost every settlement had a storyteller of its own, who recited and sang fairy tales, heroic songs, and, especially, the "Tales of the Narts" (Narty kajjytæ), which is considered the Ossetian national epic, to the accompaniment of the *fændyr* (traditional lyre). Knowledge of the rich folk treasures is not as common these days as it used to be; it has mainly been reduced to official performances. The work of Kosta Khetagurov (see "Linguistic Affiliation") has inspired many people to write poetry; there are, indeed, some Ossetic poets of the highest literary standard (G. Maliev, I. Dzhanaev, etc.). In the Soviet era many theaters opened—mostly popular theaters, but also professional ones with a classical repertoire of original Ossetic pieces and translated international literature. Some paintings of a high level (e.g., those of the same K.

Khetagurov) and many branches of applied art round off the wide sphere of arts in Ossetia.

Medicine. In the past, healing by natural remedies was a highly developed discipline. There were many famous healers in Ossetia, specializing in wounds, broken bones, and skin diseases. When natural medicine was not effective, Ossetes resorted to various kinds of superstition and magic. By the beginning of the twentieth century the first Ossetic medical doctors were beginning to practice. They had to combat widespread epidemic diseases like tuberculosis, malaria, and various children's complaints. The child mortality rate was very high, mainly because of a lack of hygienic precautions. In the Soviet era, the situation improved somewhat when poverty was gradually ameliorated and a general health system was introduced.

Death and Afterlife. A special courier (in the past, a mounted messenger) goes from house to house to announce a death. The whole settlement participates in funerals, and all the relatives and friends have to render assistance to the family of the deceased, including material support. Preparing the traditional funeral repast (*khærnæg*) takes a great deal of time and money; in the past it sometimes led to financial ruin of the family, all the more because regular graveyard feasts have to be held from time to time in honor of each deceased family member. Some food is reserved specifically for the "needs" of the deceased. Normally, the funeral takes place on the second day after death. Even nowadays women closely related to the deceased scratch their faces and tear their hair amid loud lamenting. In the past this was an official job, some women being famous for their skill at plaintive crying. Afterward some of the archaic rituals, better preserved in the rural areas than in urban society, are performed (see "Ceremonies"). The traditional images that the Ossetes had of life after death resembled the Greek Hades. The best information about the details are to be found in certain espisodes of the "Nart Tales."

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SONJA GIPPERT FRITZ

Pamir Peoples

ETHNONYMS: Egamik, Pamirians, Pamirian Tajiks

Orientation

Identification. In the Mountain-Badakhshan District of the Tajik Republic, in the deep, high mountain valleys of the western Pamirs live the Pamirians. They call themselves "Pamirian Tajiks" to distinguish themselves from the neighboring Tajiks (the adjective "Pamirian" having acquired special ethnic meanings in recent times). Researchers have called them "Iranian tribes of the Western Pamirs," "Mountaineers of the Upper Pyandj River," "Peoples of the Pamirs," "Prepamir Peoples," and "Pamirian Tajiks."

Location. The Pamirians live in an area where many mountains rise to over 6,500 meters (Mount Communism, at 7,485 meters, is the highest in the former USSR). The Pamirs are reticulated with the Hindu Kush and the Karakoram Mountains of India and the Tianshan and Kunlun Shan ranges of China. Winters are long and cold and summers cool; annual precipitation is only 12.7 centimeters. There are several high passes through the Pamirs, one of which was used by Marco Polo in 1271.

Demography. Pamirians number about 120,000 out of a total poulation of approximately 127,000 in the district (of whom about 1,000 are Russians). Only 13 percent of the population is urban. Otherwise, Pamirians live in Afghan Badakhshan (Rushan-Shugnans but also Wakhan, Ishkamis, Zebaks, Sangliches, and Mundzhans). In Pakistan there are Wakhans, Mundzhans, and Idiqs. The Badakhshan Autonomous District also includes some Tajiks (in the Kalaikhuomsky, Wanchsky, and Ishkashimsky regions), and 7,000 Kyrgyz live scattered thinly in the eastern, Murgabsky region.

Linguistic Affiliation. Since the overall culture of the Pamirians is substantially the same, it is language and dialect that distinguish one group from another. With the exception of the dialects of the Rushan-Shugnan group, all dialects are mutually unintelligible. The Rushan-Shugnan (numbering about 50,000) live mainly on tributaries east of the Pyandj River and consist of the Bartangs, near the

Bartang River (speaking the Oroshor or Omor dialect), the Rushans or Rukhni (about 15,000, speaking the Khufsi dialect), the Shugnan proper, and the Sarkolys (in Sinkiang). Wakhan or Wakhi is spoken by about 9,000 people in the highest pastures of the Pamirs near an east-west stretch of the Pyandj. About 500 Ishkamis live in the village of Ryn, and about 2,500 Yazgulis live in one narrow, isolated valley.

Owing in part to the mutual unintelligibility of these dialects and languages, it is the Western Iranian Farsi (or Forsi) language of India and the Dari language of Afghanistan that have served as lingua francas. The Pamirian languages have much in common with the other Eastern Iranian languages (Sogdian, Bactrian, Saka, and Tocharian). Linguistic features indicate connections between the Khotan-Saka language of the fifth to tenth centuries and present-day Wakhi, which suggests that the latter may be descendants of the Sakas.

The Pamirians came under the strong influence of their neighbors, particularly the Tajiks, and the assimilation of the Pamirians by the Tajiks continues. This centuries-old process has been accompanied by the development of bilingualism. Among the Pamirians living across the border, in addition to their native language (in which they are illiterate), they also, for the most part, command a second language, in which they receive their formal education: Farsi in Afghanistan, Urdu in Pakistan, Uigur in Chinese Kazakstan, and Tajik and Russian in the former USSR.

Today the Pamirians of Tajikistan are mostly multilingual: children starting school at age 7, knowing only their local language, learn Tajik and Russian and also study one other foreign language starting in the fourth grade. Their native language fully retains its functions in daily life.

History and Cultural Relations

Relatively little is known of the history of the Pamirians because none of their languages were written and foreign sources provide little information. Archaeologists have found evidence of Palaeolithic, Mesolithic, and Neolithic sites in the Pamirs; this indicates connections with the east. The first identifiable people mentioned in Classical Greek and Old Persian sources are the Sakas, who apparently occupied both the east and west of the Pamirs beginning in the middle of the first millenium B.C. The basic components in the ethnogenesis of the Pamirians, thus, were the Saka and, possibly, the Dari ethnic groups. The Pamirians were probably under Kushan rule in the first centuries A.D., followed by that of the Hephthalites. According to Buddhist missionaries of the eighth century, Shugnan was not Buddhist in religion whereas neighboring regions, such as Wakhan, had Buddhist monasteries. Arabic sources tell of a number of small kingdoms in this area, and in the eleventh century Shugnan, Rushan, and adjoining valleys were converted to Ismailism. Although frequently owing allegiance to larger political entities, the Pamirians usually were ruled by one of many local lords called begs. In the seventeenth century they came under the sway of a state with its center in Afghan Badakhshan, which in turn owed allegiance to the Amir of Bukhara. The Pamirs were one of the last areas to be incorporated into the USSR.

The process of assimilation has been accompanied by the somewhat paradoxical development of an ethnonational identification. This sense of identity, during the first decades after the establishment of Soviet power, did not change in relation to that of previous periods; for the most part this was the original consciousness of, for example, the Egamik (Yazgumems) and Khugni. Between 1950 and 1980 ethnonational identification has manifested itself in three forms: when classifying national affiliation among themselves, they use their autonym; when communicating with visitors or when visiting other regions of Tajikistan, they call themselves "Pamirians," "Pamirs," or "Pamirian Tajiks" to distinguish their language, customs, and religion from those of other Tajiks (who speak West Iranian Farsi) and give themselves a specifically "Pamir" identity; beyond the boundaries of Tajikistan they call themselves "Tojik" (i.e., Tajik). Their material and spiritual cultures have survived, yet the Pamirians are fully in touch with the contemporary economic life of the republic and with the professional culture of the Tajiks, including scholarship poetry, literature, and theater. They consider themselves "Pamirian Tajiks," and in the present stage of their ethnic history they constitute an ethnic subgroup of the Tajiks.

Among the Pamirians of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, until the establishment of Soviet power, patriarchal-feudal relations predominated, characteristically in the form of kinship- and village-based communal groups. Communal relations coexisted with patrilineal relations. Without the preservation of traditional forms of collective communal mutual aid, agriculture and animal husbandry in the high mountain valleys of this unique region would be impossible. Communal law has existed among the independent feudal polities and also in those that depended fully or in part on Badakhshan, Afghanistan, and the khanate of Bukhara; it still applies today to some activities, such as haying and the pasturing of livestock.

Settlements

Contemporary Pamirians still live in permanent settlements established in the valleys of the Pyandj River and its tributaries. The villages or settlements are situated on the triangle of a river or stream delta and, more rarely, on riverine terraces. Among the Pamirians, who share similar conditions, a common type of settlement by familial-patrilineal groups took shape as a consequence of a commonality of origin and similarity in economy and culture. In each one of these settlements there lived several patrilineal groups, each occupying a separate area.

A small *kishlak* (village or farm complex) on the small triangle of a river delta, usually the offshoot of a larger one, as a rule was inhabited by one patrilineage, consisting of undivided and small families. There was no planning to the streets: the dwelling, with the farm structure directly attached to it, was situated directly among the plow fields, gardens, and orchards. Usually the doors of the house and of farm buildings were turned inward toward an interior courtyard, so that from without only the bare walls that form the closed-off square were visible. The outer courtyard occupied an open square facing the farmstead. In this farmstead complex, the fields often had walls (fences)

made of stone that had been collected from the fields before plowing or irrigation. The paths that connected the quarters of the settlement to each other were also formed with masonry, so that it was often difficult for beasts of burden laden with their loads to go through these narrow passageways.

In the absence of bazaars and mosques (which the Ismailites do not have in any case), the public center used to be a public house of the "house of five" type, analogous in function to what one finds among the mountain Tajiks and serving as a place for communal feasting and marriages or as a sort of "men's club." Otherwise, the center of public life was the house of the oldest and most honored head of the patrilineal group of the local Ismailite spiritual preceptor, the *khalif.* The meetings of the Pamirians with these spiritual preceptors had a public character and were set up in turn in the houses of their *murids* (adepts in a religious brotherhood). The meetings consisted of hosted meals and conversation on religious themes.

The traditional layout and technique of construction of dwellings and of public and agricultural economic structures have been preserved to the present day. The foundation is laid from unworked stone, usually cemented together with clay. The walls are also laid from such stone, but in those villages where there is loess soil, Pamirians blend it with water, mix it vigorously, and, with the help of square molds made of board, they prepare "natural" (*syrtsory*) bricks for the walls. The traditional roof is a layered vault put together of boards and beams so as to form a square frame above the center of the dwelling. The frames are laid one above the other so that the corner of each successively falls in the middle of the preceding one. The last frame, the very smallest, crowns this stepped ceiling, forming an opening for illumination and the egress of smoke from the open hearth. The roof is supported by wooden pillars along the walls and in the corners, and also by massive wooden central columns decorated with carvings. These columns are important in the spiritual life of the Pamirians; particular reverence is shown to the main column (*shastan*). On entering the house, if nobody is home, it is customary to give a salutation to the shastan; otherwise the master of the house will be offended because reverence was not shown to the spirits of his ancestors. On New Year's Eve (Navruz) Pamirians display large paintings of mountain goats and place branches—their bark stripped or roughed up to resemble petals—behind the central columns. These houses usually have one room with alcoves along the longitudinal side walls and the one wall that runs crosswise through the center, opposite the entrance (the hearth is to the left of the entrance). In these alcoves Pamirians eat, sleep, and receive guests in the cold season of the year.

At the present time, all the Pamirians are building separate lodgings (the *kush-khona*) that are elegantly decorated and predesignated for the reception of guests. The usual furnishings of the house are large pieces of felt rugs (*palasy*) and long, narrow, quilted blankets. In the guest room, European-style furniture—including tables, chairs, beds, wardrobes, and sofas—has already made its appearance. The ceilings in these lodgings are of the customary sort—flat and wooden. Even in the capital city of Khorog Pamirians are now building individual, private houses in the same traditional architectural style. In the city, as in the country, they use small stoves, place windows in the walls, and rebuild the wall niches as small chests of drawers for dishes and odds and ends, or enlarge them for storing clothes or bedclothes.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. Agricultural production of grains and legumes predominates over horticultural production of melons and gourds (*bakhcha*), even in lower valleys. Sowing is by broadcast, in the spring, and traditionally mixed (wheat, buckwheat, and millet combined with beans). Communal land use determines the periods of agricultural work for all members of the commune. Although there was no obligatory rotation of crops, there were firmly established cycles for the distant pasturing of livestock for the summer and their return to the mountain villages (kishlak). Animal husbandry was traditionally very important to the economy and included cattle, sheep, and goats ("horned livestock") and horses, camels, and the young of horned stock. Animals were pastured at different elevations in different seasons; all the livestock were moved at once so as to avoid losses, to carry out more productively the pasturing of livestock on the stubble, and to provide for the fertilization of the plow-land parcels with fresh manure. The Shugnans of the valley of Shakhdary and some of the Vakhans also raised yaks, which they kept out to pasture all year. Shepherds occasionally visited at calving and milking times.

Pamir patterns involving dairy cattle are diverse and have changed significantly. Among the Yazgulems, the Bartangs, and some of the Shugnans, there were "milkers' working associations" similar to those of the Mountain Tajiks. Five or six female family heads (*khozyaika*) would give their animals' milk to one of the women (in rotation with the others) to prepare milk products, particularly butter and sour cream, which was processed from sour milk in clay or wooden churns. Aside from the cows that were put out to pasture in the summer, two or three were left in the village to supply the needs of the family. In the years of Soviet power local agricultural specialists contributed to a significant growth in the quality of animal husbandry by instituting the observance of a regular calving (or freshening) time and the protection of the young livestock. They also promoted the use of sheepdogs to help defend the herd and augmented the traditional method of putting the branches of thorn bushes on top of the defensive wall. Such specialists have known traditional Pamirian methods since childhood, which they combine with the information they receive in higher-educational institutions.

The traditional agricultural implements (mattock, shovel, plow, sickle) were, in their construction, adapted to the nature of the soil of any given locality so as to preserve its productive layer (the humus). The traditional plow was of wood (Russian: *ralo*), which only loosens and throws back a layer of soil but does not turn over the humus layer. Draft was provided by a pair of oxen.

Together with their neighbors in the high mountain valleys of the Hindu Kush, the northern Himalayas, and Karakorum, Pamirians live in a unique natural region in which an increase in elevation is correlated with a decrease

in precipitation, not an increase as in other parts of the world. For this reason, irrigation is indispensable for agriculture.

The practice of preparing the soil so as not to injure the humus has affected the design of the high-mountain type of irrigation and of the various techniques for watering plots of pastureland. The agriculturalists, utilizing the relief of the land, have long irrigated by running canals from creeks, streams, and the tributaries of rivers. In addition to using canals, each Pamirian group has its own particular supplementary methods of irrigation.

The traditional irrigation network in the eastern Pamirs, as in neighboring areas, fulfilled two functions: the watering of plow land and drainage to prevent erosion of the productive layer of mountain soil. Thus, each plot had had temporary canals for irrigation and a permanent canal around its perimeter for drainage.

Today the same tools and implements are used when the terrain makes the use of machines impossible. These include plowshares with tips of cast pig iron or tempered steel and wooden shovels for cleaning and digging irrigation furrows. Agricultural specialists have introduced new species and varieties of grains and vegetables, including potatoes and cabbages.

It is still a widespread practice for women to carry loads in shoulder baskets. Similar devices are used with beasts of burden (yaks, donkeys, camels), since there were neither roads nor wheeled transport until recently. Horses were mainly used for riding, and there were few of them.

In Soviet times, highways were built to connect Khorog with the center of the Tajik Republic, Dushanbe (about 500 kilometers), and there is also a road from Khorog to Osh in Kyrgyzstan. Roads for automotive transport are replacing footpaths in the valleys, even in remote places such as Bartang and Yazgulem.

Industrial Arts. Pamirians traditionally produced textiles made of wool and imported cotton. They used vertical looms for making a kind of rug (*palas*) and horizontal looms for other woolen and cotton textiles. They were smiths and metalworkers and made decorative jewelry. The Vakhans, Yazgulems, and Rushans were distinguished by the quality of their wooden vessels, particularly a type of large plate; Vakhan and Shugnan women were noted for their pottery. For cookware and large vessels, a special gray clay was used, which was strengthened by tempering with goat hair. Stone played an important role in the technology. Out of large, round stones Pamirians made millstones for the water-driven grain mills. Stone mortars served not only for grain but for nuts and mulberries. These same dried berries, as well as dried apricots and mulberry flour, were a significant supplement to the diet, which otherwise consisted primarily of milk and grain products, and more rarely of mutton, wild or domestic goat meat, or beef. In 1950, in a series of localities in Yazgulem and Rushan, Pamirians began to raise turkeys; domestic fowl are rare otherwise. In the past there were no alcoholic beverages among the Pamirians, although some were lovers of opium. They also chewed a local type of tobacco, which they ground into a powder and to which they added a substance that gave it a burning aftertaste.

Division of Labor. Women made pots without the potter's wheel. Men spun and wove yaks' and goats' hair, and women worked sheeps' wool and camels' hair and knitted multicolored socks. Women usually spun on a typical Central Asiatic spinning wheel, whereas men used a hand spindle. The men's spindle normally consisted of a stick with a split end to which the start of the thread was attached, whereas the woman's spindle had a small cross on the lower end.

Women went off with the herd for summer pasture and were involved with the milking of the cattle and the preparation of milk products: cheese, sour milk, sour cream. The men, taking turns of several days each, would go out during the summer season to pasture the livestock and to protect it from wolves and snow leopards, without the help of dogs.

Land Tenure. In the past, pastureland was owned patrilineally, as were hay fields. Later, in the years of Soviet power, pastures became communal—that is, collectively owned livestock was pastured collectively. Privately owned livestock was pastured on the patrilineally owned land (*kaumu, arlodu*).

Kinship

The patrilineal group consisted of several patrilineal extended families that lived together and cooperated economically. The extended families consisted variously of parents with one or two married sons, or several couples (married brothers or male first cousins), or a small family with unmarried children and a parent or other relative of the husband (rarely of the wife).

Marriage and Family

Pamirians traditionally married their first or second cross or parallel cousins, of either the father's or mother's lineage. Polygyny was practiced on a very limited scale. The mother's brother was considered more closely related than the father's; he continues to play a major role in the arrangement of marriages between his nephews and nieces and he protects and helps them in their everyday social and economic dealings.

Marriages today take place in accordance with Quranic law and are also registered with civil authorities. There was never a bride-price (*kalym*), but today various members of the patrilineal group spend a considerable amount to guarantee that the young family has all the necessities. In the past girls married at age 15, sometimes at 11 or 12; young men married later. Today the age of marriage has been raised. Women get married at 18 or older, often after having completed their higher education (the majority study at pedagogical and medical schools or universities, usually becoming teachers or doctors). Men prefer to marry after finishing their military service or their secondary or higher education.

Sociopolitical Organization

Women were obligatorily murids and visited public gatherings on a par with the men. Female Pamirians were equal in rights in the family and the commune (or society generally) compared to the female Tajiks. They never covered

their faces, and within the house there were no sections for women.

Social Organization. The patrilineal groups in the western Pamirs have, in a number of cases, preserved their endogamy and their tradition of mutual assistance, to this day caring for orphans and single elderly people, helping one another every day, rearing children equally no matter what the degree of consanguinity, circumcising boys (and celebrating the associated holiday), and marrying off young men and women (always accompanied by sumptuous wedding feasting).

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. The national consciousness of the Pamirians is based not only on linguistic and sociocultural affinities but, perhaps above all, on religion. Since the eleventh century they have belonged to the Ismaili sect as a result of the missionary activity of the great mystic poet Nasir-i Khosrow (1004–1072). The Ismaili religion, with its traditions of clandestineness, has survived in the Pamirs as a kind of secret society: there never have been any mosques and there are today no official clerics, but rather numerous private houses of prayer and itinerant clerics. At least until World War II, contacts were regularly maintained with Ismaili centers in India, particularly Bombay, where the Aga Khan, the religious head of all Ismailis, resides. The Ismaili Pamirians tend to isolate themselves not only from the Kyrgyz and Tajiks but also from those Pamirians who have adopted Sunni Islam. There are practically no mixed marriages between the Ismaili and the Sunni, and this includes the Vanchis and the Yazgulems, both Pamir peoples who are being rapidly assimilated into Tajik society and who have nearly lost the ability to speak their languages. Antireligious propaganda against Ismailism was active until recently; in 1978 a special seminar for that purpose was held in Khorog.

Ceremonies. Spiritual life is rich in colorful rituals, many of which had a magical significance in the past and are today preserved among the young people as a diversion. Among the Bartangs, for example, on the occasion of the ritual of "uncovering the face" of a young woman, the groom, assuming both his parents are alive, has to shoot three times from a bow into the opening of the vaulted ceiling and, on the third time, hit the mark; then he goes up to the bride and twice, with his bow, lifts up the handkerchief that covers her face, and, the third time, throws it off. The groom then gathers up the handkerchief for himself and gives the bride something in return. This ritual was the same among the Rushans, except that the groom would use the branch of a fruit tree. The Pamirians have no ritual for the public proof of the virginity of the girl.

Traditional holidays included New Year, the "First Furrow" (celebrated with a public feast, salutation of the patron of farming, Bobo-m-Dekhtona, and recognition of the first act of irrigation), and the first going out of the women to summer pasture with the flocks.

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Poles

ETHNONYM: Polak (fem. Polka, pl. Polacy)

Orientation

Identification. The Poles are a Western Slavic people who, for hundreds of years, have inhabited territory in what is now the western part of the former Soviet Union. The Poles became incorporated into Russia, and later into the former USSR, by the annexation of territory from neighboring Poland. The Soviet Poles include persons of ethnic Polish descent and Polonized Ukrainians, Belarussians, and Lithuanians.

Location and Demography. The exact number of Poles in the former USSR is a matter of controversy. According to the official 1979 census, there were 1,151,000 Poles in the USSR; however, even government sources agree that this figure is too low, and they suggest that 1.5 million is more accurate. Most Soviet Poles live in the western republics of the former USSR, in areas that were part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth or the Second Polish Republic. According to the 1979 census, 247,000 lived in Lithuania, 403,000 in Byelorussia, 247,000 in the Ukraine, 63,000 in Latvia, and 99,800 in Russia. Although the Polish population in these areas was locally concentrated (especially in Byelorussia and the Ukraine), Poles constituted only small proportions of the republics' populations (7.3 percent in Lithuania, 4.2 percent in Byelorussia, and 5 percent in the Ukraine).

There is also a sizable Polish community in Kazakhstan, estimated at 61,000. This community is descended from Poles who were deported from the western republics in the 1930s. The Poles in Kazakhstan live among a number of other ethnic groups, including Germans and Russians. Additionally, Poles remain in Siberia, where many were deported in the 1930s, but the exact number is not

available. Many of the deportees to Siberia were repatriated to Poland immediately after the end of World War II.

Linguistic Affiliation. The two most important markers of Polish identity among Soviet Poles are the Polish language and Roman Catholicism. Polish belongs to the Western Branch of the Slavic Language Family and thus is more closely related to Czech and Slovak than to Russian, Ukrainian, or Belarussian. Written Polish uses the Latin alphabet. Under the encouragement of the Leninist nationalities policy in the 1920s, Polish-language publishing flourished in the western republics, but virtually all publishing in the Polish language in the Soviet Union was halted in the 1930s. At this time elementary and secondary education in Polish was suspended, and the Polish language was subject to severe repression. Children, for example, were completely prohibited from using Polish in school. The Soviet Polish population has become largely bilingual since 1945. Polish is spoken within the community, but Russian is generally used in situations of contact with other ethnic groups and for official purposes, except in Lithuania, where Lithuanian is used. As Russian has displaced Polish as the contact and administrative language in these areas over the past two centuries, Polish has become an ethnic marker of a minority community. Today there are only a few small-circulation Polish newspapers, based in Vilnius.

History and Cultural Relations

Possession of the territories that constitute Lithuania, western Belarus, and the western Ukraine, where most Poles of the former Soviet Union live, has been contested for centuries between the Polish and Russian states. This region, along with a substantial portion of eastern Poland, came under Russian rule in the various partitions of the Polish Commonwealth in the eighteenth century. When the Polish republic was restored following World War I, much of this territory was returned to Poland. At the conclusion of World War II, a large portion of eastern Poland was again transferred to the Soviet Union.

The history of Poles in the former USSR included periods of cultural autonomy and repression. In the 1920s, under Lenin's policy of cultural toleration, two Polish autonomous regions were established, one in Byelorussia and one in the Ukraine. Polish was the official administrative language in these areas and education and publishing in the Polish language proliferated throughout the western republics. There was considerable official toleration of the Catholic church.

In the 1930s the mostly rural Polish population was highly resistant to the collectivization of farms, and this brought them into direct conflict with the Soviet leadership. The autonomous regions were liquidated, hundreds of thousands of Poles were deported to Siberia and Kazakhstan, and cultural expression was severely limited. The use of the Polish language in schools and in the press was restricted, and churches were closed. During World War II the eastern half of Poland also came under Soviet occupation, in accordance with the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. Many Poles in the occupied lands, particularly intellectuals and business leaders, were deported to Siberia. Thousands of Polish army officers were massacred in the Katyn forest by their Soviet captors/allies.

After World War II the Soviet Union gained additional territory from Poland. Some of the Poles in the USSR, particularly those in the newly acquired areas and those who had been exiled to Siberia, were repatriated to Poland, but the overall population of Poles in the Soviet Union did not decrease.

From the end of the war, the Soviet authorities generally suppressed Polish cultural expression, although forcible population transfers ceased. Visiting across the Polish-Soviet border was strictly limited until the latter 1980s. There is evidence that Poles are becoming assimilated into local populations; the percentage of the population speaking Polish as a first language is declining.

As a result of the long history of conflict between Russians and Poles, ethnic relations between the two peoples are rather tense. Poles associate Russians with the atheist Soviet state. Although there is some intermarriage between these two groups, the practice is strongly discouraged.

In the western republics, the relationship between Poles and the majority ethnic groups is more complex. There are strong economic and cultural pressures for assimilation. In these regions, however, which were formally parts of the Polish state, the Soviet central government at times encouraged Polish cultural expression and efforts to gain local autonomy in order to counter the nationalist aspirations of these republics. This had been particularly true in Lithuania and the Ukraine. Currently, in Lithuania, the Polish minority has proposed the addition of Polish language, history, and culture to the school curriculum as a means of making the Poles an equal partner in the new Lithuanian state.

Economy and Settlements

The Soviet Polish population, like the population of Poland, was overwhelmingly rural in the past and, strongly attached to the land, has been slow to urbanize. Soviet Poles were primarily landowning farmers until the 1930s, when the Soviet state began collectivization. These farms were mostly small (many only a few hectares), and generally consisted of scattered plots rather than consolidated holdings. The farms were usually nonspecialized peasant farms on which tenants grew vegetables and grains and raised some livestock; labor was provided by family members, who used horses for plowing.

In spite of the deportations of the 1930s, the attachment of many Poles to their land and to their particular locality remains powerful. Many Poles have remained in their native regions, where they continue to work the land.

Kinship, Marriage, and Family

Kinship. Polish kinship is reckoned bilaterally. Most kin terms have both formal and informal forms. The informal forms are becoming more commonly used, which is one indication of a shift in the power structure of the family. Whereas the familiar term *babcia* for "grandmother" has been historically common, there has been a shift in the term used to address the father, from the formal *ojciec* to the informal *ojca*.

There is reciprocity in affinal kin terms, which can also be extended to more distant affines. The terms for mother's brother (*wujek*) and for father's sister (*ciotka*) can also be used to refer to any aunt or uncle. Terms like *bratniec* (brother's son) can also be extended to refer to the brother's son's child.

With the exception of cousins, kinship terminology distinguishes kin related through women from those related through men in the case of lateral relatives (i.e., mother's brother), but not in the case of strictly lineal relatives (i.e., grandparents). The terms for various lateral (but not lineal) affines also distinguish between those related by the marriage of a woman and those related by the marriage of a man.

Marriage. Soviet Poles do not form an endogamous marriage community. There is evidence, however, that marriage with other Poles is preferred to marriage with members of other ethnic groups, particularly Russians. There is a widespread belief that marriages to Russians are certain to end in divorce. If children marry members of another ethnic group, it is preferred that they marry other Catholics, for example Germans or Lithuanians.

Domestic Unit. Polish households often consist of a three-generation family: parents, children, and grandparents. The alternative household structure is that of a nuclear family. Both types were found throughout history among Poles, although the three-generation family was the more common until the twentieth century. In the past thirty years three-generation family households have become more common, as housing is in short supply. The power structure of the modern family differs from the traditional patriarchal family, however. Women generally work outside the household. Relations among family members are more informal. The emotional functions of the family have been intensified. Furthermore, the authority of the family is no longer vested in the grandparental generation, although grandparents may make significant contributions to the running of the household. Grandmothers often play an important role in the socialization of children, caring for them while the parents work. Statistics suggest that the older generations are more likely to use Polish as their major or exclusive means of communication; grandparents, therefore, may help to preserve the status of Polish as a primary language.

Socialization. Other significant sources of socialization are the church and the school. The Catholic church is an institution that teaches national as well as religious identity. (Religious instruction also occurs at home, especially in times of increased repression.) The state-run schools, in which Russian was spoken, were sources for the assimilation of Polish children into Soviet society. Of even greater concern to the Polish community, these schools were run on atheistic principles. Polish children attended these schools along with children of other ethnic groups. Until recently, the use of Polish was rigorously suppressed, and Polish children suffered discrimination in discipline.

Sociopolitical Organization

Poles have a long political tradition of aristocratic democracy. The Polish nobility (*szlachta*), one of the most numerous and diversified in Europe, developed from a warrior caste rather than from a landed nobility. The szlachta valued their military role as well as the democratic nature of the Polish state. These are Polish political values that have endured to the present.

Since the dissolution of the Polish autonomous regions, Soviet Poles have had no formal ethnic political representation. The focus of Polish independent political organization is the Catholic church. From the 1950s, political conflict with Soviet authorities centered on freedom to practice the Catholic religion as the epitome of Polish cultural expression. The struggle was for cultural autonomy within the confines of the Soviet Union.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. The Catholic church is both an important element of Soviet Polish identity and a point of sociopolitical conflict in the former Soviet republics. Polish Catholicism strongly emphasizes the cult of Mary, who is venerated as a suffering, worrying, and bereaved mother rather than as a virgin. Devotion to Mary has significant political implications in this context. The most important icon in the Polish church, that of the Black Madonna of Częstochowa, is a primary symbol of Polish sovereignty. According to legend, this icon saved the Polish kingdom from the invading Swedish army in the Middle Ages.

Polish Catholicism is also linked to a romantic nationalist philosophical tradition exemplified by the works of the nineteenth-century poet Adam Mickiewicz. In this philosophy, the suffering of the Polish state will bring restoration of sovereignty, and Poland, as a figure of Christ, will play a messianic role among nations. In this manner, Catholicism continues to play an important role in Polish nationalism.

Most homes have corners in which religious material is displayed. The most common examples are icons of the Black Madonna and portraits of Pope John Paul II, which are hung on the wall. Icons of saints may also be displayed. In general, Polish Catholic practice has a strong orientation toward icons. Icons are displayed not only in homes and churches but in religious processions as well.

Religious Practitioners. The Catholic church in the former USSR suffers from a severe shortage of priests, which influences the nature of religious practice. Most priests serving Catholic Poles are either Lithuanians or elderly Poles who remained in the former USSR after the territorial shifts. The shortage is particularly acute in Belarus and Kazakhstan, where the Catholic church has suffered more persecution. Because of religious repression, Mass is often celebrated in parishioners' homes (even when it is possible to register legal churches), rotating through the homes of the congregation. Some priests allow lay Catholics in remote areas to administer the sacrament when they are unable to do so themselves. The practice of lay baptism is quite common; the baptism is often administered by old women, who form an important local religious authority in the absence of a priest. The lack of priests is perceived as a serious problem by practicing Catholics. Some of the Catholic congregations are multiethnic. This is particularly true in Lithuania, which is a largely Catholic republic, and

Kazakhstan, where congregations are often mixed German and Polish.

Ceremonies. Religious weddings, funerals, and baptisms are important ceremonies to Polish Catholics. Infant baptism is strongly emphasized. In regions where a priest is available, Mass is usually celebrated at least once a week. Many Polish Catholics, however, cannot partake of Holy Communion more than once a year.

Christmas, Easter, and All Saints' Day are important holidays. In addition to holy days associated with the Virgin Mary, saints' days and name days are celebrated. Christmas is an important holiday, celebrated with religious ceremonies and feasting. One important ritual of Christmas is the *oplatek* (wafer) ceremony, which takes place on Christmas Eve. This ancient ceremony (dating from the tenth century) is based on the model of the Last Supper. As soon as the first star becomes visible after dusk on Christmas Eve, the oldest person present or the head of the family begins the ritual, in which unleavened bread blessed by a priest is passed around the gathered company, along with hugs and best wishes for the fulfillment of one's personal dreams.

Polish Catholic religious holidays often include pre-Christian Slavic folk practices. For example, Easter is celebrated by attending Mass, and the ritual dinner includes bread blessed by a priest, but the holiday also includes the elaborate and colorful decoration of eggs. Egg decoration is a widespread Slavic practice that Poles claim to have originated.

Arts. There are numerous Polish arts, including painting, prose, poetry, and theater (the Polish tradition is particularly rich in historical and absurdist theater). Two of the most significant arts are poetry and folk sculpture. Poets, like Mickiewicz, are national heroes. Like poetry, folk sculpture is often religiously based. Two of the most popular figures depicted in art (both sculpture and icon reproduction) are the Black Madonna and Christ, particularly the worrying Christ and the crucified Christ. These arts are intimately connected with notions of Poland's special position as an "outpost" of Western Christianity.

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KRISTI EVANS

Russian Peasants

ETHNONYM: Great Russians

Orientation

Identification. The Russian peasants are part of the eastern branch of the Slavic ethnic unit. This population is generally called simply "Russian," both by itself and by others "Great Russian" is a more specific term that distinguishes the Eastern Slavs from other Slavic groups inhabiting the historical territory of the Russian Empire—Belarussians ("White Russians") and Ukrainians ("Little Russians"). There are also many local ethnonyms.

Location. The population discussed in this article inhabits the territory extending from the White Sea in the north to the northern shore of the Black Sea and the northern slope of the Great Caucasus Mountains in the south. The territory is bounded on the east by the Ural

Mountains and on the west by territories inhabited by the Baltic peoples, Poles, Ukrainians, and Belarussians. Russian territory consists of a very large plain dissected by ranges of hills and ravines, by many rivers, and (particularly in the north) by a large number of lakes. The plain was originally heavily wooded and is still wooded and marshy in many places. The climate is continental—marked by hot summers and cold winters, particularly in the north.

Demography. In 1989, 34 percent of the population of the USSR was rural, although the proportion of rural residents varied from region to region. Much of the increase in the urban population is accounted for by out-migration from rural areas. In many places, there is a shortage of young women. The out-migration of women occurs, in many cases, because of the lack of potential marriage partners in the countryside but also because of limited opportunities for high-status employment and perceived poorer living conditions. Public-health facilities in rural areas are significantly worse than in the cities, and consequently infant mortality is higher. The rural population—including the work force—is aging. Much of the work in agriculture is now done by people on pensions and with relatively low levels of education and skills. Recent economic and social reforms have yet to make a dent in this problem.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Russians speak one of the three major languages of the East Slavic Division of the Slavic Branch of the Indo-European Linguistic Family.

History and Cultural Relations

The Russian ethnos was consolidated during the course of the first millennium C.E. from a large number of small tribes living in the northern part of present-day Russian territory. Beginning in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, they spread out to the south and east, occupying the Don region, the northern Black Sea coast, the valley of the Terek River, and parts of the Transcaucasus and Siberia. In the process, the Russians absorbed many small originally Finnic-speaking and Turkic-speaking ethnic groups, which are now indistinguishable from them in language and culture. (Other groups remain encapsulated within Russian territory; some of them had autonomous status under the Soviet government.) During the southward migration, the Russian ethnos also absorbed large numbers of people who were originally Ukrainian or belonged to other local ethnic groups. It is worth emphasizing, however, that the Russians remain a northern people by origin and traditions, and that the extreme north of the country is their ethnic heartland.

Before the creation of the Russian Empire, Russian territory included a number of independent and semi-independent princedoms and republics—Novgorod, Pskov, Tver, and others. During the history of the empire, other Russian groups were formed in the outlying segments of the territory, from populations of runaway serfs and peasant migrants. These groups were distinguished in social status and organization from the peasants of the central Russian territory, and some of these distinctions, based in part also on religious differences, persist to this day.

The peasant population of the central Russian territory is marked by a strong sense of ethnic identity and separation from other groups, both Western European (predominantly Roman Catholic) and Eastern (predominantly Turkic and Muslim). The outlying Russian groups absorbed much of the culture of the people among whom they settled, however, and carried on extensive trade with them. Some groups of Russian religious dissidents, in fact, even crossed over into Romanian, Turkish, or Chinese territory.

Settlements

The Russian peasant settlement pattern varied widely, depending both on the configuration of the landscape and on the type of economic activity characteristic of a particular area. Perhaps the most typical pattern in the central Russian territory was the arrangement of houses on both sides of a single street, surrounded on all sides by cultivated fields (except where a swamp or a forest intervened). There were also "cluster villages," without a regular street pattern, and individual homesteads in forests. Larger villages with churches and small market towns usually had some public buildings and public squares with rows of stalls for the sale of agricultural products and other goods. Increased population and industrialization under the Soviet regime led to the urbanization of many areas and to the establishment of "settlements of urban type," with regular street grids, trolley lines, utilities, and the like. Many of the older villages are losing population or were in the past declared "unpromising," and new facilities were not built in them. Toward the end of the Soviet regime, this policy was reversed in an attempt to revitalize agriculture. To attract needed workers, collective and state farms and other enterprises undertook ambitious programs to develop social, educational, and medical facilities.

The spatial organization of houses and farmsteads varied from region to region but generally reflected the family organization. In northern Russia, where large extended families were common, the dwelling house, outbuildings, and farmyard were united under one roof, and access was obtained through a large and sometimes elaborate gate. In the more southerly regions, both the residential unit and the buildings housing it were usually smaller. The standard house-type in northern and central Russia was the "five-walled house" (with a central dividing wall), built of logs, with a thatched roof. The ritual center of the house was the hearth, usually located opposite the entrance, where guests were seated. The central and most important item of furniture was the clay stove, which served for heating, cooking, and bathing (unless there was a separate bathhouse). Near the stove, wooden shelves, which served in place of beds for sleeping, were attached to the wall.

In southern Russia, whitewashed adobe was used in place of logs for building houses. The layout and furnishing was broadly similar, but standards of convenience and cleanliness were markedly higher. For example, livestock were not admitted inside the house, as was common in the north.

At present, except in the most remote regions, the traditional log-and-thatch house has been replaced by a modern frame or brick structure, with furnishings of the urban type (chairs, iron bedsteads, kitchen ranges, and the like). Electricity, piped water, and indoor plumbing are available on the more advanced collective and state farms.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. Economic activity traditionally varied widely but fell into several rather well-defined categories. In the "Black Earth" regions in the central and southern parts of the country, large-scale grain farming was practiced, with the use of horse-drawn and, later, motorized equipment and large contingents of hired labor. Under the Soviet regime, these same territories were occupied by large collective and state farms. In recent years, conversion of collective farms to state farms has been widespread in many areas. In the non-Black Earth regions, in the northern and northeastern parts of the country and along the Volga, the farms were smaller, and the emphasis was on root crops, vegetables, dairying, and relatively small amounts of grain, chiefly rye. In many places, the fertility of the soil and the length of the growing season did not permit the production of enough grain to ensure a year-round food supply, and a large proportion of the male population was employed in seasonal migrant labor—mining, lumbering, barge hauling, factory work (especially from the mid-nineteenth century on), and various migrant crafts. In addition, market-gardening operations existed near the cities; fishing in lakes and rivers and year-round lumbering and rafting of timber in the northern forests either supplemented agricultural activity or replaced it entirely.

Industrial Arts. Traditionally, Russian peasants engaged in a large number of crafts, producing both utilitarian articles (small wooden and metal tools and utensils) and objects of art (carved rock crystal, lacquer work, wood carving, embroidery, decorated metal trays, and the like). The more artistic branches were centered in specific villages and small towns, such as Palekh and Gus'-Khrustal'nyi, northeast of Moscow. The utilitarian articles were produced by peripatetic craftsmen on a part-time basis. Most of these crafts have now died out, although the artistic varieties have been organized into cooperatives under state sponsorship, with the fully accredited master artisans belonging to the national union of artists.

Trade. Historically, trade in agricultural produce, lumber, industrial raw materials, and other categories of goods was handled by merchants who were organized into "guilds," according to the amount of capital they commanded. In some parts of the country—chiefly the grain-producing areas and the Volga region—this system was well developed from the mid-nineteenth century on and handled large volumes of goods. On the other hand, many areas produced little if any surplus and supported only individual pedlars traveling on foot or with a horse and cart. Agricultural surpluses were often sold in market towns by the producers themselves. Under the Soviet regime, agricultural products were bought by state purchasing agencies from collective farms and individual farmers and distributed through the trade network. This distribution system operated inefficiently, however, and shortages of foodstuffs were frequent throughout the Soviet period, sometimes because of crop failures but sometimes independently of such events. Lack of the necessary infrastructure—roads, transport, well-sited storage and processing facilities—and antiquated equipment are also responsible for many of the shortages in particular places. A large proportion of the foodstuffs reaching consumers comes from the private plots of collective-farm members and state-farm workers. The marketing of foodstuffs resulting from private production can be expected to increase with the full implementation of reforms that are now planned to move the country toward a market economy.

Division of Labor. In the traditional rural community, each peasant was able to carry out all of the functions necessary to maintain a farming operation. Only a few crafts, such as the building of the traditional clay stove, were entrusted to specialists. On the other hand, there was a sharp division of labor by gender, domestic tasks within the farm enclosure being regarded as specifically female. Women were entitled to the proceeds of all such activities, which were inherited in the female line separately from the farm itself and the rights to land. Small domestic animals such as poultry and rabbits were managed by women, who generally were also in charge of the marketing of agricultural goods. This division of labor by gender appears to have persisted more or less unchanged, despite the creation of new female occupations—schoolteacher, bookkeeper, cultural worker, physician or physican's assistant, agricultural technician, and administrator—in the countryside.

Land Tenure. The system of land tenure characteristic of the Russian peasantry passed through a complex historical evolution. Traditionally, the basic landholding unit was the peasant commune, within which land allotments were periodically redistributed in strips. Membership in the commune was vested in households, each of which was represented in the governing body of the commune by its senior male member; in most places, women had no voice in this gathering. In some villages, where there were or had once been both serfs (belonging to individual landlords) and state peasants, two communes existed side by side. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the czarist government made a conscious attempt to break up the commune and set up individual family farms. This program, known as the Stolypin land reform, after a prime minister of the period, was rescinded after the 1917 Revolution. The land code of 1922 provided for what was called "laboring tenure": each peasant household was entitled to as much land as it could work with its members and working stock. Some of the more prosperous peasants employed hired labor, at least seasonally, but this was actively discouraged and, by the end of the 1920s, entirely forbidden. From the early 1930s, the rural population was organized into collective farms—juridically independent cooperatives that owned the means of production and paid their members for labor, in cash or in kind (predominantly the latter until recently)—and state farms, in which the state conducted the entire operation, assumed all risks, and paid the workers money wages. The land itself is entirely owned by the state. Each collective-farm household was entitled to a plot of land for its own use (the size of which varied from one area to another) and could own livestock within certain limits. This system of land tenure remained basically unchanged until the reforms introduced in the late 1980s. The structure of the countryside is now in a state of flux, and its ultimate form cannot be predicted at this time, although the proposed new land code envisages per-

manent rental of land by household units, with inheritance of rights to the use of private plots.

Kinship

The largest kin group was the patrilineal extended family. Descent was reckoned in the male line. Kinship terminology followed the standard European pattern, except that affinal kin were denoted by different terms, depending on the gender of the speaker. Kinship relations outside the nuclear family remain important even today, in terms of mutual assistance, the distribution of goods, and the pattern of rural migration.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Historically, marriage among the Russian peasantry, as in most peasant populations, was the result of a deal, struck between two kindreds, involving exchanges of goods, rights to land, and rights to the labor power of individuals. Marriage was marked by highly elaborate ceremonial, some of it of pagan origin, with a markedly theatrical bent. It was also typically marked by a religious ceremony, but this was quite separate, and in many places cohabitation was assumed to begin with the completion of this peasant ritual cycle, whereas the religious ceremony might be delayed until the services of a priest were available or until the birth of the first child.

Marriage was normally virilocal, but in some cases, when there were no other males available, the bridegroom moved in with his in-laws, taking charge of their farm and inheriting it upon their death.

Formal divorce was extremely rare in the traditional peasant community and was usually accompanied by some degree of scandal and conflict. The Orthodox church, in particular, made no provision for divorce.

Domestic Unit. The domestic unit was a patrilineal extended family, often incomplete. The household unit usually persisted until the death of the senior male, after which the brothers separated and set up new households.

Inheritance. Inheritance applied only when the household broke up, or when a given individual separated from it, since the peasant household traditionally was a corporate unit that survived the death of any particular individual. Both specifically female property and certain kinds of male property (larger tools and craft equipment) were inherited separately and were not subject to division on the breakup of the household. Under modern conditions, the corporate nature of the household has been severely qualified, though it has not disappeared entirely. Inheritance of personal property was subject to the norms of general Soviet law.

Socialization. In the pre-Revolutionary Russian village, peasant children learned from their parents all the peasant skills appropriate to their gender. Formal education was unavailable in most places and, where it did exist, included only two or four years of instruction. Children who were considered promising might be sent to the church school in the nearest large town.

The Soviet regime instituted a system of primary and secondary education. Postsecondary schooling is also widely available, particularly for those with the proper sponsorship and political credentials. On the other hand, available sources reveal very little about the mechanisms of informal socialization and training in traditional peasant skills. The development of the modern Russian village is hindered by the fact that there is a pronounced drain of young people out of rural areas to the cities and also by the fact that agriculture and rural occupations generally have very low prestige.

Sociopolitical Organization

Traditionally, there was a sharp division between the sociopolitical organization imposed from above by the state through landlords or local officials and that which was administered by the peasants themselves through their village assembly. This assembly was the governing body of the local community; normally, only males had a voice. The assembly controlled rights to land (arable, pasture, or forest), allocated community tasks, and was responsible to the landlord for feudal dues and to the state for the collection of taxes and the provision of recruits for the army.

Lines of authority were specified either through general Soviet law or through the charter of the collective farm. The governing agency of the local community was the village soviet, which, at least in theory, maintained a staff of workers to handle day-to-day matters. In most instances, however, actual power was wielded by the local committees of the Communist party on various levels. This situation may soon change, pursuant to the current political reform, but there is little firm indication as yet that the local soviets will be given any real power, such as would make them a countervailing force against chairmen of collective farms and their governing boards or against directors of state farms or the heads of other important economic organizations.

Social Control. In the pre-Revolutionary Russian village, two basic forms of social control, with sometimes conflicting aims, were operative: the national law, as enforced by officials, and local custom, as enforced by the community acting through informal groups or, in some instances, as interpreted by the courts. Specific data on the workings of community-based enforcement are extremely scarce for European Russia proper, but in Siberia, where there was no serfdom, the local community had a fairly well-developed system of criminal investigation and enforcement, staffed by constables, messengers, and so forth chosen from the local community. Ethnographic sources show that community standards of morality were enforced by groups of young people who, for example, vandalized the property of those who were considered guilty of violating them, and that persistent thieves and people guilty of assaultive behavior were sometimes dealt with by being murdered or driven out of the community. On the other hand, the national law was enforced by a uniformed constable, who typically did not live in the village, and a small group of other officials subordinate to him. Corruption of such minor officials was considered a matter of course by the peasants.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. The formal religion of the Russian peasants was traditionally Russian Orthodoxy. There was a

marked social distance between the peasantry and the Orthodox clergy, however, who functioned in the countryside as officials and were regarded as such. Russian Orthodox observance was for most peasants largely a formal matter, confined to certain festivals during the year and certain important life transitions. The pre-Christian Slavic folk religion operated as a substrate; its observances were given Orthodox form and tied to appropriate occasions in the Orthodox calendar.

Throughout the Soviet period all forms of religious observance were actively discouraged, although the degree and kind of antireligious activity varied over time. Late Soviet policy changes led to a decrease in the pressure against religious observance in general and against individual religious believers. The number of functioning Russian Orthodox churches has increased somewhat, and new churches are being built. At present Russian Orthodox observance is characteristic primarily of some members of the older generation, although, depending on the demographics of the area, more young people are participating than was previously admitted—in part because Russian Orthodoxy is regarded by many as an expression of Russian ethnic allegiance. Pre-Christian rituals have died out except in extremely remote places.

Supernaturals in the folk religion included a wide variety of nature spirits—the *domovoi* (house spirit), the *leshii* (wood goblin), and the *rusalka* (water sprite)—most of whom were considered malevolent, although they could be mollified by proper treatment. These beings, except for the house spirit, were subsumed under the general heading of "unclean power."

Certain individuals had the reputation of being skilled in dealing with these folk supernaturals and were consulted on an informal basis. Some of them also functioned as medical practitioners, herbalists, and the like and, in some cases, possessed actual knowledge of effective remedies.

Folk Ritual. There was an elaborate complex of rituals tied to the various stages of the agricultural year and, more generally, to the succession of the seasons. By tying the more important of these festivals, which retained significant pre-Christian elements, to Russian Orthodox festivals, the church attempted to co-opt and control them. For example, Trinity (Troitsa), celebrated in early spring, was marked by cleaning and decoration of the homestead area with flowers and cut grass. Maslennitsa (corresponding to the European Mardi Gras) featured feasting, pagaentry, and the setting up of traditional straw and wooden figures carried on carts. Most of these rituals have now died out, but certain traditional elements were incorporated into Soviet civil observances in an attempt to give them ethnic coloration and a more festive character. The observances of the traditional agricultural cycle show clear connections with those that are typical of the Indo-European peoples generally and clear signs of belief in sympathetic and imitative magic.

Arts. The tradition of Russian decorative folk art is extremely rich and has given rise to an immense literature. Its most prominent practices are wood carving (both in relief and of freestanding figures), embroidery, decorative painting on trays and other household articles, and architectural decoration. Many of the typical motifs of Russian folk art derive from the pre-Christian religious system. The tradition of folk decorative art has now lost much of its vitality, except in those instances in which it was deliberately cultivated by the state and placed in the hands of specialists. On the other hand, Russian folk music, which also has an old and rich tradition, still enjoys great popularity and is cultivated on many levels, from professional ensembles to local amateur groups.

Death and Afterlife. Funerary ceremony was in the hands of the Russian Orthodox clergy. However, certain features of the handling of the dead—particularly those who for one reason or another were not considered eligible for Christian burial (suicides, chronic alcoholics, and those who during life had been known as sorcerers)—show traces of the influence of pre-Christian religious cults.

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STEPHEN P. DUNN AND ETHEL DUNN

Russians

ETHNONYMS: Russkiy, Velikorusskiy; formerly, Rus', Ross

Orientation

Identification. Russians are the largest subdivision of the Eastern Slavs, the other members of which are Ukrainians and Belarussians. The Russian language emerged from the common East Slavic tongue, Ancient Russian or Old Church Slavonic, by the fourteenth century A.D. in the Rostov-Suzdal' area of central Russia.

Location. In 1979 eight administrative provinces (oblasts) of central Russia were over 97 percent Russian; in addition, over 90 percent of the population in a north-south ellipse encompassed by St. Petersburg, Arkhangel'sk, Gorki, Volgograd, Rostov-na-Donu, Belgorod, and Smolensk was Russian. Three areas in the Urals and western Siberia—Kurgan, Novosibirsk, and Kemerovo oblasts—likewise were over 90 percent Russian.

These Russian areas are flat or rolling, with a mix of forests and steppes, mostly glaciated in European Russia and loessial in western Siberia. They have cold, snowy winters and summers ranging from cool to very hot. Soils are podzolic in the north and chernozemic in the south. The Russian lands are transected by important rivers, the Oka, Volga, Don, Donets, and Severnaya Dvina in Europe and the Ob system in western Siberia. Peripheral waters include Lakes Ladoga and Onega, the White Sea, and the Gulf of Finland in the European North and the Sea of Azov in the south.

Natural conditions in the Russian environment have been profoundly altered by agriculture, which has left only residual forests south of Moscow; by extensive water development, especially on the Volga and Don; and especially by urbanization. In 1989 only fourteen of thirty primarily Russian oblasts were under 70 percent urban. Tambov, 56 percent urban, was the most rural Russian area in Europe. Conversely, St. Petersburg, Moscow, Ivanovo, and Yaroslavl in Europe and Kemerovo in Siberia were over 80 percent urban. The largest primarily Russian cities were Moscow (9.0 million), St. Petersburg (5.0 million), Nizhny Novgorod (1.4 million), and Novosibirsk (1.4 million).

Despite the degree of urbanization, Russians remain deeply attached to their natural environment. A dacha in the countryside, even if it is a humble cabin, is much sought after and often obtained. Russian poetry, which remains a highly esteemed expressive form (and a mainstay of education), often celebrates the beauty of the land. Contrast Pushkin's "Winter Evening" and Yesenin's "The Golden Grove Has Ceased to Speak." Although these poems were written years ago, the environment to which they refer—birches, oaks, pines, feather grass, nightingales and cranes, and the Russian rivers—has deep and pervasive meaning to this day.

Demography. Expanding with the rise of Muscovy, the Russian people numbered more than 8 million by 1678. Concentrated in central and northern Russia and thinly settled in the Urals and Siberia, they formed about 40 percent of the population of the Russian Empire of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. By 1917 their numbers had grown to about 76 million, with somewhat less than half of these in their ancient core area but only 10 percent outside the boundaries of today's Russia. Prior to World War II the Russian population was characterized by high fertility and mortality—a crude birth rate of 33 per 1,000, a death rate of 23.6 per 1,000, and a life expectancy of about 44 years. World War II and its aftermaths had disastrous effects: the 1959 census reported that, for the ages 35 and over, there were only 54 men for 100 women, the absolute deficiency of men in these ages coming to 12.2 million. By 1979–1980 the Russian population had reached 137.4 million, with 25 percent of the gain between 1939 and 1979 coming from Russification, but the natural increase rate, with dropping fertility, averaged only about 6 per 1,000 over the same period. Recent Russian life expectancies at birth are among the lowest for any urbanized population: the 1988 figures were 69.9 years for both sexes, 64.8 years for men, and 74.4 years for women. Infant mortality for the Russian Republic in that year was 18.9 per 1,000 births (three-quarters of the USSR average). By 1979 one-third of the Russian population of 137 million lived in the old core area, another half elsewhere in the Russian Republic, and only 17 percent in the other parts of the USSR, where, however, they often constituted a large minority or a near majority (Estonia). Today the population is 150 million. The Russian population has grown at a historic rate of 0.9 percent annually.

Cardiovascular stress associated with smoking, alcoholism, the workplace, and family life is the major cause of death today. For women, the combination of heavy domestic work loads and full-time employment contributes to the death rate. This, as well as poor housing, spouse abuse (associated with alcoholism), and unplanned pregnancies partly account for a lifetime average of five abortions per woman—more than twice the number of live births. Fewer than 60 percent of Russian women practice a contraceptive method other than withdrawal or the rhythm method; the total number of women suffering from the consequences of abortions and related medical practices is hard to assess but certainly high.

Migration, particularly to and from Siberia, has had a marked effect on the population, with only 10 to 20 percent of the migrants remaining in their adopted homes after five years. Such movements of population are of course associated with social and political stress.

Linguistic Affiliation. Speakers of Russian form the largest East Slavic speech community, the other members being Ukrainian and Belarussian. After the Common Slavic, Common East Slavic, and Old Russian stages, the Russian language emerged in about the fourteenth century in central Russia (centered on Rostov-Suzdal'). The Russian language has historically been divided among northern, cental, and southern dialects and by marked differences between the popular, administrative, and ecclesiastical styles, which are still evident in vocabulary and syntax. Russian has also been influenced by other languages, notably Finno-Ugric in its early stages, Germanic, Turkic, Greek, Polish, and, above all, French and, most recently, English.

History and Cultural Relations

Since the fifteenth century, the Russian state has been distinguished by centralized, generally autocratic rule, strongly dependent upon a service class (*oprichnina, dvoryanstvo*, Communist party). This was particularly developed by Peter I. Even in 1987 a party monograph stated that "it is important that not only directors, but rank and file workmen, collective farmers, and intellectuals understand their place and role in *perestroyka*" (Laptev, ed., 1987, 22). Although alternative foci of power (the Orthodox church, the National Assembly Zemskiy Sobor, the high aristocracy, the local Zemstva) have emerged from time to time, they have been repeatedly co-opted and controlled. Only

the widely dispersed, deeply devoted, and secretive Old Believers have resisted control despite persecution since the seventeenth century.

The rise and expansion of the Russian state, in a context of hostile states and peoples, has been at enormous cost in wars and rebellions, famines and epidemics. The Tatar raids, the Time of Troubles (a period of dynastic conflict, 1598–1613), the Swedish War, the Napoleonic Wars, the Crimean War, the Russo-Japanese War, and world wars I and II brought great misery. For 150 years, the drafting of serfs for 25 years of military service was deeply mourned in every village. Peter I instituted a modest vehicle for military and civilian upward mobility, through the system of progressively earned ranks. A modern-day parallel was the *nomenklatura*, a system of specified ranks in the former USSR.

Autocratic, often capricious, political power has combined with other elements of Russian social culture to limit the extent and stability of social stratification. In earlier times, estates were constantly being dispersed because of falls from favor and the equal inheritance rights of all sons (as opposed to primogeniture). Although there were many merchant families, some of them extremely wealthy, trade was in general not highly valued and was prohibited for those of noble descent. Modest alternative avenues of social ascent (as defined in the Tables of Rank) were open even to Jews, who were otherwise a persecuted minority confined to the western Pale.

Serfdom, which began during the medieval period, reached its nadir in the eighteenth century when Aleksandr Radishchev's *A Journey from St. Petersburg to Moscow* disclosed appalling abuses. Conditions on the great estates, particularly for household serfs, were those of true slavery, although they were better for the land-working serfs, particularly those under the quitrent (*obrok*) system (the other system being to work on shares). Because, as in other frontier lands, there was no serfdom in Siberia, it provided an escape and some relief—hence the continuing stream of fugitive serfs, who settled these regions and often became Cossacks.

From the 1930s in the former USSR, the collective farmer represented a dispossessed class lacking the internal passport needed for urban residence. Only collective-farm chairmen—party appointees after 1956—were in a position to control farm resources and incomes. Virtually the only area of collective-farm freedom was the de facto possession of small private plots that produced an extraordinary share of Russian foodstuffs, including meat, dairy products, and vegetables. This is increasingly the case today. Within this rural domain, incidentally, elements of customary law have persisted with remarkable vitality. Despite the partial privatization of land and various programs and projects, many Russian peasants are primarily interested in more effective production (e.g., by working together) than they are in private ownership of land as a matter of principle.

Russian industrialization has varied between periods of intensive development and those of prolonged stagnation. In the Kievan period, the cities, as archaeology shows, were centers of local and even international trade and of production through many sophisticated crafts. By the sixteenth century Muscovy's trade with England and other parts of Europe had stimulated technological development. But it was not until Peter I that a strategically oriented program of industrialization was initiated and pushed forward with considerable success. Its central and continuing weaknesses were the dependence on facilities granted to court favorites and on serf (i.e., slave) labor. Despite these weaknesses, there was, in the eighteenth century, phenomenal growth in many areas, the opening of mines and factories, and, among central and northern peasants, the growth of large cottage industries with an enormous inventory of goods such as wooden spoons for export to Asia via Kazan. By the nineteenth century steam power was used, especially in the growing textile industry; during the latter part of the nineteenth and first part of the twentieth centuries, Russia experienced the most rapid industrial growth in modern world history. In general, though, government efforts failed to help rising small entrepreneurs, and the subsidization of inefficient favorites went on. By the eve of World War I, Russia had become an industrial world power, comparable to France, Germany, and the other Western powers that had aided it with their capital.

Although permanent urbanization encompassed barely 10 percent of the Russian population in 1913, a great part of the central and northern Russian population was engaged in migratory industrial labor as well as crafts. This permitted very rapid economic growth in the 1920s. With the rise of German and Japanese militarism, Soviet industrialization took a strategic direction, stressing widely dispersed heavy industrial production, which has continued to dominate to this day. Vast numbers of workers were essential for the huge tasks, and forced labor was a basic recruitment mechanism from 1933 to 1957. In addition, between 1940 and 1957, the State Labor Reserves drafted millions of young people, whose barracks life greatly depressed family formation, induced cultural discontinuity, and encouraged alcoholism and violence.

Generally, the new cities built standardized housing—apartment blocks with central play areas for children. But housing rarely approached real needs, nor did it provide the desired privacy. In 1984 in Kemerovo, about 40 percent of the population lived in apartment blocks, another 40 percent resided in traditional wooden houses without running water or plumbing but with electricity, and the remainder were in dormitories.

The class of intellectuals, despite attrition through oppression, censorship, and internal conflicts, has been of great significance in modern times. With its origins mainly in the educational reforms of the eighteenth century, and drastically enlarged through the intellectual explosion and political tensions of the nineteenth century, the intelligentsia, defined partly by intellectual and partly by political criteria, became a decisive factor in the revolutions of the twentieth century and remains peculiarly powerful in the chaotic scene of the early 1990s.

Economy

In 1985 the Russian Republic had about 83.8 million persons of working age (men reckoned from 16 to 59 years of age; women from 16 to 54). The number employed as workers and service personnel was about 63 million, whereas collective farmers numbered 4.5 million. Fifty-two percent of this civilian employment was female. Eighty-one

percent of the working-age population was working. Nonworkers, unemployed, and people working exclusively in the private sector composed the remainder—or somewhat more, since a fair proportion of older men were still employed. The total labor force, including that concerned with private agricultural plots, was divided as follows: industry and construction, 42 percent; agriculture and forestry, 14 percent; transport and communications, 10 percent; trade and food services, 8 percent; health, physical education, social security, and science, 18 percent: governmental administration, 3 percent; housing and miscellaneous, 5 percent.

Economic returns included pay and entitlements, which depended on the place of employment, party status, and other determinants. In 1985 pay averaged 210 rubles per month, running highest in water transport (287 rubles) and lowest in "cultural work" (123 rubles). Service in remote areas, such as the Arctic, led to large bonuses; all Siberians get "northern percentages" (but prices are higher in Siberia). Entitlements covered housing, health care, day care, vacation sites, and even the right to purchase luxuries such as Volga cars, but these benefits were all but absent for the "unorganized" population, which included children not attending nurseries and schools, the unemployed, and the retired, particularly in rural areas.

The state and cooperative retail trade, including food services, provide only a partial picture of consumption; the unofficial shadow economy is not measured in the official statistics, although it involves a large part of the economy; nor are the large price differences for various social groups included. Official figures for 1985 indicate that 51 percent of the total volume of sales was for foodstuffs, including 5 percent on meat and fowl and 3 percent on bologna. Dairy products took about 3 percent; fats, 2.4 percent; eggs, almost 2 percent. Bread, heavily subsidized, accounted for 2.6 percent; vegetables and fruits, for 3.5 percent. Potatoes continue to be a mainstay of the diet, and most families seem to have a supply of them. Of nonfood items, clothes, footwear, and cloth were the largest component at 21.4 percent. Consumer durables (i.e., cars, furniture, carpets, bicycles, and motorcycles) came to 8.4 percent, whereas soap, detergents, and perfume took 1.6 percent. Printed matter—Russians are avid readers—was 1.4 percent. All else came to 15.7 percent.

These statistics reflect the austere way of life of the majority of the Russian population. Only occasionally can an average Russian enjoy traditional foods such as *pirozhki* (meat- or cabbage-filled turnovers) or go to the circus, enjoy tapes or concerts, or travel freely by car or motorcycle to escape overcrowded housing. This context gives rise to high rates of alcoholism and family violence.

Kinship, Marriage, and Family

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the bilateral kindred was the basic Russian social unit among both peasants and aristocrats (such as the Aksakov family on the Ural frontier). This kindred was delimited in Russian kinship terminology by the exogamic units set by churchly canon: four "links" for consanguinal kin, two for affinal; only the archaic term *dyadina* (father's brother's wife, mother's brother's wife) extended further. The terminology is isolating, except that no distinction is made among consanguinal kin between male and female lines of descent; cousin terms derive from sibling terms; gender suffixes distinguish the sexes among the consanguinal kin of ascending generations and among affinal kin (except daughter's husband and son's wife); and the terms for daughter's husband and sister's husband are merged. Within the kindred, patterns of behavior other than exogamy were largely determined by the specific coresidence patterns of each household. The nuclear family, often supplemented by a grandmother or aunt, was particularly important in the south, but in the central regions patrilocally or fraternally extended families were common, and in the north the large extended family, often numbering more than twenty persons in the household, was typical. Within these households, whatever their size, parental, especially paternal, authority prevailed. To this day on the collective farms, and to a lesser extent in the cities, various joint household budgets persist. Christenings, reverence of icons, and parental blessings of various kinds strengthen human relations. A basic, endearing term for all types of kin is *rodnoy* or *rodnaya* (kinsman, kinswoman), from *rod* (clan). Until recently, at least, godparenthood (*kum, kuma*), often by a relative, constituted a lifelong tie of central importance.

Although premarital sex and single parenthood were always common among Russian peasants and workers, marriage continues to be a major socioreligious act. Traditionally it was mainly an economic contract between the heads of two households, reinforced by the payment of the wedding costs by the groom's household and the provision of a substantial dowry by the mother of the bride. Both patrilocal and matrilocal marriage were practiced, although the former was preferred and more frequent. In matrilocal marriages, parents without sons adopted a son-in-law under a contract that stipulated that he support them for the remainder of their lives and give them a decent burial. Although marriages today are individual commitments, they are often associated with obligations to older female relatives. In Kemerovo, for example, families can gain prized housing rights by means of a coresident grandmother, real or adopted, who is thus protected and in turn helps with child care and household tasks. (This "structural *babushka*" may be a grandparent's sister or other older female relative.)

Sociopolitical Organization

In contrast to the abundance of pre-Revolutionary data, recent materials on Russian social structure are fragmentary. Clearly much has changed since 1985. It may be surmised, however, that traditional kin groups, informal networks, and elements of customary law have persisted to a considerable extent in areas least disturbed by migration (e.g., Ryazan and Tambov provinces). The pervasive social controls of the Communist party, designed to suppress alternative sources and processes of power, seem to have had major limitations and were often mitigated by kindred and friends acting in a "handshake all around" (*krugovaya poruka*)—that is, exchanging and sharing food and other commodities in informal networks.

Religion

The Christianization of Russia in A.D. 988 was a formal royal act that signified the continuing closeness of church and state. Even during Mongol domination, the church was exempt from taxation and enjoyed vast possessions. Through ritual, saintly example, and legal innovations, the church promoted such values as the cardinal importance of love, the respect due to parents, the obligation to give alms, and the abhorrence of suicide. Much of the customary law, including aspects of women's rights, came from the church. The veneration of icons (e.g., in the "red corner" in peasant homes) was adopted in various figurative ways by the Communist party for its own sacred imagery. Prayers and blessings by family elders on important occasions, religious processions, and fasting as a major expression of religious devotion became deeply embedded in peasant and worker culture. Christening and burial in consecrated ground have retained much of their significance, even though priests as ritualists were never very close to peasant or worker life. Such non-Christian practices as soothsaying on New Year's have persisted. Today over half of all Russians, particularly in Europe, appear to be active religious believers, their Orthodox dogma and ritual having changed very little. Weddings and other rituals still have a traditional character; Easter ritual trappings such as painted eggs and *kulich* cake are retained in a quasi-secular setting. The revitalization of Orthodoxy has gone hand in hand with the rapid growth of various Eastern religions, mysticisms, parapsychology, and belief in "paranormal phenomena" (some of the latter being regarded as "scientific").

See also Don Cossacks; Old Believers; Russian Peasants; Siberiaki

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DIMITRI SHIMKIN

Rutuls

ETHNONYM: Mükhadar

Orientation

Identification. The Rutuls are a people living in the Caucasus region of what is now southern Russia, in the southern part of Daghestan (Rutul District) in the valleys of the Samur River and its tributaries. Traditionally, the Rutuls had no collective term for themselves, identifying themselves only by village.

Location. Two settlements, Khnov and Borch, are located in the valley of the Akhtï-chay River, and two settlements, Shin and Kaynar, are on the territory of Azerbaijan. Some resettled Rutuls live in new settlements in the littoral plain by the Caspian Sea and some in towns of Daghestan. The Rutuls are bounded on the east by the Lezgins, on the north by the Aghuls, on the northwest by the Laks, on the west by the Tsakhurs, and on the south by the Azerbaijanis. The traditional territory of the Rutuls lies between mountain ranges that are hard to traverse and is marked by the gorges of torrential rivers. The Rutuls of the Samur are separated from the Akhtï-chay Rutuls by the Tseylakhanski range (up to 4,015 meters above sea level) and from the Azerbaijani territories by the main Caucasian range. In the major part of the territory the winter is cold, and the summer is moderately cool with fogs and rains. The mountain slopes are covered with grassy vegetation and present good summer pasture for livestock. The northern slopes of some mountains are covered year round with snow.

Demography. The total number of Rutuls in the USSR is 20,672 (1989 census), with a rate of growth of 37 percent and average population density of 52 people per square kilometer.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Rutul language belongs to the Lezghian (Samurian) Subgroup of the Daghestanian Group of the North-East Caucasian Family. The dialects are Mukhad, Shinaz, Mükh River, Ikh River, and Borch-Khnov. Knowledge of Russian is widespread, and some among the elder generation still know Azerbaijani Turkish. The dissemination of written language is connected with the penetration of Islam. The earliest known inscriptions are epitaphs and building inscriptions, made in Arabic in Kufic script, dating from the tenth to the twelfth centuries. The Arabic script was used in Rutul until the 1930s. Rutul has not been a written language throughout the Soviet period, Azerbaijani, Russian, and Lezgian being used for that purpose.

History and Cultural Relations

The early history of the Rutuls is bound up with that of Caucasian Albania, within whose territory the people of Daghestan, including the Rutuls, were subsumed under the general name "country of the Gels" (with a hard G). After Albania was conquered by Iran, the Rutuls and other Daghestani peoples formed a sovereign state. The local chronicle *Akhtï Nameh* contains an eighth-century account of the united forces "of the Emirs of Tars, Rutul, Jinïkh, and Rufuk" setting out against the Khazars. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries there are reports of attacks by Rutuls, along with Turks and Laks, against the neighboring Tsakhurs and Lezgins. In the sixteenth century Rutul was ruled by a khan and *begs* (nobles) and maintained diplomatic relations with the governments of the neighboring countries. At the same time there was a Rutul *mahal* (free society, a kind of microrepublic) that politically united a sizable number of the Rutuls. In 1812 the Rutuls, together with other free Samurian societies, were annexed to Russia and formed a Rutul-chay association that united eighteen Rutul settlements and became part of the so-called Samur Province. Since the 1860s, after the end of the Caucasus Wars, the territory of the Rutuls was governed by a *naib* (a Muslim ruler belonging to a Sufi sect) who was appointed from the begs and subordinated to the chief of the Samur District.

Settlements

Many of the Rutulian settlements are quite old. Their location was determined by many factors common for all the population of Daghestan: economic (scarcity of land fit for plowing), natural-geographic (proximity to water, solar orientation), and political (defensive capacity). The earliest settlements were small *tukhum* (patrilineally organized villages). These were subsequently consolidated into settlements as patrilineality weakened because of the need to increase defensive capacity. In the nineteenth century the main consideration for locating a settlement was territorial. In each settlement there were several quarters; it appears that each was originally inhabited by one tukhum (clan). The form and layout of the Rutul settlement result from the topographical conditions of the region, with settlements having a layered design. In accordance with the distribution of houses within the settlements, two types of organization are singled out: a horizontal one and a vertical. In the past the center of the settlement was a mosque and a neighboring *godekan* (teahouse) or *kim* (a men's club based on the clan). For defensive purposes major roads were laid out in the lower outlying reaches and the cemetery was outside the *aul* (mountain village). Settlements of the Soviet period are built along the gently sloping sides of the mountains, as it was more convenient to build new houses, schools, and municipal buildings on flatter surfaces; sometimes whole settlements were relocated to the former agricultural areas, or even to the Caspian plain. The center of the modern settlement is formed by a club or by a "house of culture."

Earlier, several types of domestic complexes were common. (1) A two-storied house without a yard and barns, containing living, domestic, and storage areas. The first story is used for keeping cattle and for domestic and storage purposes. (2) A two-storied square house with an inner small yard in the center; the house contains living, domestic, and storage areas. (3) A complex consisting of a dwelling (one- or two-storied) with separate outbuildings. There is a special cattle shed with a hayloft structurally independent of the house. The dwelling has neither a yard nor a fence and is located in a row with other houses. Both stories are used as living areas. (4) One-or two-storied houses with a small open front yard and with out-

buildings. The earliest form of dwelling and a prototype for later ones is a one-storied, one-chambered building with an adjoining one-storied outbuilding. Characteristic of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is a two-chambered, one- or two-storied stone house without a veranda and without a yard. The basic building materials are crushed stone, clay, and wood. Houses had flat clay roofs. Traditional dwellings had light-holes of different sizes instead of windows, sometimes in the form of a slit; they did not admit much light but in wartime could be used as loopholes. Glass was not used until the Soviet period. Both traditional and modern Rutul homes are decorated with carpets and thick felts, both handmade and machine-made.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. The main occupations are stockbreeding (cattle and sheep) and agriculture (spring and winter wheat, rye, barley, millet, spelt). Sheep raising in the second part of the nineteenth century was quite primitive: the livestock were simply left outside throughout the year, and the sheep received no additional food for the winter. Annual drives from summer pastures to winter ones and back led to heavy losses of animals owing to lack of food and water, overcrowded roads, and forced stops on the way. The sheep are still driven to pasture today, but conditions are better: there are special schedules so as not to overcrowd the paths, veterinary stations, additional pastures, and a system of special transportation for young and tired animals. Warm housing for sheep and herdsmen is built in winter pastures. In bad weather sheep get an additional food supply. The agricultural system was also primitive: single-crop fields, natural fertilizers, wooden plows with metal shares, and sickles. Now the plowing area has been increased through the use of former winter pastures. Fruit and vegetable gardening is developing, which is an innovation for the Rutuls.

Clothing. Traditional clothing belongs to the general Lezghian type of clothing. Men wore a tuniclike shirt (*ukhun*) with a rounded decorated neckline and a vertical cut in front and breeches of moderate width (*badu*). Over the shirt a short narrow-waisted *beshmet* (quilted jacket) was worn. Festive clothes included a *cherkeska* of a northern Caucasian type (a caftanlike coat, narrow-waisted with a flaring lower part), decorated with cartridgelike silver casings that once held a measure of powder for the old muskets (*gazïr*) and worn over the beshmet. The headdress was a tall sheepskin hat (*barmak*) made of shaggy wool sheepskin, similar to the Caucasian *papakha*; the dress footwear (*kyamashbïr*), high boots with upturned toes, was of felt made of multicolored woolen threads. The everyday shoes were made of one piece of leather. In colder weather one wore an uncovered sheepskin coat with sleeves (*qqabachey*), of a cut similar to that of a beshmet. During leisure time men of all ages wore a large sheepskin coat with long false sleeves (*gïlimat*). A special *burka*-style cloak (*lit*), which had the form of a half-circle, served for traveling. The professional shepherd's clothing was a felt tuniclike cloak (*chopuz*). The everyday clothes of a Rutul woman consisted of a tuniclike shirt-dress (ukhun) and of trousers of middle width (*vakhchag*). In the neighboring Azerbaijani settlements women wore wide trousers (*kvyakike*). The overcoat (*valzhag*) was open in front without buttons—long in the main Rutul territory and short, down to the thighs, on the borders with Azerbaijan. In the second case, the beshmet, which had the form of a loose shirt beneath the waist, was worn with a wide long skirt. In cold weather women wore a waisted sheepskin overcoat of the same type as the men's qqabachey and felt high boots with upturned toes (which differed from the men's boots only in color). On the head they wore a special hairnet (*qqatsigen*) and scarf folded in the form of a triangle. Silver jewelry was an important component of women's dress. Now both men and women wear European-style clothes, which have largely supplanted traditional clothing. Only some kinds of traditional wear are used by the older generation (sheepskin hats, women's scarves, and sheepskin coats).

Food. The traditional foods are meat, dairy products, and flour-based dishes. Meat was eaten fresh, dried, and as sausages for winter. Milk was preserved as butter, *brïnza* (sheep's milk cheese), and cottage cheese. Many herbs and wild edible grasses were dried. In everyday meals dumplings (*khinkal*) of different sizes were served as were pieces of pastry boiled in meat broth and served with meat and broth or with butter and cottage cheese. Other dishes include porridges made of flour and of grain and pies and pasties with meat, cottage cheese, different sorts of grain, and herbs. Bread was made both with and without yeast. For weddings a slightly alcoholic beverage, *khyan*, was served, a beerlike drink common to all Daghestan. It was prepared from flour ground from wheat grains and young sprouts with the addition of ground oats. These were poured into cold boiled water, and then allowed to ferment naturally. The ritual food consisted of millet porridge (*tabag*), oat porridge (*kharegvay*), large pies with liver covering (*vichvichima*), and large-loaf bread (*khïv*). Modern-day cuisine includes traditional dishes with additions from urban food. The diet is enriched with fruit, vegetables, and herbs, both fresh and canned.

Industrial Arts. Traditional crafts include pottery and the manufacturing of leather footwear and different wool-based goods (cloth, felt, carpets, ornamented socks, knitted footwear). There were also smiths, millers, masons, shoemakers, and silver jewelers. At present carpets and ornamented socks are produced commercially.

Trade. There existed a barter system of trade with a special system for measuring weight, length, and volume. After the second half of the nineteenth century trade connections grew, both with neighboring communities and among the Rutuls. At markets in Nukha, Akhtakh, and Kazikumukh, the products of animal husbandry were sold, and bread, fruit, confectionery, and factory-made and handmade goods were bought. In 1892 the first weekly market in Rutulia was opened. Trade operations were carried out in small shops owned by Rutuls and Jews.

Division of Labor. Labor in the family was distributed according to age and gender. The most labor-intensive work (sheepherding, plowing, sowing, haying, repairing agricultural implements) was reserved for men. Women were responsible for care of the cattle, dairy production, weeding, reaping, wool working, knitting, and weaving. Children

and teenagers participated in all kinds of tasks, helping and acquiring experience. Girls assisted in domestic work and in raising younger children.

Land Tenure. There were several forms of land ownership: private (absolute majority of lands), communal, and mosque (*waqf*). Part of the private land (pasture slopes and plow land) was possessed by begs. Another part, comprising small pieces of land (plow lands, some of the hay fields), belonged to free Rutulians. Communal property consisted of valley and mountain pastures and some of the hay lands. Conflicts connected with land ownership were constant in relations between poor and well-to-do Rutulians. In Soviet times collective farms (kolkhoz and later sovkhoz) were formed.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. A Daghestanian term, "tukhum," is used to designate a group of patrilineally related kin. In the nineteenth century the tukhum was neither an economic nor a political unit (purely a kin-group designation). All tukhums were named after either an ancestor, the professional activity of the members, or their former location. The tukhum's chief, *ada baba,* was the oldest member of the tukhum. He served as judge in conflicts between relatives and was the chief adviser for enterprises undertaken by his relatives. In especially important cases he gathered the council of the heads of the families. These councils treated cases of division of family property and agreed about future marriages. In the nineteenth century the ada baba had the right to beat a relative who contradicted him. The most severe punishment was expulsion from the tukhum. Custom allowed a weaker tukhum to be joined to a stronger one. The transfer of individuals from one tukhum to another was forbidden. Tukhums consisted of smaller units of relatives, "patronymies" (*q'abila* or *tsikhil*), which in turn consisted of even smaller groups, *q̈idle*, uniting the nearest relatives outside the family up to the fourth generation. Kinship relations are bilateral.

Kinship Terminology. Classificatory and descriptive principles are used: *did* (father), *nin* (mother), *dukh* (son), *rish* (daughter), *khïdïl* (grandchild), *q'ukhdu did* (grandfather; lit., "great father"), *q'ukhdu nin* (grandmother; lit., "great mother"), *shu* (brother), and *rishı* (sister). Terms of collateral kinship have a classificatory basis: *khïdı* (first cousin), khïdïl (nephew/niece), *didi shu* (paternal uncle; lit., "father's brother"), did (maternal uncle—the same as "father"), rishi (father's sister), nin (mother's sister—the same as "mother"). Terms of in-laws are also classificatory: *gag* (wife's father, husband's father, husband's brother); *ga'nin* (wife's mother, husband's mother, husband's sister); *bajanakh* (wife's brother); *sedivan* (wife's sister).

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Marriage was arranged by parents, primarily by fathers. Young people, especially women, had no right to choose. Choice of a marriage partner was determined by the wealth of his family, the social status of his tukhum, and by his diligence and health. The marital age for girls was 15 to 16 years, for men 18 to 20 years. Marriages were contracted within the village, but intervillage marriages also were possible. The mediation of a matchmaker was usual, though there existed other possibilities: agreement from babyhood, abduction of the bride, and leviratic and sororatic marriages. The wedding celebration lasted for two to three days. It was a solemn, all-village occasion, consisting of a series of rituals and entertainments with games, competitions, songs, dances, and masquerades. All relatives helped, financially and physically, to organize the wedding.

Domestic Unit. Nuclear families were the norm, though there still were large patrilineal families in the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. They generally included several close relatives and their spouses living in one house as a common household. Families, both extended and nuclear, were patriarchal: women were fully subordinated to men, younger to elder, and all of them to the head of the family, who possessed unrestricted power.

Socialization. The rearing of children was both a family and a public responsibility. From early childhood the family taught moral norms, norms of social behavior, a system of values, and basic labor training. The family acquainted children with the native folklore, traditions, and rituals. The treatment of children was rather strict but just. The public aspect of upbringing consisted in involving children, especially boys, in such public affairs as games, competitions, and edifying conversations of elderly men in the kims. The rearing of young men was completed in seasonally organized communities, *shahiad majlis,* a kind of survival of archaic male fraternities.

Inheritance. The division of inherited property was governed by the rules of Sharia (Muslim law) and *adat* (customary law). According to Sharia, upon the death of the father of the family his debts were paid first; afterward his parents received one-sixth of the property each, the widow received one-eighth, and the rest was divided between sons and daughters. Sons received twice as much as daughters. If the deceased had only one daughter, she received one-half of all the property, if several daughters they received two-thirds, and the rest was transferred to the patrimonial relatives of the dead. Men received twice as much as women. According to adat a woman could not inherit any type of immovable property—it was entirely inherited by males.

Sociopolitical Organization

Political Organization. All adult men of a Rutul settlement formed a village assembly, which met obligatorily once a year in the beginning of spring and otherwise when needed. The assembly discussed conflicts about land, renting of communal land, repairing and building roads and bridges, and agricultural projects. The gathering elected the administration of the settlement: the headman, bailiffs, herald, and land overseer. The headman was chief of the settlement community (*jamaat*): he looked after the communal land, apportioned labor conscriptions, saw to the execution of decisions of the assemblies, and fulfilled a judicial function in conflicts and appeals. For his labors he received a certain payment from the villagers and part of the fines. He had to give an account to the assembly. The aldermen were elected from among the prominent tukhums. An administrative status independent from the village gatherings belonged to special blocks of the settle-

ments, the *mekhle*, which already in the nineteenth century no longer represented a mere coalition of relatives.

Conflict. All kinds of legislative procedures were based on adat and Sharia. The adat system was applied mainly to criminal cases, whereas Sharia regulated cases connected with religion, family relations, and property inheritance. A *kadi*, an *effendi*, or a mullah (various grades of Muslim cleric) considered cases within Sharia; the headman and the gathering considered cases within adat. There also existed a court of arbitration, the *maslaat*. Civil and military control over all Rutul settlements was in the power of the *divan*, the council of headmen (*aksakals*) headed by a beg.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. The official religion was Sunni Islam, which spread among the Rutuls in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Each settlement had a mosque; large settlements had several mosques and Moslem clergy. At the same time, there were remnants of ancient beliefs: a cult of nature, hunting and fertility cults, animal worship, and occult rituals connected with family life and labor activity. For example, to frighten evil spirits a sharp iron object was hidden under the pillow of a newborn baby. Likewise, the bride was supposed to step on something iron when she entered her bridegroom's home. In order to protect the bride from being "spoiled" by the evil spirits on the wedding day, her face was covered with a red veil, and, to make the life of the couple happy, the bride was showered with small coins and candies. Magic rites existed for summoning sun and rain; sacred groves, mountains, springs, tombs, and sites connected with the lives of some saints were worshiped. The tombs of saints were marked with *pirs*, heaps of stones with sticks decorated with narrow ribbons driven into them. The worshiping of pirs was a combination of pre-Islamic pagan and Islamic rites.

Religious Practices. The Rutuls celebrated a series of bright and emotional festivals and rituals. The most significant yearly holiday was Er, the beginning of the spring and of a new calendar year. For this holiday special food was cooked and distributed among the villagers and a fancy tree was placed on the village square and decorated with apples, sweets, and dyed eggs. People played around it and made swings for the young girls. On this day the first ritual furrow was made. An important holiday at the end of winter marked the end of the seasonal (winter) masculine communities (fraternities). It ended with a theatrical masquerade. The Rutuls had special dances, *jargov* and *rish kyaghrida*, which were generally followed by singing.

Arts. Rutul traditional applied arts included the skillful ornamentation of carpets, woolen socks, and footwear and carving on wood and stone frames of windows, fireplaces, tomb monuments, and wooden dishes. The Rutuls have different genres of folklore: proverbs, legends, fairy tales, ritual songs, and children's folklore. *Ashugh* (bardic) poetry was well developed. Some famous ashughs were Khazarchi Gaji(ev), Jammeseb Salar(ov), and Nurakhmed Ramazan(ov), who were active before the middle of the twentieth century.

Medicine and Science. Before the Revolution, Rutul settlements had no special medical institutions. Diseases of the digestive system, rheumatism, and children's infectious diseases were widespread. Folk medicine often made effective use of herbs (Saint-John's-wort, mint, plantain, etc.) and natural products (honey, sprouting grain, onion, garlic, and the like). Magical remedies were also popular: talismans, "holy" water, earth from saints' tombs, and all kinds of invocations.

During the Soviet period a Rutulian intelligentsia appeared, including physicians, teachers, engineers, and academics. Some notable figures are the scholars A. Alisultan(ov), K. Jamal(ov), A. Palamamed(ov), G. Musa(ev), F. Guseyn(ova) [Huseyn], the physicist I. Ibragim(ov) [Ibrahim], and the physician Kh. Gagay(ev). National culture is developing as a synthesis of tradition and innovation.

Death and the Afterlife. Rutuls traditionally believed that the spirits of the dead dwelt in a world parallel to the human one, governed by the same laws as the living. Some individuals were thought to be capable of communicating with the spirits. The dead, according to Muslim ritual, were to be buried before sunset on the day of death. Funeral feasts took place on the third, seventh, and fortieth days. Funeral and postfuneral rituals bear traces of pre-Islamic beliefs.

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(Translated by Inga Dolinina and John Colarusso)

Saami

ETHNONYMS: Self-designations: Saam', Same; Lapps, Lopari

Orientation

Identification. The Saami (Lopari) of Russia number 1,800, about 85 percent of them living in their ancient territory on the Kola Peninsula in the Murmansk Oblast of Russia; 40 percent live in cities. The name "Lopari" apparently comes from neighboring Finns and Scandinavians—from whom the Russians also took it. The name "Lappia" appears in Saxus Grammaticus (end of the twelfth century). In Russian sources the term "Lop'" appears toward the end of the fourteenth century. Finnish linguists derive the word "Lop'" or "Lopas'" from the Finnish "Lape" or "Lappea" (T. Itkonen) or relate it to the Swedish "Lapp" (E. Itkonen). Sometimes the Saami are called the "Kola," after the peninsula. Recently, both in the literature and in everyday life, they have preferred to be called by their own name of Saami.

The Saami are of a singular physical type that combines features of the European and Mongoloid races, with a predominance of the former. There is a series of hypotheses for the genesis of this type. One of these rests exclusively on ancient mestization (*metizatsia*) of the Europeans by a Mongoloid population that had penetrated the European North in the Mesolithic and early Neolithic periods. According to another hypothesis, the specific character of the Saami type cannot be explained by mixture alone. The proponents of this hypothesis raise the possibility of a third component reflecting certain ancient physical characteristics of the populations of eastern Europe and Scandinavia.

Location. The Saami are the original people of the extreme north of Europe. In the past their ancestors occupied regions significantly to the south and east of their current distribution, but they were gradually pushed northward by other peoples (Russians, Karelians, Finns, Scandinavians). As various sources indicate, the Saami at the turn of the first to second millennia had settled a very wide area, including the northern regions of Scandinavia, the Kola Peninsula, and a significant part of Finland and Karelia, including the shores of Lakes Ladoga and Onega. To the east the basins of the Onegin, Northern Dvina, and, possibly, the Mezen rivers were apparently part of Saami territory. Into the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Kola Saami occupied the land of contemporary Karelia. We find evidence of this in the Novgorodian cadastres, which mention the Lopskie *pogosts* (a complex of country church, churchyard, and cemetery) in the Zaonezh' area. By the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, the Saami occupied almost all the Kola Peninsula, with the exception of the southern part—the Terpsk shore of the White Sea, where Russians predominated. At present the Saami live primarily in the Lovozersk region of the Murmansk Oblast of Russia, with their center in the village of Lovozer.

All of the territory that is settled by Russian Saami today lies beyond the Arctic Circle in the zone of tundra and wooded tundra or the border of the northern taiga. The climate is cold but relatively gentle and moist owing to the moderating influence of the Gulf Stream. The year-round average is about 0° C but the average in July, the hottest month, is 13.7° C. The flora of the tundra is dwarf birch, willow, bushes, mosses, and lichens; in the wooded zone it is fir/spruce, birch, pine, alder, aspen, and rowan. Animal life is quite varied, consisting of diverse mammals: the wild northern reindeer; furbearing animals such as Arctic foxes, red foxes, rabbit, stoats, musquashes, and so forth; ptarmigan; and waterfowl. The natural reservoirs are rich in fish: in the lakes there are whitefish, perch, pike, trout, and the *kumzha*; in the rivers that fall into the Arctic Ocean, the *syomga* salmon.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Saami language belongs to the Baltic-Finnic Branch of the Finno-Ugric Language Family but occupies a special place. Linguists have revealed a substratum within it going back, in their opinion, to the Ugro-Samoyedic languages. The language of the Kola Saami falls into four main dialect groups (Iukangsk, Kil'dinsk, Notozersk, and Babensk) and a series of other dialect divisions, the differences among which are sometimes so great as to preclude mutual intelligibility. All the Russian Saami today know Russian.

History and Cultural Relations

The first contacts of the Saami with Russians were in the thirteenth century, specifically in 1216, when there is mention of the payment of tribute by the population of the Terpsk shoreland to the Novgorodians. After the fifteenth century and the fall of Novgorod, Lapland began to gyrate toward the Great Principality of Moscow and later became part of the Russian state, which was then forming. With the onset of the sixteenth century, the Christianization of the Saami began; the Pechengsk monastery, founded in 1550, played a major role. The expansion of Christianity among the Kola Saami was also related to the activity of the Solovetsk, Antonievo-Siisk, Krestr, and Voskresensk monasteries.

Contacts by the Kola Saami with neighboring peoples have been occurring for many centuries. Toward the end of the nineteenth century the Saami interdigitated with other peoples. Particularly close were the contacts with Russians. Also of many years' duration were contacts with the Karelians and Finns, particularly on the southwestern part of the peninsula. Moreover, in the 1880s, groups of Komi and Nenet reindeer breeders came to the Kola Peninsula from the Pechora River; these contacts had a significant influence on those aspects of Saami life that were related to reindeer breeding. In the twentieth century the national constituency of the Murmansk Oblast became even more mixed. The large influx of an immigrant population—among whom were a significant number of Ukrainians, Belarussians, Tatars, and other nationalities—was connected with the intensive development of industry in the area in the 1930s. The influx continues to this day, and contact with other peoples has become very extensive. Ethnically mixed marriages constitute about 50 percent of all marriages.

Settlements

Busy with their work, especially hunting, the Saami traditionally led a seminomadic form of life. Every Saami social group had its regular winter and summer quarters, the *pogost*, and, in addition, a number of spring and autumn stopping places in hunting areas. The winter quarters were most often situated in the interior of the peninsula, close to the edge of the forest, where the winter pastures of the reindeer were located. The summer quarters were on the shores of lakes or rivers or on the seacoast.

Traditional dwellings were of three basic kinds. The oldest and most distinctive structure was the *vezha*, a transportable dwelling with a frame of poles and a covering made of skin and turf; it had the shape of a truncated tetrahedral pyramid. In the previous century this was, apparently, the basic dwelling of the Saami, but in the twentieth century it has become a dwelling used in spring and autumn stopping places. Sometimes they also lived in vezhas in their summer camps. The winter quarters, by the end of the nineteenth century, consisted basically of small, one-room log cabins with flat roofs or huts of the Russian type. The third type of Saami dwelling was a light transportable structure, conical in form, with a frame of poles covered with skin or tarpaulin. This was the basic dwelling during nomadic migrations. Even today reindeer herders and fisherman use it as a portable dwelling. In the main settlement, most Saami today live in contemporary brick five-story buildings or in private homes of the log-cabin type.

Economy

The distinctive traditional culture of the Saami developed over centuries under the diverse influences, especially the natural environment. The ancient economic culture of the Saami was characterized by a combination of hunting, fishing, and (later) reindeer breeding. For those Saami who live near the seashore, the hunting of sea mammals, particularly the *nerpa* (a kind of freshwater seal), has always been important; among the Saami living far from the sea, the hunting of northern reindeer was particularly developed. Toward the end of the nineteenth century the role of hunting in the economy lessened because of the exhaustion of game in the region. The basic source of subsistence became reindeer herding, with fishing for "black" fish from inland lakes (*vodoyom*) and for the syomga salmon at the mouths of large rivers falling to secondary importance; there were also other, nontraditional occupations such as working on the Kirov railroad or as guides for geological groups. Today about half of all the Saami living in Lovozer are reindeer breeders. In addition, Saami are employed in many nontraditional forms of work, including dairying, construction, education, and service industries.

The traditional system of reindeer breeding of the Kola Saami has characteristics that set it off as a special type among the reindeer-breeding systems of the Peoples of the North and Siberia. These are small herds, free pasturing of the reindeer in the summer with the use of brands (*dymokur*), reindeer barns and fences (*izgorod'*), and the use of herding dogs. The Saami used the reindeer as pack animals when traveling on foot or harnessed them to a very distinctive one-runner sleigh-carriage (Russian: *bezkopyl'nyl*) similar in appearance to a boat with a truncated poop and a sharply raised prow. They sat in this sleigh-carriage with their feet extended forward or with the right foot extended and the left hanging overboard. They drove with the help of reins running along the left side of the reindeer from a halter around its head. They sometimes hitched two reindeer to a freight sleigh-carriage.

The pack saddle, like the harness, was also different from analogical elements of the culture of other reindeer-breeding peoples. It was marked by great simplicity of construction, consisting of two small arch-shaped boards that dropped down along the sides of the reindeer. Their lower ends were fastened with a thong that passed under the belly of the animal, whereas the upper ends were fastened together and the loads, in special sacks, were hung from them. At present the harness and carriage have been replaced by the practical and convenient reindeer sleigh (Russian: *narta*) of the Samoyed type, on a high, slanted sleigh-carriage.

The techniques of fishing resemble in many ways those of the neighboring Russian and Karelian fisherman. Since time immemorial the most widely used equipment have been the stationary (*stavnaya*) net, harpoon or fish spear, the fishing hook, and, for syomga trout, the "locks" constructed of poles and containing snares made out of withies, with which the Saami used to block off rivers.

The most widespread means of hunting the wild reindeer in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was the drive or battue with fences. They drove the reindeer into huge traps made of branches covered with snow. Later they began to hunt with firearms—in the fall with the help of reindeer decoys, but in the spring on a special kind of ski (Russian: *lyzhy-golenitsi*) on the crust (the so-called Russian *gon'ba*). Furbearing animals were hunted with firearms and diverse traps.

Industrial Arts. The basic materials for the preparation of clothing were reindeer hides and tanned skins, procured locally, but also cotton cloth, linens, and calico obtained from traders at the annual fairs in the district city of Kola. Fox, rabbit, and bear skins were used for adornment. Some kinds of footwear were prepared from water-resistant seal skin (Russian: nerpa and *tyulen'*). The Saami also knitted socks and mittens and wove belts from sheep's wool.

The basic upper garment, which was the same for men and women, was in use until the early twentieth century; made of reindeer hide with the fur on the outside, it was put on over the head and came down to below the knees, with the skirt spreading out. This was worn with a fur or cloth cap, of which there are many variants in the various regions of Lapland. Men cinched their coats with a leather belt from which they suspended a knife in a leather sheath, whereas women used colored belts woven of wool. The Saami also wore clothes of a similar cut but made of cloth, which served as outerwear in summer and in winter was donned under the coat. Clothing made of textiles, particularly that of the women, was strongly influenced by neighbors, especially the Russians. Thus there appeared the sleeveless tunic dress (*sarafan*) of the Saami women, with a skirt (*stiaps*), a calico jacket, and a kerchief over the head.

The Saami sewed footwear out of reindeer skins or tanned leather. This footwear could be high, with a legging

running up to the crotch, or low, barely above the ankle. A characteristic of all Saami footwear was that the tip of the toe was turned sharply upward, allowing Saami to step easily into leather bands on their skis and ski without their feet slipping out.

At the end of the nineteenth century, the appearance on the Kola Peninsula of Komi and Nenet reindeer breeders precipitated the diffusion to Saami culture of many Izhem-Samoyedic elements, including clothing. This led to the adoption of the Komi-style cowl (*malitsa*) and a combination sock-sandal made of fur. This clothing remains the basic garb for hunting and similar work in the settlements, but the general population wears purchased factory-made clothing. Footwear of deerskin enjoys great popularity.

Kinship, Marriage, and Family

Kinship. The entire Saami population of the Kola Peninsula at the turn of the century consisted of seventeen societies or communes (Lovozersky, Iokangansky, Semiostrovsky, etc.), constituting territorial associations of sorts. Each society had permanent settlements and its own territory for production (pastures, fishing sites, hunting grounds), the use of which accorded with ancient Saami norms. No information has been preserved about the existence of a clan structure among the Saami. Seventeenth-century sources, however, distinguish three groups of Lopi on the Kola Peninsula and Karelin that perhaps correspond to their earlier division along clan or tribal lines. These are the Konchanskaya Lop' in the western regions of the peninsula, the Terskoya Lop' in its eastern regions, and the Leshoya Lop' in northern Karelin.

Marriage and Domestic Unit. Toward the end of the nineteenth century the Saami lived in small families. The son, after marriage, would separate from his father and run his own household economy. In rare cases, a young husband had to work with his father-in-law, sometimes for as long as one year, before setting up his own household. An only son would remain with his parents until their deaths. The parents always selected the spouses of their children, although this was usually done with the agreement of the children. The groom and the bride were usually related but of different settlements. Weddings generally took place in the winter, after Epiphany, when the entire population was free from work. Saami couples entered into marriage at the age of 20, and it was not unusual for the bride to be older than her groom.

Division of Labor. In the past the head of the Saami family was always the man, but, at the same time, the position of the woman was rather free. Women, according to old notions of the Saami, were considered unclean and, in connection with this, faced a series of prohibitions and constraints. Thus, they could not be in the part of the home (vezha) where the so-called clean/pure place was located and could not participate in the general meal. When guests were in the home, women only served. They could not approach sacred sites. (Whether the Sammi actually regard women as "unclean" is controversial and hinges on the gloss for the Saami word *mugga*, which can also be translated "spiritually powerful, magically efficacious, dangerous." Women were and are seen as having the potential for special connections with the Mistress of Game, and it may well be that it was for this reason their actions were ritually circumscribed.) Despite these prohibitions, the relationship of the spouses and the allocation of respective duties and obligations were determined by the necessities of the Saami way of life, particularly the day-to-day economic routine under conditions imposed by the severe northern environment. The family actually spent a great deal of time out of touch with the other families of its settlement. Under these circumstances, a wife had to participate on equal terms in the domestic economy, including raising the children and obtaining the basic means of subsistence (catching fish, sometimes even herding reindeer). There was thus no strict gender-based division of labor, although some kinds of work were usually carried out by men (e.g., care of the reindeer, preparing firewood), and others were carried out by women (e.g., preparation of food, sewing, repairing clothing, catching small fish in the lakes).

Religion

The Saami of the Kola Peninsula were considered Russian Orthodox. Their Christianization, however, was rather superficial and did not destroy their pre-Christian religion. Of the pre-Christian beliefs, those most characteristic of the Saami were reverence for heavenly bodies (sun, moon) and the deification of diverse aspects of nature. Especially widespread was a belief in the divine patrons of the hunt. Particular respect, for example, was enjoyed by the Mistress of the Reindeer Herds, Luot-Khozik. Reindeer herding was also protected by the Guardians of Grass, or Razi-aike. Other guardian gods were Pots, Khozin, and Pots'-khozik. Saami mythology included numerous spirits, who resided everywhere—on the earth, in the water, in the air, under the earth. In the past, devotion to sacred stones (*seids*) was also widespread. The seids were large anthropomorphic stones or small mounds of small stones, usually located near water and hunting sites. Offerings were brought to the seids (Saami rubbed the stone with the blood of a slain animal, with fish fat, and so forth). The cult of the seids was related both to ancestor rituals and to hunting rituals. At present the Saami are not especially religious. Members of the older generation continue to preserve in memory the legends about the origin of specific seids, and they believe in a life after death.

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(Translated by Paul Friedrich and Sharon Stevens)

Selkup

ETHNONYMS: Ostyaks, Ostyak-Samoyeds, Çumul'-kup, Süsse-kum

Orientation

Identification. Selkup (*söl'qup*) means "forest person." In the seventeenth century the Russian Cossacks called the Selkup the "Piebald Horde," probably because their clothes were sewn from the multicolored skins of small animals and birds. In administrative documents of the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries, the Selkup were called "Ostyaks" (along with the Khanty and Ket); the term "Ostyak," borrowed from Tatar, connotes "impure," "infidel" (*ostyak/estek*), that is, non-Muslim. Since the middle of the nineteenth century, when Finnish scholar M. A. Castrén established the common origin of the languages of the Ostyak-Selkup and the Samoyed Nenets, the Selkup have been known in the the scholarly literature as the "Ostyak-Samoyed." In the 1930s, after the creation of the Selkup literary language by Russian scholars G. Prokofyeva and E. Prokofyeva on the basis of the Northern dialect, the self-designation of the Northern group, "Selkup," was extended to all Ostyak-Samoyeds. Other groups have different self-names: the Selkup of the Tym River call themselves "Çumul'-kup" (land person), the Selkup of the Ket River "Süsse-kum" (forest person).

Location. The Selkup consist of two main groups, the Northern and the Southern. The Northern group resides in the basins of the Taz (which enters the Ob Bay) and Turukhan (a tributary of the Yenisei) rivers, the Southern group along the tributaries of the Ob and its course between Tomsk and Surgut. The Northern group occupies the taiga, where coniferous (pine) forests predominate, rich in reindeer mosses. Among large animals are elks, wild reindeer, and bears; among valuable furbearing animals are sables, marten, otters, ermines, and squirrels. In nonswampy areas of water, white salmon, whitefish, *salmo-vimba, salmo-thymallus, tutun* (a type of whitefish), and net-caught types of fish abound. The Southern group has settled in the most swampy part of the southern taiga zone of western Siberia. Swamp occupies about 70 percent of the area where "dark-coniferous" (spruce and silver fir pines) and conifero-deciduous (birch and aspen) forests grow. Large fauna include elks and bears; the only animal whose fur is exploited commercially is the squirrel. Because of the abundance of swamps, there are yearly mass deaths of aquatic life owing to lack of oxygen in the water; among ichtyofauna net-caught species predominate. During January the mean temperature in the territory of the Northern group is −28° C, in that of the Southern group −21° C; in July it is 15° C and 18° C, respectively.

In the nineteenth century the Narym Selkup lived in Tomsk Province, the Tax and Turukhansk Selkup in Yenisei Province. Currently, the Narym are in the Tomsk Oblast, the Turukhansk in Krasnoyarsk Krai, and the Tax in Tyumen Oblast. The administrative separation considerably hampers the already limited contacts among the various small groups of Selkup.

Demography. According to the censuses of 1897 and 1926–1927, the total number of Selkup was about 6,000; according to the 1989 census it stood at 3,500. Within this, the number of Northerners had increased a little (from 1,500 to 1,600), whereas the number of Southerners had decreased sharply—today the Southern group is close to complete depopulation.

Linguistic Affiliation. The language of the Selkup belongs to the Samoyedic Branch of the Uralic Language Family, the sole surviving member of the South Samoyed Branch. It is closest to the language of the Nenets (especially the Forest Nenets), Enets, and Nganasan. Among other Samoyed languages, it stands out for its multitude of verbal formations and case forms distinguishing animate and inanimate objects (perhaps because of contact with the neighboring Ket), along with phonetic particularities. There are three Selkup dialects: Taz (with the Baishen dialect that has assimilated to it), Tym, and Ket (the last two are sometimes classified together as the Narym dialect).

History and Cultural Relations

Russian sources mention the Selkup for the first time in the sixteenth century. At the head of the political union of the Piebald Horde at that time stood Prince Vonia. The Piebald Horde, numbering up to 400 warriors, offered fierce resistance to the Russians and their allies, the Kodsk Khanty. Vonia entered into a union with the Siberian khan, but after the latter was defeated, Prince Vonia continued to battle the Russians and refused to pay the *iasak* (tribute paid in furs). Only after the building of the Narym fortress in 1596 did the Piebald Horde submit to the Russian czar. Soon thereafter, a part of the Selkup set off for the northern lands and began the formation of the Taz group. Since then the Northern and Southern Selkup have apparently been separated by the Vakh Khanty and the Elogui Ket.

Settlements

In the pre-Russian period there were fortified towns (*koç ketty*) spread out among the Selkup, enclosed with ditches, earthen walls, and palisades and with approaches protected by crossbow-guarded forests. Later settlements were built without defensive structures, usually on the high banks of rivers along the mouths of tributaries, channels, and old riverbeds. As a rule, the settlement consisted of a small number of dwellings (from two to four), constructed either in a row along the river or arranaged randomly. Frame-post yurts reinforced by sand or turf (*çuy-mo, poy-mo*), or framework houses served as dwellings; among the Northern Selkup there were tents of the Nenets or Evenki type. Sometimes several dwellings were built in summer and winter in places suitable for hunting.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. The Northern Selkup are divided into groups of hunters, fishers, and reindeer herders. Hunting is considered the most prestigious specialization. As a rule, good hunters also keep a small herd of reindeer (ten to thirty head), which is used for the long expeditions during the winter hunting season.

Those who specialized in fishing were usually without reindeer. Hunters and fishers also were distinguished among the Southern Selkup, but such a division depended on the district of settlement: near the Ob, the Selkup specialize in fishing; in the upper reaches of the tributaries (of the Ket and Tym), in hunting. Horses were used for transport. Among the Northern Selkup, harnessed reindeer served as the means of conveyance (reindeer herding was borrowed by the newcomer Selkup from the Nenets and Evenki). Fishing on the Taz was carried out year-round by means of nets (in earlier times made from nettle fibers) or dammed structures with wicker-wattled snares of pine laths, as well as with fish spears and hooks. On the Ob, the catching of fish was halted during the time of the mass death of fish ("the rusting") from January to April. Besides fish, the products of the hunt—meat, pelts, bones of elks and wild reindeer, aquatic (in summer) and pine-forest (in autumn) birds—played an important role in providing their livelihood. Furs were used to pay tribute (iasak) and as a legal tender.

There is evidence that in the past the Southern Selkup engaged in limited agriculture, including the cultivation of tobacco (*çope*) and possibly of barley (*laaria*). In the Narym dialect there are words suggesting the practice of agriculture: *kyraç medy*, "clear a thicket of forest"; *vylial' dotyty*, "loosen the earth"; *soçaptiko*, "cultivate, plant"; *çokor*, "millstones." The gathering of berries, nuts, and martagon (a species of lily) roots was widespread. Raw vegetable material supplemented the basic foods, meat and fish. Flat cakes of barley flour (*myrsa*) and martagon (*togul*) were baked, and a kind of brandy (*ul'*) was also prepared. One of the most widely prepared dishes was fish fermented in red whortleberry; another typical food was boiled or raw meat or boiled or fire-baked fish. Women prepared the food, whereas men procured the meat and fish.

Trade. In the nineteenth century a bunch of ten squirrel skins, *sarum*, was the basic exchange unit. A wolverine or a red fox pelt was equated with one such bunch, that of a polar fox or sable with three. In the seventeenth century a successful hunter could bag up to 200 sables and 2,000 squirrels during the winter season. In conversion into money a squirrel was worth 1 to 2 kopecks, a sable was worth 1 ruble (on the international market the price for a single black Narym sable reached 200 to 300 rubles per pelt). Imported goods vital to the Selkup were priced relatively inexpensively. Apart from furs, fish, reindeer, horses, bows and arrows, and boats served as goods in internal trade. In exchange with the Russians for furs, fish, berries, and nuts, the Selkup acquired metal tools, weapons, cloth, flour, tea, sugar, tobacco, and vodka. *Taksybyl'kup* (trade people) operating as middlemen emerged among the Selkup.

Industrial Arts. Property consisted of dwellings and household buildings (barn, storehouse, awnings, smoking sheds, pens for horses or reindeer, etc.); hunting implements (iron traps, bows and arrows, and guns and ammunition); fishing tackle (nets, seines, dams); and means of transportation (horse sleds, reindeer sledges, skis, and boats). The inside of the dwelling was divided into a female part (by the entrance) and a male part (opposite the entrance), where the corresponding female and male things (clothing, instruments of labor) were kept. The most significant possession of the woman was sewing equipment; of the man, a knife with belt and weapons. The Northern Selkup wore fur coats of reindeer hide, *pargy*; the Southern wore fur coats sewn from scraps of pelts (paws or ears) of squirrel and sable with boots and mittens from the skins of sturgeon.

In the pre-Russian period (before the sixteenth century) the Selkup had a highly developed ceramic industry: not only were various vessels prepared from clay, but also smoking pipes, sinkers for nets, smelting forms, crucibles, children's toys, and religious sculpture. Pottery has almost entirely vanished since the seventeenth century. At the same time weaving degenerated under the influence of trade based on the processing of nettle fibers, *saatçu*. Among the Northern Selkup, blacksmithery was preserved until recent times; earlier, the Selkup smiths, *çotrl' kum*, were famous among the neighboring peoples for their ability to forge weapons, armor, helmets, masks, mirrors, and adornments. At present, masters are honored in the preparation of boats among the Northern Selkup, as well as in the sewing of fur clothing.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Reckoning of kinship was patrilineal. Within the father's clan, marriages were completely forbidden; within the mother's clan, the prohibition extended, as a rule, to three generations. Among the Narym Selkup, there was a circular chain within the framework of a tri-clan union (*gary*): a member of clan A took his wife from clan B, a member of clan B from C, and a member of C from A. The clans of the Southern Selkup were the Woodgrouse, Grouse Beak, Raven, Kite, Swan, Crane Beak, and Bear, whereas those of the Northern were the Woodgrouse, Crane, Eagle, and Nutcracker. In the north, there was clan exogamy; a gradual formation of a binary exogamic system has come about with the resulting division of the society into two halves—*kossyt'tamdyr* (people of the Nutcracker) and *limbyl'tamdyr* (people of the Eagle).

Kinship Terminology. The term *il'ça* designates the fathers and older brothers of one's parents. The corresponding age class on the female side was called *imylia*. The younger brothers of the father and older brothers of Ego were defined by the term *tymnia*. A single concept—*tytyira*—was extended to the younger brothers of the mother and the sons of her older brothers. The younger sister of the father, older and younger sister of Ego, as well as younger sisters of the mother and the daughter of the mother's older brother, were called *nynyia*. The son of the mother's younger brother and the daughter of the mother's younger sister were also distinguished by special terms. The youngest representatives of the female line—the daughters of the mother's younger sister, daughters of the husband's younger sister, and daughters of the wife's younger sister—were all designated *ketsan*.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. According to Selkup tradition, boys could enter marriage at 17 years of age, girls at 13. The marriage ceremony included matchmaking (preceded by fortune-telling), a wedding in the home of the bride's parents, and the marriage celebration at the groom's parents' house. The matchmaker was an older relative (father's brother, older brother) of the groom. Persuasion of the bride's parents and the determination of the *kalym* (bride-price) were the matchmaker's responsibility. A shaman took part in the wedding, shamanizing at the beginning and completion of the ceremony. After the marriage the groom had to stay in the bride's parents' house for about a month. A young wife had to cover her head and face with a kerchief to hide from the older kinsmen of the husband; this "avoidance" continued until the birth of the first child.

Domestic Unit. There were three types of family among the Selkup—the nuclear, the large patriarchal (including the married couples of two generations), and the fraternal (which consisted of married brothers, either related or collateral). Monogamy was usual for the Selkup. The family lived in an individual dwelling; large families erected spacious houses, sometimes with two or three rooms. The family undertook a joint (communal) economy, divided into micro-groups according to need. The head of the family was a man—the husband in the nuclear family, the father in the patriarchal family, and the older brother in the fraternal family. In the cemetery, the graves of members of a family were situated together.

Socialization. Childbirth was celebrated by the rites of circumcision and burial of the umbilical cord, carried out by a midwife (*evvem-payia*); purification of the infant over the fire; and the preparation of the day and night cradles. A child was not considered to possess an "upper" soul (*il'sat*) until the onset of teething. In case of death, Selkup bury the infant away from the common cemetery, customarily within a tree stump (a return to the initial state). No special education system existed for children. From the ages of 1 to 4 they were incorporated into the community through playful imitation of the activities of adults. By age 5 a girl knew how to sew (at 3 she could already "hold the needle"), and a boy could shoot with a bow and had mastered the lasso. From around 7 or 8 years of age a girl participated fully in domestic work, a boy in hunting. By age 14 or 15 teenagers had command of all the necessary skills of independent life. The learning of social norms, ceremonial arrangements, and spiritual symbols took place in the same way.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. The Selkup social structure was much altered under the influence of the Russian and Soviet state systems. As far back as the seventeenth century there were the "best people" (*somal'kumyt*), "the rich" (*koumde*), "simple people" (*manyrel'kumyt*), "paupers" (*segula*), and "slaves" (*koçgula*). The shamans played a special social role, often as leaders of individual communities or territorial groups. According to legend, magic single combats and actual duels arose between shamans of various associations, as a result of which one overcame the other and appropriated his power—his spirit helpers.

Political Organization. The Selkup were not a unified political entity. On the contrary, there are several legends about clashes between individual clans and territorial groups. As a rule, communities settling the basin of some small river were considered a unit. Such communities numbered several tens of families. Their territory was demarcated in the upper reaches of the river by a sanctuary, in the lower reaches by a cemetery. Earlier, at the head of such communities stood heroes (*sengira*) and princes (*kok*). The territory subject to the prince was called *pontar* (edge/side); it formed as a result of conquests. After the defeat of the Piebald Horde, these leaders gradually became middlemen between the native inhabitants and the Russian administration. The communal meeting, *takol*, was mainly occupied with economic problems.

Social Control. The basic issues, regulated by the norms of customary law, were land ownership, property arguments, and inheritance. The Selkup had three types of land ownership: *çevçom*—the land of the family, inherited by the husband's line; *matarym*—clan lands, to which belonged the common hunting ground at a distance from the settlement; and *edika-da-çonje*—collective settler grounds. Social norms require the provision of mutual aid. Also, in case of their infringement, there were severe punishments, including death (for example, for the breach of çevçom). Property was considered the personal property of the owner (manufacturer); in case of the death of the owner, a significant portion was placed in the grave or alongside it. Use of another's things was considered prohibited. Thievery was seen as a dangerous illness, subject to shamanic treatment. In the interrelations between kinsmen and affines there existed the custom of mutual giving (exchange of gifts). Criminal acts fell under the jurisdiction of the local district or province administration. Acts of civil status were recorded in the registry of birth of the Orthodox church.

Conflict. Intracommunal conflicts were usually resolved by the heads of the families or, in special cases, by shamans. The most significant clashes were interethnic. War ethics, in opposition to those of times of peace, encouraged ferocity, cunning, violence, and thievery in relation to foreign tribes. Legends recount wars of the Selkup with the Nenets, Khanty, Evenki, Siberian Tatars, and Russians. The uncompromising nature of relations with enemy groups is indicated by Selkup folklore, in which the Selkup cultural hero Lyia often appears in the role of warrior and conqueror of foreigners.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Lyia combines traits of the leader (kok), and the trickster, the son of the celestial spirit Nop, continually engaging in battle with the master of the underworld (*kyzy*). The Milky Way is represented as the ski-tract or seine of Lyia, subjugator of the nocturnal sky. The Milky Way was also called the nocturnal rainbow, uniting the sky with the earth. From one end to the other of the diurnal rainbow (the shadow of Lyia's bow) stretched the whole expanse of life. The cosmos is divided into sky

(*nop*), earth, (the master of which is Ilynta Kota, "Old Woman of Life"), and the underworld (Kyzy). All three domains are bounded by a river, along which the shaman descends to the lower world on the seven-oared rowing boat, *rontyk*, and by a tree, along the notches or branches of which the shaman ascends to the sky.

Religious Practitioners. There are two types of shamans (*tetypy*): *sumpytyl' kup* (those who shamanize in a light tent) and *kamtyryl' kup* (those who shamanize in a dark tent, that is, without fire). The main attributes of the "light" shaman were the holy tree (*kossyl'-po*), drum with rattle, staff, and clothes, consisting of breastplate, caftan, boots, headress (iron crown), and mittens. The ability (gift) to shamanize was inherited, reviving together with the soul of the shaman in one of his descendants (most often in the grandson). Shamans, without fail, possessed musical and poetic abilities; each spring at the festival of the Arrival of Birds the shaman performed a new song. Kinsmen collectively looked after the condition of the shaman's spirit; in the moment of the coming-into-being they prepared for him a first, small drum; then, according to the magnitude of the shaman's ability, the scale of his drum and the quantity of his attributes increased. The clearest function of the shaman was healing. A full (seven-sky) shaman was considered capable of driving out any illness and of resurrecting the dead. In contrast to simple people, the souls of the shamans did not depart to the Lower World. Therefore, sumpytyl' kup were buried in trees.

Death and Afterlife. The death of an ordinary person was treated as the separation of body and soul. After the soul, il'sat, wandered among kinsmen for three to seven years, it moved into a bear and dwelt in the dark (forest) world. The hunt of the bear was called *ettylia kietçiemy* ("the guesting"). It was thought that the animal was revealed only to his kinsmen. There existed the custom of a thrice-repeated tossing of the slain bear's paw to determine the name of the kinsmen, the soul of whom appeared in the shape of a bear to the hunter. Thus, living and dead relations were inhabitants of one neighborhood. In "the other" world life flowed in a backward direction: old men became infants; the idle, workers; the poor, rich. The moon was the luminary of the other world; setting and rising, upper and lower changed places. Death, a transfer into a shady side of life, was understood as a guarantee of the future rebirth of the soul in a new incarnation.

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Shors

ETHNONYMS: Abans, Blacksmith Tatars, Chysh Kizhi, Kondoma, Kuznets Tatars, Mountain Shors, Mrassa, Shortsy, Tom-Kuznets Tatars

Orientation

Identification. The modern Shors are descendants of numerous Turkified Ugrian-, Samoyedic-, and Ketic-speaking groups and tribes, many of them unrelated to each other. The generic term "Shor" is actually the name of a single large group living in the Kondoma River valley; it was applied by the Soviet government to a large number of groups to simplify administration. Shor groups live separately and have their own names, often terms that reflect locality. Names like "Mrassa" (or "Mras Kizhi") and "Kondoma" refer to the specific sites of particular groups. "Chysh Kizhi" translates as "people of the taiga," a name by which many Shors sometimes refer to themselves. "Abans" is the name of a single *seok* (clan) studied in the eighteenth century; Shor people frequently identify themselves by their clan membership. "Blacksmith Tatar" refers to the Shors' earlier industrial specialization in smelting and forging iron goods.

Location. The Shors live in the Kuznets Alatau Mountains, in the middle reaches of the Tom River and its Kondoma and Mrassa tributaries (54° to 56° N, 87° to 90° E). The Kuznets Alatau is an irregular series of horsts and faults, rather than a single mountain range and, with peaks of 1,000 to 2,100 meters, is lower in elevation than the main Altai mountain system to the south. The Minusinsk Basin lies to the east, the Kuznets Basin to the west, and the Siberian taiga to the north. The territory of the Shors is in the center of the large Kuzbass industrial region, which gets much of its coal from the Kuznets Basin. The climate is continental, and winters are extremely cold. Higher elevations are covered with snow year-round. The rivers of the region flow north, which has long made communication with centers of civilization to the south difficult.

The Shor region is at the southern end of the large northern forest. Physically, it is intermediate between the natural zone of the Siberian taiga and the natural zone of the Central Asian Steppe; its vegetation and soils have characteristics of both zones. In the northern part of the Shor range, in higher elevations, the forest is primarily Siberian pine, fir, spruce, and birch, with some cedar; in lower elevations and along river valleys are found mosses, shrubs, and grasses. In the southern Shor region, the trees are fir and aspen, and there is little moss; in higher elevations are found lindens and herbaceous meadows in burned and deforested sites. Fauna include Siberian elks (*marals*), roe deer, sables, squirrels, otters, weasels, foxes, ermines, goats, bears, badgers, wolverines, lynx, grouse, partridge, salmon-trout, grayling, pike, and burbot.

The entire area is rich in coal and iron deposits, which have been exploited since ancient times. The soils vary considerably. They are primarily loesslike clay loams, chernozems and degraded chernozems, and northern forest

soils, which merge into podzols in the mountainous regions. Compared with the steppe areas, precipitation is heavy. The snow cover is deep and lasts many months.

Demography. The 1979 census put the Shor population at 16,033, up from 12,601 in 1926.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Shor language belongs to the Old Uigur Subgroup of the Turkic Branch of the Altaic Family and is closely related to Chulym. It is the native language of 61 percent of the Shor people. There are two dialects, Mrassa and Kondoma; Mrassa is the basis of the literary language. The Shor literary language was first used in the 1920s, when it was written in Cyrillic script. The Latin script was used for nearly ten years, beginning in 1930, before Cyrillic was restored. Most of what the Shors publish today is written in Russian.

History and Cultural Relations

Partly because of difficulties imposed by the terrain, there has been relatively little archaeological exploration of the Kuznets Alatau as compared to the Minusinsk Basin and the Pazyryk cultures to the east and south. In the absence of systematic coverage of archaeological remains and of written records, it has been hypothesized that the peoples of the Kuznets Alatau were originally speakers of Samoyedic and Ketic languages, who, sometime in the last 2,000 years, began to speak Turkic languages following an infusion of Turkic speakers. The location of the Samoyedic and Kettic speakers lends support to this theory; as late as the eighteenth century these peoples lived to the west and east of the Altai and the Kuznets Alatau. Further, nineteenth-century Turkologist Wilhelm Radloff found that many local names of rivers and other geographic features were etymologically related to Samoyedic and Kettic terms; these place-names remained even though the local peoples themselves had assimilated to Turkic-speaking groups.

The Abas, or Abans, were themselves Turks in earlier times, rather than Samoyeds or Kets, and were probably descended from the Teleuts of the Altai region. Seventeenth-century Russian visitors described them as hunters, trappers, and metalworkers, but J. G. Georgi, who visited in the eighteenth century, reported they were cattle breeders whose practices resembled those of the Teleuts.

The Shor peoples were at various times subjects of Mongol and Turkic empires or were forced to pay tribute to them. Later the Shor region was incorporated into the Russian and then into the Soviet empire. Imperial control has subjected them to considerable acculturative pressure with respect to their ethnic identity, economy, social organization, politics, and religion. Presently, the Shors are mostly settled peasants and wage laborers who also hunt and gather nuts and honey for sale. Half of them work on collective farms and others work as miners or in factories.

Settlements

The Shors live in permanent settlements, although in the past these settlements were moved from time to time to find new cropland or following the death of a member of the village community. In traditional times villages were inhabited solely by the members of one exogamous patrilineal clan (seok) and the in-marrying wives. Today the term "village" is synonymous with the term *ulus*, a Turkic/Mongol word that may be translated as "local district"; the makeup of the village population now resembles only superficially the seok of the past.

At the turn of the century the Shors lived in low four-cornered log cabins roofed with birch bark. Some also lived in yurts, although by this time Russian-style houses had largely replaced them. Hearths were made of clay, and chimneys of woven branches. In the southern part of Shor territory log barns and log storage buildings that sat on posts were used. Wealthier Shors built two-and three-story houses and farm buildings, some of which were covered with iron. Today wooden houses and huts are used. Both in the past and today, families move to the fields for planting and for harvest, during which time they live in tents (*odaq*) made of vertical beams covered with birch bark. Men hunting in the forests make use of these tents as well.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. When first contacted by Russians, the Shors were found mining local coal and iron deposits and smelting and forging iron implements. The implements, made for their own use and to barter or sell to the nomadic pastoral peoples to the south, consisted of hoes, armor (helmets and breastplates), swords, pikes, and spears. Some Shors also practiced pastoralism, although at that early time only the southern Shors practiced agriculture—raising wheat, barley, and, for cloth and edible seeds, hemp.

The imposition of the czarist government in the eighteenth century eventually caused the manufacture of iron goods to cease because technologically superior Russian spades, plows, and axes replaced the indigenous tools. As the iron trade waned in the period of the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, the Shors increased their fur-hunting activities, which later became their chief occupation. They were also subject to a tax, which they were forced to pay in furs. The animals most sought were the sable, squirrel, weasel, otter, fox, ermine, and lynx. The Shors hunted with the bow and arrow until the eighteenth century, when they adopted the gun (for which they made their own bullets). Sables were caught with special nets placed near the exits of their burrows or were smoked out. Otters were caught with nets in rivers or shot when coming to an air hole in the ice in the winter. Ermines, weasels, foxes, hare, and other animals were snared. In time the most valuable furbearers were overhunted, and the sable disappeared altogether from the region; the Shors turned to hunting squirrels. For meat they hunted reindeer, marals, wild goats, bears, badgers, wolverines, black grouse, partridge, and musk deer. They used bows and arrows, guns, dogs, wooden traps, pitfalls, enclosures, and automatic arrow-firing traps (*aya*). Marals were sometimes lured with special cedar-wood musical pipes (*pyrgy*).

Fish were taken with weir, hook, cast seine, spear, bow and arrow, noose, and net. One type of net had holes of various sizes so that several different types of fish might be caught at one time. Women and children sometimes caught fish with their hands or with sacks.

Agriculture continued in the nineteenth century, with the Russian wood-and-iron plow replacing the hoe. Farm

land was cleared by fire and ax, although 33.7 percent of all Shor households in 1900 farmed no land at all, and 20.3 percent farmed only a tiny amount of land. The principal crops in the north were wheat and oats, in the south barley. Animal husbandry was also little practiced; in the late nineteenth century many villages had no cattle and their inhabitants had never tasted milk. In 1899, 10 percent of all Shor households had no horses, and 19 percent had no cattle.

During the period of Russian domination, the Shors supplemented their income by selling some of their fish, dairy products, and cedar nuts in the market town of Kuznetsk. Cedar nuts were collected by knocking down the cones with long poles or by using boys to climb the trees. Some cones were gathered from the ground, but rodents often got the nuts first. The cones were then grated, sieved, and winnowed for their nuts. The Shors built upon their knowledge of gathering wild honey when they adopted the practice of beekeeping from the Russians; they are reportedly excellent beekeepers who sell much of the honey they produce. By the middle of the nineteenth century some apiaries had 1,000 hives.

At the turn of the twentieth century the wealthier northern Shors generally wore clothing of homespun and factory-made cloth and sheepskin. The poorer southern Shors wore homespun hemp clothing because they kept few livestock and there were not many wild animals left to hunt. With the exception of the women's shirt-dress, men and women wore virtually identical clothing: trousers, shirt, and coat.

Transportation was usually by foot except in the deep snow, when Shors used skis of cherry, willow, or birch backed with animal hide. Snow with a crust called for the use of unbacked pine skis. Sleds were also used for hunting.

There are two basic Shor staple foods: buckwheat groats, which are eaten boiled with milk, fish, or meat, and wheat-flour porridge, which is accompanied by tea, milk, honey, butter, or sour cream.

Soviet influence has emphasized the creation of large (collective) farms, and on those farms the raising of livestock. Although most of the farmland produces wheat, oats, and barley, much is now devoted to raising hay for fodder. In the factories workers produce machinery and process gold, and aluminum. Many of the Shors work in the coal mines. Only a small number work hunting furs.

Industrial Arts. Until the nineteenth century Shors smelted powdered ore in covered cavities in the clay floors of their houses, using small coals and hand bellows. Wood was used to make skis, benches, dugout boats, and utensils. Birch bark was made into containers and utensils. Some Shors made pottery. Nets were made from wild nettle and hemp. Animal hides were processed but not tanned. Hemp was woven into clothing using a crude loom that was stretched between two stakes pounded into the ground; the loom included a thread board, a warp divider, a beater, and a wooden stick that served as a shuttle. Horn was made into handles, gunpowder measures, knives, harness rings, and cartridge cases.

Trade. Trade and communication were extremely difficult until recent decades. The mountainous terrain and rocky rivers made travel by path or water difficult; paths could accommodate horses but were entirely unimproved, and boats had to be towed from the shore.

Before the Russians contacted them, the Shors traded iron goods with pastoral peoples to the south for horses, felt, wool, and other pastoral products. In ancient times some of their iron wares, particularly weapons and armor, were taken in tribute by the Mongol and Turkic empires, for whom the Shors were a major supplier. The czarist government, imposed on the Shors in the eighteenth century, forbade contact between Shors and the pastoral nomads, and that trade ceased. On the other hand, the increased trade with the Russians in the nineteenth century led to the creation of a group of middlemen—trading partners known as *tanysh* (lit., "friend" or "acquaintance"). These men advanced hunting supplies and other kinds of goods to hunters on credit against their future production of furs, transported their fur taxes (at a profit), and sold the hunters' furs to outside buyers (also at a profit).

Division of Labor. Traditionally, men hunted and fished, and women wove cloth and engaged in domestic work.

Land Tenure. Every seok, and later every *töl* (extended family), had exclusive possessory rights to an area of taiga that had well-known boundaries. If caught, trespassers would lose their catch, their hunting camp would be destroyed, and there was the possibility of further punishment, including beatings. The seok could, however, extend rights to members of other seoks to hunt on their lands, though they did this mostly on behalf of seoks with whom they had intermarried.

Kinship. Much of Shor social organization and the political and legal systems can be understood through a description of their clan and family structure. The clan, or seok (also written, *söök*, a Turkic word meaning "bone"), was patrilineal, exogamous, independent, and situated at some distance from other clans; the inhabitants of a village consisted of the members of a clan and their wives. Each clan furthermore held its own territory, which it defended from trespassers. Hunting lands were held in common by the members of the clan, as were agricultural lands. Families were able to cultivate any lands that were unoccupied, and the products of the land went to the individual family, whether extended or nuclear, that raised the crops. Each clan had its own political structure and many had their own courts. During times of czarist control, the village was led by a *pashtyk*, or headman, who was an intermediary with the federal government. He helped control the fur-hunting practices, since it was the seok as a whole that was responsible for paying the fur tax.

In some areas the clan appears to have been replaced as an organizing unit by the patrilineal extended family of two or three generations, perhaps as a result of increased reliance on trade, which may have favored private rather than group ownership. This family, known as a töl, was especially common among the southern Shors. The members of the töl also held hunting and agricultural property in common, in much the same manner as did the seok.

By the end of the nineteenth century, seoks and töls had begun to break up, probably as a result of the cash market system, into economically independent nuclear

families; married sons, rather than contributing what they made to the clan or extended family, kept it for the benefit of their own wives and children. The Soviet government, however, maintained the töl as an administrative and census unit.

Marriage and Family

Marriage was traditionally accompanied by a series of feasts, most of which took place in the bride's house. Following the wedding ceremony, the groom took presents from his wife's father to his own father, and then the couple lived with the groom's family. It was once the custom for a man to supply his wife's family with parsnips and a share of the meat that he got by hunting. There was a strict rule of brother-in-law avoidance, and a wife was not allowed to call her husband's elder brothers by name, be left alone with them, sit near them, shake hands with them, or even be in their presence with uncovered feet or head. The Shors are monogamous.

Until the Russian Revolution most Shors were illiterate and passed accumulated knowledge to younger generations orally. Compulsory education under the Soviet government has since made most Shors literate.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Among Siberian peoples, Shamanism is an ancient system of belief that encompassed religion, medical practice, folklore, philosophy, and worldview. In addition to shamanism, the Shors had a cult of mountains, associated with individual clans, and a bear cult. They also propitiated the game animals that they killed. All of these beliefs were once widespread in Siberia but have fallen into disuse. The Shors were converted to Christianity in the nineteenth century, and this contributed heavily to the decline of shamanism and other aboriginal beliefs.

Religious Practitioners. The shamans believe that animate beings and inanimate objects have spirits, which they seek to know, understand, and, if possible, control or manipulate through song and by using special paraphernalia. The Shor shaman's most important piece of paraphernalia was the drum, which was inscribed with special designs of supernatural significance. He also used a birch-bark mask. In earlier times the Shor shaman was connected to a seok, and the spirits he sought to control were considered hereditary within a particular seok.

Arts. The Shors once sang epics, which were similar to those sung by the Teleut (among whom they are still sung). The singer was accompanied by a two-stringed musical instrument known as the *komys*.

Death and Afterlife. The dead were traditionally wrapped in birch bark and, in a shamanic ritual, placed in a tree. This practice lasted until sometime in the nineteenth century, although the practice of placing dead children in trees survived into the twentieth. The shaman's drum was also placed in a tree at its owner's death.

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DANIEL STROUTHES AND LAWRENCE KRADER

Siberiaki

ETHNONYMS: Belarussian Siberians; Russian Siberians; Siberiachi; Siberian Cossacks; Sibiriaki; Slavic Siberians; Ukrainian Siberians. Local names include Kamenshchiki (of the Altai) and Semeiski (of Baikal).

Orientation

Identification. Siberiaki live in pockets throughout Siberia and the Russian Far East. They are primarily families of Slavic, especially Russian, background who settled in Siberia before the Russian Revolution of 1917 or before World War II and who adopted Siberia as their homeland. A more inclusive perspective, popular among Siberian regionalists, is that Siberiaki are those who were born in Siberia or who accept Siberia as a homeland. They differentiate themselves from newer settlers (*novoseltsy*) whose loyalty to Siberia is less well established. Siberiaki are considered, by outsiders and by themselves, to have adapted to Siberian conditions and acquired a special syncretic esprit de corps that includes aspects of traditional Siberian native culture. Many Siberiak families have intermarried with natives of different Siberian regions, thus creating local variations of Siberiak culture. The term "Siberiaki" is sometimes used derogatorily by more recently urbanized Slavic newcomers to Siberia, but it is also used by Siberiaki themselves to mark and acknowledge their differences from Russians of the Russian heartland.

Location. Siberia and the Far East extend from the Ural Mountains east to the Pacific Ocean and as far north as the Arctic Ocean and the Bering Sea. The territory is within the former Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR). It borders on European Russia to the west, Kazakhstan to the south and China and Mongolia to the east, stretching approximately from 50° to 80° N and 60° to 175° E. It includes the low rolling Ural Mountains and the high, snowcapped Altai peaks. East of the Altai range is Baikal, one of the world's deepest and largest (33,800 square kilometers) inland lakes. Most of southern

and central Siberia is steppe, forest, and taiga, where agriculture is eked out in a short summer season. Along such grand rivers as the Ob, Yenisei, Lena, and Indigirka, forests reach to the Arctic Circle. But much of the north is tundra, where reindeer moss and lichen grow, along with a few stunted firs on permafrosted land. It comes alive with flowers only in the hot summers when temperatures soar to +30° C. Harsh winters punctuated by violent snow storms last from September through May with temperatures dipping as low as −79° C. Most of the northern winter, although cold (with temperatures hovering between −10° and −30° C), is more tolerable since it is drier and less windy.

Demography. The 1989 Soviet census indicated a Russian Republic population of 147,386,000, of which 119,807,165 were Russians. Siberia and the Far East have an overall population of 5,800,000, with the Slavic population approximately 4,000,000. Given that "Siberiak" is not a census category, it is difficult to estimate how many consider themselves Siberiaki. If "Siberiaki" is defined as having pre-Revolutionary ancestry, the population has declined substantially in the Soviet period, through emigration, urbanization, and assimilation with other groups. These old-style Siberiaki tend to live in rural areas. Urban Slavic populations of Siberia have more than doubled in the last twenty years. Once urbanized, traditional Siberiaki downplayed their roots, until the 1980s, when some rediscovered pride in their backgrounds. Others consider themselves Siberiaki even without the patrimony. This illustrates the dynamic, changing nature of ethnic identity.

Linguistic Affiliation. Although most Siberiaki speak Russian, some speak Ukrainian or Belarussian. These are East Slavic (Slavonic) languages in the Slavic Branch of Indo-European. Even for most Siberiaki of Ukrainian or Belarussian background Russian is the lingua franca, except in regions such as the Amur area, where Ukrainian settlers historically predominated. Local dialects evolved through mixtures with Siberian languages of both the Uralic and Altaic Language Families. A few groups of Siberiaki are known to have adopted local languages extensively, especially in the Far North. There are numerous discrepancies between spoken local dialects and the written Russian language.

History and Cultural Relations

Trade between Slavic populations of Novgorod and Siberian natives (Ugrians) began as early as the eleventh century, but it was not until around 1580, when the famous Cossack brigand Ermak conquered the Tatar Kuchum's khanate of Sibir, that Muscovite power made significant inroads into western Siberia. By 1700 Cossacks had reached Kamchatka. The push across Siberia by small bands of determined Cossacks using native guides, taking native hostages, and playing native groups off against each other was remarkable for its speed. Bloodshed and brutality were mixed with political negotiation. After fort settlements were established, colonists with various goals and backgrounds built lucrative waterside villages. They were enticed by northern ivory, tales of fish so plentiful that they leaped into boats, and, most important, regions so rich in furs ("soft gold") that natives put ermine on ski bottoms. Some colonists were administrators authorized to take fur tribute (Russian: *iasak*) from local hunters and to search further northeast for groups not yet under tribute. Others were missionaries or members of persecuted religious groups. Some came as government serfs, others as escaped serfs, viewing Siberia as a land of freedom in which to carve out new lives far from rigid Muscovite social hierarchies. To lure Slavic settlers, the government offered tax and transport incentives to build new villages. Siberiaki focused their colonies in relatively southern areas where they found agricultural land. Relations with natives were both exploitive and symbiotic. Some settlers learned to respect the subsistence skills of their native trading partners, whereas others stole the best fishing sites. Official alarm at the demise of native Siberians resulted in the Reforms of 1822, aimed at regulating and limiting settler-native contacts. But the Siberiaki had settled into patterns of relations with natives and officials that were difficult to break.

Industrialization of southern Siberia and development of the Trans-Siberian railroad meant a further influx of Slavic peoples. Released prisoners and exiles added to these numbers, with a few marrying Siberiaki and some establishing new villages. Many went to the towns, where, by the twentieth century, an intelligentsia had established a Siberian regional movement led by political activists and journalists such as N. M. Iadrintsev.

The October Revolution of 1917 and the subsequent 1918–1921 civil war had a great impact on all Siberian peoples, particularly because much of the Russian civil war between Red (Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky) and White (anti-Socialists under Kolchak) forces was fought in Siberia. Siberiak and native villages alike were caught in the crossfire, and sometimes burned to the ground as territory repeatedly changed hands. After the Bolshevik victory, recovery during the New Economic Policy was brief, for a collectivization campaign engulfed Siberia by the late 1920s. Siberiaki accused of being rich were threatened with jail or exile if they did not join the new collectives. Those who had isolated themselves, whether for personal, political, or religious reasons, found they could not escape Soviet collective farms in the same way they had escaped czarist administrators. In addition new, involuntary settlers arrived in the form of exiles and prisoners during the Stalinist era. Released prisoners were often forced to remain in Siberia, but they constituted a separate group, rarely integrating well with Siberiak and native populations. During World War II, requisitions of men, grain, and goods meant further hardship for villagers, whose female and elderly populations struggled to farm, hunt, and fish for survival. Newcomers poured into Siberia to escape the ravages of the war.

Postwar history has been marked by a decline of villages and the buildup of selected collectives into large state-owned enterprises that employ villagers as salaried workers. Siberiaki have lost some of the uniqueness that gave them a Siberian pride and a special relationship with Siberian natives.

Settlements

The wooden villages Siberiaki built when they came to Siberia resembled those they had left behind in northern

Russia and other Slavic areas. Houses were strung along a road, riverbank, or lake, with streets forming an expanding grid. Each fenced household had several buildings arranged around a courtyard, with a separate bathhouse, storehouse, and stable defining the wealthier complexes. Poorer households and those farther north had barns attached to the main house, an arrangement that allowed animals to share with their masters the heat of enormous wall-sized stove-hearths. In each house a special area, diagonally opposite the entrance, was designated the "beautiful corner," in which an icon shelf resided above the family table. Houses, built with communal labor drawn from kin and friends, were decorated with curved designs carved around the windows and bird figures soaring off the eaves as a mark of good luck and protection. Under their foundations were bones of an animal or fowl sacrificed for the well-being of the household. The first fire ideally was lit with coals from a previous household, to encourage the family's home spirit (*domovoi*) to move to the new dwelling.

Villages were of two types: those with fewer than 100 inhabitants (Russian: *derevnia*) and those with several thousand inhabitants (Russian: *poselok*). Village size depended on local resources and whether the village was a trading post and transport and postal center. In the Soviet period villages considered "without a future" were allowed to die or had their occupants moved to larger settlements. Consolidated centers have schools, medical facilities, and stores. A few impoverished villages remain in the backwoods, populated by elderly Siberiaki determined not to move but suffering from a lack of resources. A newly introduced village style is the "village of the urban type," with concrete apartment buildings and a few modern amenities such as indoor plumbing. These centerpieces of larger collectives are inhabited both by Siberiaki and more recent migrants.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities and Industrial Arts. Siberiaki historically relied on hunting and fishing to supplement meager agricultural yields of grain, potatoes, carrots, hemp, and beets. Animal husbandry was difficult but possible, with Siberia divided into horse and cattle zones or reindeer regions. Few Siberiak families attempted to herd reindeer, but some owned herds that they leased to natives; others domesticated a few Siberian elks (*marals*). Many relied on trade with natives, transporting industrial goods and grain to remote settlements in return for furs, reindeer products, and fish. Along the trans-Siberian railway, Siberiaki, especially workers in gold mines, had more access to resources. Many made furniture, utensils, carts, boats, fishnets, and sleds. Specialized crafts included smithing and milling. In some northern regions, trade fairs were held only once a year at tax time. In Siberian cities and larger villages markets were common. Modern Siberian towns have state-run stores and weekly open markets. Villagers travel to these or rely on subsistence, informal barter, and minimal supplies from small state stores.

Division of Labor. Women traditionally baked bread, prepared food, tended animals, spun cloth, cleaned clothing in the river, and watched the children. When men were gone for weeks on hunting or trading trips, women assumed "male" activities (e.g., fishing). Women rarely worked in public-service jobs, such as constable or postman, but often were midwives and healers. With collectivization, many of these divisions remain, although women are now also educated bookkeepers, doctors, and teachers. Men are engineers, teachers, and tractor drivers. Both men and women do arduous agricultural work in southern Siberia.

Land Tenure. Historically, some land was leased or given to smallholders, whereas other land was reserved for government use, missions, and native priorities. Long-term leasing of native lands was illegal but common. In collectivized Siberia only small plots of land are owned for household use, but since 1989 arrangements with collective directors are making larger private farms possible. Some collectives give their workers resources to build ample, multiroom houses as an incentive to stay.

Kinship, Marriage, and Family

Kinship. Patrilineal exogamous families (*sem'ie*) with male family heads were the norm for Siberiaki, who have maintained this as an ideal. A family patriarch is fondly termed *batiushka*, and his lineage is *rod*. (The Russian word for homeland, *rodina*, stems from consanguineal kin ties.) Some proud Siberiak families maintain knowledge of their patrikin back to roots beyond Siberia, especially if ancestors came with the Cossacks Ermak, Vladimir Atlasov, or Semen Dezhnev.

Marriage and Domestic Unit. Extended families with many, especially male, children were considered signs of divine favor, key to a family's survival and the well-being of its elders. Marriage took place as early as age 13, especially for girls, but wedding pairs in their 20s were more common. In-marrying women included those from nearby Siberiaki or native groups, although most liaisons were not sanctified by marriage. Arranged marriages, although illegal in the Soviet period, persisted. Patrilocality remains ideal, with the hope that multiple generations can grow within one courtyard or in nearby households. But this goal is elusive for families with city-bound children availing themselves of education, abortion, and divorce.

Inheritance. Land inheritance historically varied according to whether land was governmental, leased, or private. In principle both men and women were able to own and pass on property, including land. Brides brought property into marriage as dowries, whereas grooms' families gave goods and animals. Exchanges declined with collectivization, when family members became workers merely using land and forest resources. Small plots nonetheless stay in the same family. Children inherit bilaterally, but unequally. Boys are preferred over girls, with the youngest son expected to take over the family house.

Socialization. Child discipline is based on the rigors of work and survival and includes corporal punishment. Families vary in encouragement of schoolwork over farm work for children. Youths ideally obey not only parents and grandparents but also an extended network of village elders.

Sociopolitical Organization

In the czarist period, hierarchical Russian administration was based on regional governors, but Siberiaki still shaped local economies and politics in remote villages. The heart of community rule was the peasant mir, a committee of household heads who, by consensus, determined land use, taxes, and charity and resolved conflicts. They answered to landlords, nobility, and government officials. Historical shifts in definitions of class prestige from nobles to merchants to workers left peasants at the low end of all socioeconomic and political scales. But within Siberiak villages, differences in wealth and power were rarely sharp. Power accrued and still accrues to strong personalities, some of whom claim ancestry from dispossessed nobles who once fled to Siberia. Beginning with the 1930s, the mir has had no official functions and political control from Moscow ministries become tighter and Communist party officials permeated most community affairs. Party leadership, however, was challenged in 1985. Demands for greater local autonomy were reflected in elections of young nonparty politicians, some of whom came from Siberiak families. Reform of local *soviets* resulted in the partial rejuvenation of the traditional mir. In industrialized Siberia, rediscovery of the spirit of the Siberian regional movement was typified by strikes by coal miners in Kemerova, Vorkuta, and Sakhalin. In 1989 a new Association of Siberian Cities was formed, and private radio stations began broadcasting. Siberiaki enthusiastically endorsed plans for a Far East Free Enterprise Zone.

Social Control. The Communist party and a rigid court system served to maintain order throughout Siberia, notorious for its penal system of labor camps and prisons. Locals sometimes served as prison guards. Yet an atmosphere of lawlessness pervades many Siberian villages and towns, in which traditional values have broken down, criminal records are common, and poverty and alcoholism are rampant.

Conflict. In the Gorbachev era open conflict erupted between Siberiaki and new groups of laborers (from Russia and the Caucasus) perceived as outsiders. Tensions between Siberiaki and natives have also increased, although they were probably at their greatest during native revolts in the earliest periods of colonization. Tensions are high between entrenched members of the former ruling establishment and reformers protesting extensive corruption and ecologically devastating development.

Religion and Expressive Cultures

Religious Beliefs. Siberiak religion is a mixture of Christianity, Slavic folk beliefs, and Siberian native shamanism. Focus is on spirit helpers and the power of icons and miracle-working saints such as the healer Saint Nicholas. A few Siberiak communities base their religion on sects that split from the official Russian Orthodox church. Historically, those who fled to Siberia to practice their religion included Old Believers, Dukhobors, Molokany, Khysty, and Pentacostals. Some were known for their esteem for celibacy, whereas others were orgiastic.

Religious Practitioners. Monasteries and a Russian Orthodox clerical hierarchy were established in Siberia well before the Russian Revolution. Yet religious authorities often were avoided, since many believers were fugitives. Religion was parish church-or homestead-oriented, led by local priests and family heads. Examples include the Old Believers of Lake Baikal or the Orthodox of Russkoe Ust'e in Yakutia. One Old Believer family was so isolated in the Altai Mountains that when geologists found them in the 1970s, the family had not heard of World War II. Many religious communities lost their group identities during the Soviet era, although a few priests continued to function secretly.

Ceremonies. Saints' days linked to the Slavic agricultural calendar (such as Saint John's Eve at summer solstice), major Christian holidays such as Orthodox Christmas and Easter, and important family holidays all served as ritual expressions of intense belief. The scale of celebration depended on the official legitimacy of a given group's religion, the availability of a church, and the weather. Religious weddings, burials, and calendrical observances revived somewhat in the 1980s, despite decades of antireligious propaganda and hundreds of church closures since the 1920s. Historically, the most covert ceremonies practiced by Siberiaki were those involving shamanic sacrifices and séances.

Arts. Traditional Slavic laments, songs, and epics were preserved better in a few Siberiak villages than in European Russia. A rich store of Siberian conquest legends added to the folk legacy. Decorative textile arts and basketry were augmented by the new genre of fur working. Wood carvings endowed with symbolic meaning flourished on distaffs, homes, and churches. Each generation of folklorists has lamented the demise of these arts, some of which have lived on in adapted forms with new meanings through the twentieth century.

Medicine. Far from hospitals, medical points, or even traveling rural doctors, Siberiaki traditionally sought solace not only from elderly, often female, folk curers (*znakhari*) but also from native medical practitioners, shamans. Siberiaki attended séances in native settlements, sent for local shamans in emergencies, and learned shamanic incantations. Limited herbal medicine was supplemented by shamanic cures and animal sacrifices. Belief in the power of shamans and znakhari lingers in Siberian villages, but Western medicine is now relatively accessible and predominant. Childbirth usually takes place in rural clinics, if not hospitals. Helicopter ambulance services are available.

Death and Afterlife. Belief in spirits of the dead guides burial rituals, performed on the third or fourth day after death. Heaven, hell, or a spirit limbo are alternative fates. Even family members who were benign in life are believed to be dangerous after death if not treated to graveyard feasts and supplications, which are held forty days and one year after death and on annual remembrance days. Dead ancestors can also be conjured for consultation, according to some Siberiaki.

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MARJORIE MANDELSTAM BALZER

Siberian Estonians

ETHNONYM: Eestlased

Orientation

Currently, there are approximately 20,000 Estonians in Siberia. Most are descendants of the volunteer settlers who went there around the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. Today, some have started referring to themselves as "Eestlased"—Siberian Estonians. In western Siberia, Estonians live mostly in the Omsk, Tomsk, Novosibirsk, and Kemerovo regions and, in eastern Siberia, in the Krasnoyarsk and Primorsk regions. Estonians are the main population of the Estonian Republic (approximately 1.1 million people). There are also large numbers of ethnic Estonians living in Russia, Australia, Canada, the United States, and Sweden. The Estonian language belongs to the Baltic-Finnish Subgroup of the Finnish-Uric Group of the Ural Language Family. The writing system is based on the Latin alphabet.

History and Cultural Relations

The first settlers in Siberia were administrative and criminal exiles who were moved to the village of Rizkovo in Tukalsk County of the Tobolsk region, on the order of Czar Nicholas I. The plan was to make this village the home for all the Lutheran exiles (Germans, Latvians, Estonians, Finns, Swedes, etc.). The plan was never carried out, however, as there was not enough land for the settlers, different nationalities did not get along, and disorder (fights, drunkenness, and robbery) became a problem. Thus, following a proposal by the Evangelist Lutheran Consistory, a new Lutheran community was founded on the Om River, where most of the inhabitants of Rizkovo then moved. Most Estonians moved to the village of Revel (Virukula).

In the 1850s and 1860s new Estonian colonies appeared in eastern Siberia as well. In 1850 an exile by the name of Uri Kuldmae founded the village of Upper Suetuk in the Minusinsk region and in 1861 another Estonian village, Upper Bulanka, was founded nearby. Most of the exiles in both western and eastern Siberia led an unsettled life, however; some were hired as craftsmen or worked in gold mines, and some lived by burglarizing neighboring Russian villages or were simply homeless. It took some years to turn the Estonians into agriculturalists.

In the last decades of the nineteenth century voluntary migration of Estonian peasants to Siberia began. Thousands of landless and land-starved peasants set off to the inner regions of Russia, including Siberia, in their quest for better life. The migration process was accelerated considerably by construction of the Siberian railroad in 1891–1899. In 1897, 4,202 Estonians lived in Siberia (2,031 out of them in the Tobolsk region and 1,406 in the Eniseji region). The largest settlements (besides the abovementioned) were the villages of Kovalevo and Zolotaja Niva in Tukal County of the Tobolsk region. In 1895–1990, twenty-three Estonian villages were founded in Siberia, and in 1899 Estonians reached the Pacific coast, where the village of Novaja (New) Livonija (Liivikula) was established.

Migration to Siberia culminated during the period of the Stolypin agrarian reform (1906–1911). Large Estonian colonies appeared in western Siberia in 1907–1909; a total of more than 40 Estonian settlements were established in Siberia after 1906. In 1918 over 40,000 Estonians lived in more than 150 villages there. Pastor A. Nigol, who went to the Estonian settlements of the Tobolsk region in 1917 wrote: "Everything here is almost the way it is in the motherland. There is no trace of any kind of Russian influence."

On 4 February 1920 a peace treaty between Soviet Russia and the Estonian Republic was signed in Tartu. One of the provisions of this treaty was the option of Estonian citizenship for all the Estonians living in the lands of the Russian Federation. Thousands of Siberian Estonians opted for Estonian citizenship and returned to their ethnic homeland. The majority of Estonians chose to stay in Russia, however. In 1926 there were 32,000 Estonians in Siberia.

A major cultural revival occurred in Estonian villages in Siberia during the 1920s and 1930s. Schools were opened everywhere, teaching was conducted both in Estonian and Russian, and the network of clubs, reading rooms, and "red corners" grew. Many of the Estonian settlers were literate, but they did not speak Russian fluently (in 1922 in the Tomsk region only 3 percent of Estonians could speak Russian well, and 55 percent did not speak it at all). For this reason, the Estonian press remained popular. In 1920 the newspapers *Siberi tooline* (Worker of Siberia) and *Toolise kalender* (Worker's Calendar) came out. The *Siberi teataja* (Siberian Herald) and *Kommunaar* (Communar) and its literary supplement *Uus kula* (New Village) were very popular. In these were published the

work of journalists Eduard Paal, Felix Kotta, Anton Nimm, and others. In addition, the Siberian Estonians knew of the newspaper *Uus ilm* (New World), published in the United States for American and Canadian farmers of Estonian ancestry.

In 1937–1938, under the cover of the struggle against "national democracy," all the Estonian newspapers published in the former USSR were closed, as were all Estonian institutions and clubs. Approximately 200 Estonian schools closed, and many teachers were repressed. All these measures had a negative influence on Estonian culture, and led to the exclusion of Estonians from industry and the sequestering of Estonian as a household language.

In the 1960s the kolkhoz movement grew, but many Siberian Estonian villages were not considered worth developing. The youth of these villages began to move either to villages—where housing and cultural institutions were built and where there was a need for labor—or to cities. Many left for Estonia. Moreover, as a result of ties between Siberian Estonians and other ethnic groups, there were many mixed marriages. The overwhelming majority of Estonian-Russian and Russian-Estonian families chose a Russian identity. These occurrences led to a continuing diminishment of Siberian Estonians as a distinct group.

Attempts to revive the Estonian national culture in Siberia face many obstacles, primarily related to the small population and dispersed settlement of the group. In recent years, however, amateur art groups have been created anew in many villages. The Estonian folk festival "Baltics 1989" was held in the village of Tsvetnopolje of the Odessa District of the Omsk region. Certain craftsmen and professionals among the Siberian Estonians carve wood, knit, and weave. The number of Estonians engaged in professional occupations and sports is growing, and includes the poet A. Sarg, the author of "Poem about Rizkovo," and the gymnast N. Puusepp.

Settlements

In Siberia, Estonians settled in hamlets (*talu*) or villages (*kula*) built along riverbanks or close to artesian springs. Very few settlements were along roads or the railroad line. Dispersed housing was predominant in the villages. A homestead included buildings for housing cattle, barns (*ait*), and bathhouses (*saun*) in addition to the house. Usually a decorative garden with several trees or berry bushes was adjacent to the house.

Often, the Siberian Estonians used a threshing barn (*rehielamu, rehutuba*) as living quarters; it consisted of two parts—the living area itself and the threshing floor. Later the Estonians copied the Russian type of housing—a wooden five-wall house on a high stand. Siberian Estonians frequently built houses with several rooms (a kitchen, a hall, and a storeroom). In the steppe zone, clay houses were sometimes constructed. Of public buildings, schools stood out: there were some two-story buildings and "people's houses" (*rahvamaja*).

The interiors of the houses had many distinctive decorative elements—for example, wardrobes, linen trunks, carved wooden beds, and home-woven blankets and runners. The table usually stood by the window across from the stove. Estonians used mostly Russian stoves.

Carved shutters were the usual decoration of the house. In the steppe zone, a simple geometrical design prevailed. Sometimes, as in neighboring Russian villages, the ends of logs of the frame were painted white.

Economy

In the late nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries, the main economic pursuits of the Siberian Estonians were agriculture and animal husbandry. Hunting, fishing, and subsidiary activities (gathering berries, mushrooms, and nuts) were popular mainly in the taiga regions but were of secondary importance. In industrial arts, the Siberian Estonians made tar, baskets of linden and birch, weavings, and furniture of various kinds of wood. Among them were many shoemakers, plumbers, coopers, woodcarvers, blacksmiths, stove makers, and butter makers.

For transportation, Estonians used horses harnessed to sledges and carts. Carts (*vanker*) did not, on the whole, differ from those used by the neighboring Russian population. Estonians made sledges (*saan*) with the runners turned up and a high back. Boat (punt) making was found mainly in the Far East, where fishing was the chief economic pursuit. Keel boats were constructed for ocean excursions. In western Siberia, mostly wooden, flat-bottomed boats were made.

Clothing. Traditional ethnic attire was popular until the beginning of the twentieth century, when it was replaced by urban-style dress. Men wore linen shirts with a straight collar line (*särk*) and trousers (*püksid*); sometimes they would wear a lace-up vest with the shirt. In winter they wore fur coats or sheepskins. Headgear consisted of hats (*shapka*) or caps, and footgear was boots or leather *pastlads*. The women's costume was distinctive. It consisted of a blouse cut with a pronounced waistline and a skirt (*seelik*), either checkered or with vertical stripes, with a decorative round metal buckle. As headgear they would wear scarves (*ratik*) on a base of fabric or metal, sometimes decorated with beads. Estonian knitted items—such as mittens (*kindad*), stockings (*sukad*), socks (*sokid*), and scarves (*sall*)—were quite beautiful. They had a floral or, more rarely, a geometrical pattern.

Food. Estonian cuisine included hundreds of different dishes. The most popular ingredients were farmer's cheese (*kohupiin*), butter (*või*), cream (*koor*), and sour cream (*hapukoor*). Meat—including pork, beef, lamb, and poultry—played an important role in the diet. Almost every Estonian family made blood sausage with pearl barley (*kholodets, sult, jahuliha*). One of the most favored dishes was potato stew with meat sauce. Of desserts and pastries, rhubarb pies were popular, along with those that had birdcherry, beet, carrot, or berry fillings. The beverage of choice was birch kvass (*kali*) or, more rarely, tea or juice.

Marriage and Family

The main pattern was the small monogamous family based on a separation of labor by sex. Cases of discrimination against women were very rare. In the last decades, many family rituals have changed. A number of rituals connected with the birth of a child—such as pouring the baptism water on an apple tree or on a rose bush in blossom or

throwing a bowl of holy water over the roof of the house—have disappeared. It remains a custom to give presents to the mother and child, however. The marriage ceremony is staged as a performance that includes some national traditions—engagement, delaying the marriage procession to get ransom, the groom's search for his bride in a crowd of other women, the ritual of taking the wreath off the bride's head, and others.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religion. In the spiritual culture of the Siberian Estonians, folk wisdom played a rather important role, including technological know-how, meteorological observations, and knowledge about animal behavior and medicine.

Almost everywhere the folk holiday of Ivan Kupala (Saint John the Baptist; Jaanipaev) is celebrated, as are religious holidays, such as Trinity (*nelipuhad, suvestipuha*), Christmas (*joulupuha*), and others.

The majority of the believing Estonians—Protestants—are Lutherans; among them some traces of pagan religion remain, however; for example, beliefs in good and bad house spirits, witches, and in certain animals.

Medicine. Together with rational elements (herbal therapy and labor therapy), all kinds of charms to stop bleeding, treat colds, and get rid of warts were popular.

Arts. The most highly developed kind of folk art was folklore. Even now, many older people remember fairy tales, legends, proverbs, riddles, and songs. Singing was accompanied by the *cannel* (a stringed musical instrument resembling a psaltery), guitar, or balalaika. Until the late 1930s in many Estonian villages there were wind-instrument orchestras that played at public festivities, weddings, and funerals. Of the ancient Estonian songs—"Minu isamaa on minu arm" (My Estonia—my love), with lyrics by the poet L. Kojdula, and "Kui Kungla rahvas kuldsel ajal" (Song about Vanemujnen), together with a number of ritual marriage and funeral songs—were the best known. Nowadays young people prefer soft rock 'n' roll and modern Estonian singers (J. Joala, A. Veski, T. Magi, and others). Of fairy tales, the fairy cycle "Kaval Ants ja vanapa" (Sly Ants and the Devil) is the most popular: in it the smart and clever peasants constantly cheat the evil but stupid devil. Some also know the Estonian epic *Kalevipoeg* (Kalev's Son).

Death and Afterlife. The funeral ceremony has remained more stable than the customs associated with the wedding. As in older days, only the closest relatives are invited to the funeral, neither nine nor forty days are marked, and the memorial dinner is held right after the funeral.

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E. V. LOTKIN
(Translated by Olga Beloded)

Siberian Germans

ETHNONYMS: none

Orientation

Identification. Approximately 400,000 Germans live in the southern regions of western Siberia today. They con-

sider themselves an ethnic group and trace their origin to the German people of central Europe. The Germans living in Siberia are divided into groups, named after their place of origin, and include the Schwabs (Suabians), Bavarians, Dutch, Austrians, and others. Before their arrival, three significant groups had already formed in Russia, some of whom later also migrated to Siberia. These were the Ukrainian Germans, the "Volynskie," and those from the Volga region. In 1941, at the beginning of the war between Germany and the Soviet Union, a large segment of the Volga German population was deported to Siberia. Since then, approximately one-half of all the Germans who live in Siberia have now lost contact with their origins, consider Siberia their motherland, and call themselves Siberian Germans.

The extent of German ethnic and cultural consciousness in Russia was conditioned by the fact that they emigrated at a time when Germany consisted of many states and when the general norms for a literary language were being formulated. Settlers leaving at that time often maintained some traditions that had already disappeared in Germany. In Siberia the Germans settled in separate groups and sustained their distinct local characteristics. Because of the great distances between them and bans on marriages between people of different confessional groups, the settlers were isolated from each other, which fostered the preservation of many elements of their cultures and languages.

Linguistic Affiliation. There are strong linguistic differences among the different groups of Germans. According to the Soviet linguist V. Zhirmunskii (1933), "the native language of the Germans appears to be the local peasant dialect, which they use in everyday speech with the family and countrymen; every colony speaks in its own special dialect, transferred by the settlers from Germany or learned in the new land from a mixture of different dialects." These dialects include Suabian; Saratovskii; Zhitomirskii; Volyner; and the language of the Mennonites, Plattdeutsch.

The Mennonites occupy a special place among the Germans. When the Mennonites left the Netherlands in the sixteenth century and resettled in Prussia, they did not see themselves as sharing a common origin. Among them were people of Flemish, Dutch, Frisian, and Lower Saxon ancestry. Two basic types of speech had been maintained by the Mennonites—*molochnenskii* and *khortintskii*. However, they took as a common language a Low German dialect (Plattdeutsch). As a result of their religious isolation, the Mennonites did not mix with the local peoples and thus maintained their traditional customs. At times they joined their different confessional groups into one ethno confessional unit. During and since the resettlement the Mennonites have been officially registered as Germans; most scholars think of the Mennonites as Germans. The Siberian Mennonites themselves trace their ancestry to Germans, although they also emphasize their Dutch origins.

All groups of Germans in Siberia are typically bilingual—they also speak Russian fluently. The specific dialect of the group is used most, Russian second, and the German literary language third. Only a few people know the last. These are mostly younger people who studied German in school.

History and Cultural Relations

The start of the mass settlement of Germans on Russian soil is dated to 1764–1765, when by the decree of Empress Catherine II thousands of people leaving the German principalities, Austria, and the Netherlands were resettled on the barren outskirts of Russia and guaranteed various privileges. The majority of the German colonists came from western Germany: the Rhineland, Hessen, Pfalz, Alsatia, and Baden-Württemberg.

Some of the main reasons for their migration were agrarian overpopulation, high taxes, and army duty in western Germany. For the Mennonites, however, resettlement was part of an effort to pursue their religious life-style. From 1789 until 1811, masses of Mennonites left Prussia for Russia, having escaped from the Netherlands earlier. This general relocation of Germans to Russia continued intermittently for almost 100 years. Waves of German settlers varying in composition and origin moved to the southern provinces of Russia, the Causacus, and the Volga region.

Following the law of inheritance, allotted land went only to the oldest son, which left many landless settlers who moved east, to Siberia, where land was cheaper. These settlers became accustomed to the wide Siberian steppes and endless pastures and they took up sheep breeding. By the end of the nineteenth century, masses of Germans had moved to Siberia. During the Russian agricultural reform period of 1906–1910, hundreds of new settlers came to the southern portion of western Siberia. It was then that a large population of Germans gathered, especially in the regions of Slavgorod and Omsk.

Settlements

Unique German customs were preserved within the home, but the home types and settlement patterns underwent a significant change during the emigration to Russia. The character of the environment was different, there was a shortage of traditional building materials such as stone and wood, and government rules set the village plan. Thus, instead of the typical western German "heap village (*Haufendorf*), the German Siberian village adhered to a linear pattern (*Strassendorf*).

The Germans did not adapt Russian peasant dwellings but made their own, combining traditional patterns with available building materials. In the southern steppes of Siberia the houses are of clay or brick; modern buildings are of brick. In the northern regions, rich in forests, wood houses predominate. There are a number of house types. In one style, the rooms in a house are arranged in a line, with a narrow front facing the street. This is often referred to as a gable-house (*Giebelhaus*). In another style, houses are positioned on an axis along a street, with windows of a number of rooms facing the street. Quite popular are four-room houses in which the rooms are arranged in the shape of a cross around the main hearth or stove rather than successively. The typical Russian stove is rarely found. The floor, ceiling, and stove are painted with oil colors.

One essential element of a German farmstead is the

summer kitchen (*Sommerkueche*). Almost every farmstead has a special smokehouse, a barn, a bathhouse, and a yard for dung and fowl. All dwellings are arranged in a U-shape and connect under one roof.

German houses are distinguished by their durability, and the villages by their cleanliness. In many villages competitions are held for the title of best farmstead. The Germans maintain their traditional ties to their house, considering it a place not only of habitation but of cultural and even spiritual value, as well as a symbol of prestige. The outer trimmings of the house are painted in oils of two or three contrasting colors. The facades of the houses and the gates and fences are painted with drawings of flowers and swans. The interiors of the dwellings are also heavily decorated. Wooden furniture—dressers, beds, baby cribs, tables, and chairs—is carved and painted with drawings of plants. Carpets (woven of cloth or painted canvas) depict landscapes and pastoral scenes. Rugs, napkins, curtains, and bed sheets are embroidered in satin stitch depicting flowers, birds, and scenes from the Bible. The interior is further decorated with many tin and wooden boxes and cases.

The Siberian Germans have become highly urbanized, a process that has been accompanied by the disappearance of elements of their traditional material culture, including the foot-driven spinning wheel, wooden shoes (*Shliory*), and items of clothing such as red knee stockings of sheep wool. In the past German women wore long, wide, dark, one-colored cotton skirts; colorful blouses; aprons; and scarfs. Dresses for special occasions had bright embroidery. The women knitted sweaters, vests, socks, and mittens. The Mennonites dressed in dark tones without adornment.

Economy

The main productive activities of the Siberian Germans are agriculture and animal husbandry. They have always produced a large marketable surplus and sold butter, meat, sheep's wool, and vegetables. The blacksmith's and joiner's trade are also practiced. Germans buy clothes and shoes and sometimes trade with one another.

Foods of the German national cuisine were retained, including many varieties of soup: noodle soup, potato soup, soup with dumplings, and fruit soup with sour cream. Germans also enjoy different salads, cakes, buns, and dumplings as well as variations of strudel. In the winter, meat and fish are smoked, fat is salted, and a variety of sausages are made. Coffee is considered a German drink. During festivals and ceremonies such as weddings and funerals, special German national dishes are mandatory. No German Christmas is celebrated without a roast goose and cabbage. The local Germans prepare their own food daily, but they also adopt specialties from the neighboring Slavs and Kazakhs.

Marriage and Family

The typical Siberian German marriage is monogamous. The man is the head of the family. The woman raises the children, takes care of the household, and is in charge of the money. In German peasant households there were always many children (approximately six to ten). Even today, such a large family is not unusual, although the trend is toward a smaller unit. The traditional importance of the family is expressed in family rites. Germans celebrate children's birthdays and christenings. The Baptist and Mennonite christening rite, considered most important, is conducted when the child has come of age.

Traditional marriage practices have been especially well maintained. The major features of the German wedding include the festive procession through the village, displaying the bride to the guests; traditional wedding songs and parting words to the young; and various frolicsome games (for example the stealing of the bride's shoes). Before everyone leaves to go to sleep, it is customary for someone to take a wreath of wax flowers from the bride's head. Marriage rites do not vary among the various German groups.

Sociopolitical Organization

In the past decades a pan-German consciousness has come to prevail over group identity. To a large extent, this is connected to the desire for an autonomous German republic, which did exist in the Soviet Union from 1924 to 1941. At that time there were five institutes that taught German, a series of German pedagogical colleges, German basic and higher general schools, three German theaters, and one German publishing house. Today German culture and language are being revived. Areas of Siberia, where Germans often live close to one another, seem to form a German quasi-national region, with German-language television and radio programs, newspapers, and journals. In German village schools, German is taught intensively, and the University of Omsk has established a department that teaches a variety of courses in German.

Religion and Expressive Culture

A large percentage of the German population belong to the Protestant church, many of them Lutherans and Evangelicals. There are also some Roman Catholics. The Mennonites see themselves as "a community of saints" that sings only religious songs; even their lullabies are religious. Mennonites observe only religious holidays, which are celebrated in homes and in the communities during prayer gatherings.

This mixed assemblage is directly related to the heterogeneous character of the German population. Today piety is part of the ordinary consciousness of the people. The characteristic isolation of representative religious assemblies has practically vanished. Now scarcely anyone pays attention to religious differences. For example, in the past, before a wedding, it was required that one of the partners in a mixed marriage change religion. But today even many pious Germans are less stringent about such matters.

Germans everywhere celebrate Christmas (*Weihnachten*) and Easter (*Ostern*). In the past Siberian Germans celebrated *Troitsa*, the celebration of harvest on the day (June 25 in the West) of Ivan Kupaly (Saint John the Baptist). This was accompanied by outdoor public feasts during which people made bonfires and danced around them. Girls wove straw dolls and burned them. Even today folk celebrations and feasts are accompanied by dancing to accordion music, by the enactment of playful scenes, and by singing. Many of the songs come from parts of ancient German folk songs. The most popular are the vernacular romances, the comic couplets called *Schwank*, and colonial

songs that appeared in the new homeland. This rich heritage is maintained by folk ensembles that perform in many of the German villages.

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TATYANA BORISOVNA SMIRNOVA
(Translated by Clementine Creuziger)

Siberian Tatars

ETHNONYMS: Sibtatars, Tarlyk, Tobolik

Orientation

Identification. At the present time there are thought to be over 500,000 Tatars in Siberia. Of these only about 200,000 are Siberian Tatars, that is, those whose ancestors were living in western Siberia before the appearance of Russian immigrants at the end of the sixteenth century. (At the end of the seventeenth century there were 16,500 of them; at the end of the eighteenth, 28,500; and at the end of the nineteenth, 47,000.) The remaining Tatars of Siberia are more recent immigrants, plus their descendants from the Volga and Ural regions (Kazan Tatars, Mishers, Kryashen Tatars, and other groups of European Tatars). In the twentieth century, some of these have also begun to be labeled "Sibtatars."

The aboriginal Siberian Tatars consist of three large ethnic groups, each of which has further subdivisions. The Tomsk Tatars are composed of the Kalmaks, the Chats, and the Eushta. They live along the Tomi and Ob rivers in the Tomsk District, and, in part, in the Kemerovsk and Novosibirsk districts. Among the Barabinsk Tatars, scholars have recently distinguished the following subgroups: the Barabo-Turashi, the Terenino-Choi, and the Liubei-Tunusy. They are settled in the Barabinsk steppe and the Novosibirsk region. The most numerous group, the Tobolo-Irtysh, consists of the Tars, Kurdak-Sargatsk, Tobolsk, Tiumen, and Iaskolbin Tatars. They live in the basins of the Irtysh and Tobol rivers in the Omsk and Tyumensk districts of Russia.

Among the Siberian Tatars there were yet other *tugums* (genealogical groups), including Kuyan (Rabbit), Torna (Crane), Pulmukh (Dull-witted), Chungur and Shagir (personal names), Sart, Kurchak, and Nugai. For the Siberian Tatars over 250 ethnonyms have been used, including clan, tribal, and tugum designations.

Soviet scholars concur on the multiethnic composition of all groups of Siberian Tatars. In the most general sense the ethnogenesis of the Siberian Tatars was through the mixture of Ugric, Samoyed, Turk, and, to a lesser degree, Iranian and Mongolian tribes and peoples. The Ugric group (ancestors of the Hungarians, Mansi, and Khanty) and the Turkic-speaking Kipchaks were central to the formation of the Barabansk and Tobolo-Irtysh Tatars, as the Samoyeds (ancestors of the Nentsy and the Selkups) and the Kipchaks were to the coalescence of the Tomsk Tatars. The penetration of Turkic-speaking peoples into the territory of the western Siberian plain from the Altai and Sayan has been fixed as occurring between the fifth and seventh centuries; the increase in the influx of Turkic groups from Central Asia and Kazakhstan is thought to have occurred from the eleventh to the twelfth centuries.

Thus, by the fourteenth century the basic ethnic constituents of the Siberian Tatars were already in place. Another stratum of the Siberian Tatars were the Siberian Bukharians, composed of Uzbeks, Tajiks, and, to a lesser extent, of Kazakhs, Turkmens, and others who migrated from Central Asia to western Siberia from the fourteenth to the nineteenth centuries.

In the second half of the nineteenth century and the first third of the twentieth, Tatars from the Volga and west of the Urals—basically Kazan Tatars and Mishars—settled in communities of Siberian Tatars.

Linguistic Affiliation. The language of the Siberian Tatars is part of the Northwest Kipchak Group of the Turkic Branch of the Altaic Language Family. It is distinct from the language of the Volga Tatars and consists of three dialects: Baraban, Tobol-Irtysh, and Tomsk. Within the Tobol-Irtysh dialect scholars have distinguished the Zabolotny, Tobol, Tiumen, Tar, and Tevriz forms of speech, and within the Tomsk dialect, the Kalmak and Chat-Eushtin forms of speech.

History and Cultural Relations

The earliest government of the Siberian Tatars, the Tinmen Khanate, was formed in the fourteenth century with its center in Chimge-Ture (the site of present-day Tiumen). At the end of the fifteenth century the Siberian Khanate arose and its capital became the city of Sibir (Kashlyk). In the middle of the sixteenth century the territory of this state extended from the Urals in the west to the Barabin steppe in the east and from the Tavdy River in the north to the Ishim River in the south. In 1563 power was seized by Kychum, a Kazakh or a Nogay Tatar in origin. In 1582 Russian military campaigns began in Siberia, the Siberian Khanate was liquidated, and the Siberian Tatars became part of the Russian state.

In 1394–1395 some Tobol-Irtysh Tatars accepted Islam. Gradually almost all the Siberian Tatars became

Muslims and members of the Islamic civilization. Their writing system was based on the Arabic alphabet, the art of urban construction developed, and distinctive buildings such as mosques and schools were built. In the second half of the nineteenth century the Siberian Tatars adopted the literary language of the Kazan Tatars. Russian culture influenced the West Siberian Tatars, as did the culture of neighboring peoples of Siberia, Kazakhstan, and Central Asia.

In the Soviet period the overwhelming majority of Siberian Tatars became literate, the role of the intelligentsia increased, and scholars, artists, and outstanding athletes appeared. A negative phenomenon of the 1960s and 1970s was the termination of instruction in the Tatar language and of teaching Tatar in the schools. The standardization of the ethnic cultures through management of culture and social processes was a goal of the Soviet administrative system. During *perestroika* such cultural politics were reevaluated: in many villages or settlements the study of Tatar has been reintroduced, Tatar sections have been introduced in some institutions of learning, folk arts are being reborn, new mosques are being built, and a celebration is being planned for 1994—the 600th anniversary of the adoption of Islam by the Siberian Tatars. Among all groups of Siberian Tatars centers and clubs of Tatar culture have formed. In the Omsk and Tiumen oblasts, radio broadcasts are being transmitted in the Tatar language, and the first newspaper in the Tatar language has appeared. Nevertheless, cultural rebirth and development are proceeding slowly. The integration of the culture of the Siberian Tatars with the cultures of other peoples of Russia, particularly the culture of the Kazan Tatars with that of the Russians, continues.

Settlements

The Siberian Tatars called their settlements *aul* or *yort*, although the earlier names of *ulus* and *aymak* are still used by the Tomsk Tatars. The most common type of village was riverine or lacustrine. In the more distant past the Tatars had two kinds of settlement, one for winter and one for summer. With the construction of roads came a new form of settlement with a straight rectilinear layout of the streets. On the farms there were, in addition to the house, buildings for livestock, storehouses, barns, and bathhouses.

In the seventeenth century and later, sod houses and semisubterranean dwellings were customary among some Tatars. But for some time now they have used frame houses above the ground and brick dwellings. Later the Tatars began to build houses on the Russian model, including two-story frame houses, and, in the cities, brick houses. Among the buildings with a social function may be distinguished mosques (wooden and brick), buildings of regional administration, post offices, schools, stores, and shops.

The central place in the majority of dwellings was occupied by plank beds, covered by rugs and felt. Trunks and bedding were crammed along the sides of the rooms. There were little tables on short legs and shelves for the dishes. The homes of wealthy Tatars were furnished with wardrobes, tables, chairs, and sofas. Houses were heated by special stoves with an open hearth, but the Tatars also used Russian stoves. Clothes were hung on poles suspended from the ceiling. On the wall above the beds Tatars hung the prayer book containing sayings from the Quran and views of the mosques of Mecca and Alexandria.

The exteriors of the houses were usually not decorated, but a few houses had decorated windows and cornices. This ornamentation was generally geometrical, but sometimes one can discern representations of animals, birds, and people, which, in general, are prohibited by Islam.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. During the nineteenth and the first third of the twentieth centuries, all Siberian Tatars practiced agriculture and kept livestock. Among the Baraba Tatars lake fishing played the major role, whereas among the Yaskolbin Tatars and the northern groups of the Tobol, Kurdak-Sargat, and Barabin Tatars it was river fishing and hunting. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the latter kinds of activity predominated in the economy of the Tomsk Tatars.

Industrial Arts. The Siberian Tatars practiced leatherwork, the manufacture of rope from bast (from basswood bark in the case of the Tiumen and Yaskolbin), the fashioning of fishing nets, the weaving of fox-shaped baskets from withies, and the production from elm and other woods of dishes, wagons, sleds, boats, and skis. Among them there were many carpenters, cobblers, rug makers, smiths, jewelers, tinsmiths, coppersmiths, and even watchmakers. Some Tatars were occupied with trade, transporting goods on their horses (as far as the Upper Alma-Ata region and Kul'dzhi to the south, the Upper Udinska region to the east, and Nizhny Novgorod to the west). Some Tatar men served in the army.

As a means of transport, Tatars everywhere used horses for riding and also harnessed them to sleds, sleighs, and wagons. Ever since ancient times the two-wheeled cart of the *arba* type was known to the Tatars. The Bucharian Tatars used camels for transport, but this animal did not take to the conditions of Siberia. Hunters used so-called hand sledges for taking out their kill, sometimes hitching them to a dog. The Tatars used skis everythere, both bare and lined with fur. In summer they used boats. The Tomsk Tatars sometimes used rafts. The basic kind of boat was the dugout—block-shaped on the lakes and sharp-pointed for navigating the rivers; boats made of boards were also used. The Tomsk Tatars sometimes carved the heads of sheep, horses, and dogs on the prows of their boats.

Food. The national cuisine of the Siberian Tatars includes hundreds of foods. The most widespread are sour cream, butter, cottage cheese, yogurt with water, and other milk products. Meat—mutton, beef, horse meat, and domestic fowl—was a major component of the diet. They also ate game including rabbits, elks, and wild fowl. Meat was prepared by smoking and jerking; they also made sausage. Barley groats with potatoes and peas, various soups made from meat, other soups such as fish soup, and various fish dishes were also common. The Tatars ate porridge and *talkan*, a dish made of barley, oats, flour, and water or milk. They knew how to make pilaf. Other dishes made of grain included pancakes (sometimes made thin), *baursaki*

(fried pieces of dough made of flour, eggs, and water), *sansu* (long ribbons of dough fried in fat or butter), pies with diverse stuffings, and halvah. The Tatars drank tea, *airan*, juice, and fermented mare's milk.

Clothing. Clothing was often decorated. At least since the nineteenth century many villagers have not worn underclothes; shirts and pants were worn next to the skin (*sluzhili natel'noi odezhdoi*). Over this men and women wore a *béshmet* (a quilted jacket with sleeves), camisole (sleeveless kaftan), dressing gown, and sheepskin coat. Around 1900 men adopted Russian shirts with an open neck and pants and women began wearing dresses.

Women's headdresses had a decorated base and were beaded in front; the head binding was specific to the locality. Women also wore large nightcaps, knitted or stitched together out of silk or velvet textiles. Other styles of nightcap were smaller and stitched partly of velvet. These caps were decorated with gold and silver embroidery and beads and coins that were sewn on. Women also wore cylindrical caps, kerchiefs, and shawls, whereas men wore little skull caps, felt caps, and winter caps made of quilted material. All Siberian Tatars wore leather boots decorated with curvilinear designs of an embroidered mosaic, leather slippers, and felt boots (Russian: *valenki*). For personal ornamentation, the Siberian Tatars used bracelets, rings, rings with stones, earrings, beads, strings, and ribbons, and they attached coins to their braids.

Marriage and Family

The small monogamous family was the basic social unit. All power was concentrated in the hands of the family head, the oldest male. The position of women was inferior to that of men. They lacked the freedom to choose a husband, could be married off at a very young age, and inherited a smaller share. Today extended families have disappeared and spouses are legally equal.

In recent decades many family rituals have changed, such as those connected with the birth of a child: the invitation of a midwife (births now take place in "birthing homes"), the carrying out of a sacred washing, rubbing of a boy's lips with a mixture of honey and butter or grease (*maslo*), measures for combating evil spirits, and the holiday of the cradle. Sometimes all that is observed today is the "miracle holiday of children."

In the past marriage was by arrangement, by the voluntary going forth of the bride, or by abduction. Today the latter two forms have disappeared, and the arrangement not infrequently is played out as a dramatic representation. The paying of bride-price has also fallen into disuse. Some national traditions have been preserved: a religious ritual, the wedding itself, the greeting of the bride's parents by the groom, the transfer of the young girl to the husband's house, and the visit by the young couple to the bride's parents' house.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs and Practices. Despite the fact that Islam became the basic religion of the Tatars in Siberia, traditional religious beliefs have been perserved, including a belief in spirits (the so-called masters of localities), in the *kukol* (family guardians), and in cults of sacred trees, the earth, fire, the sun, and of various animals and birds.

Almost all Tatars celebrate Sabantui, Ramazan, Kurban Bairam, and certain other holidays.

Arts. The most developed aspect of popular art was and remains folklore. There are many tales, legends, proverbs, riddles, and songs. The performance of songs was accompanied by native instruments including a wooden pipe, the *kobyz* (an instrument with a metal sheet, played with the tongue), the tambourine, a two-stringed violinlike instrument, and the harmonica. "Historical" songs (those thought to have value) were composed and written down on paper. The norms of popular etiquette were reflected in proverbs such as "Don't ask an oldster, ask someone experienced," "He knows who runs along the road, not he who sleeps on the stove," and others. There were not a few raconteurs: from one of them was recorded the Sibertatar variant of the heroic epic *Ediger.* Distinct Sibertatar intellectuals have contributed to the development of Tatar literary culture—the writing system, books in Tatar using the Arabic script, and poetry.

Folk knowledge played a not insignificant role in Tatar spiritual culture: meteorological observations; medical knowledge; knowledge involving production; knowledge of the habits and anatomy of animals and the behavior of fish; and ideas about geography and the topography of the surrounding localities, of parts of the world, and of stars and planets. People came to the Barabian Tatars from all parts of Russia to be healed by the application of leeches.

In the cities and villages there are many Tatar artistic collectives and popular theaters. Individual folk and professional artists are generally painters and sculptors. The art of decorating houses and domestic objects is developing. The Tatars prefer to embroider patterns on textiles to satin stitching; they also use a free drum stitch. The technique of appliqué is widely used for preparing rugs.

The number of Tatar scientists and professionals is increasing: professors M. Bulator, F. Valeev, D. Tumasheva, Kh. Yarmukhametor; folk dancer of the USSR G. Ismailova; director of the Bolshoi Theater F. Mansurov; and world-champion gymnast G. Shergurova are all well known.

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A. A. TOMILOV
(Translated by Paul Friedrich)

Svans

ETHNONYMS: Svan: Mushwæn (person), Shwæn (territory); in Georgian these are "Svani" and "Svaneti," respectively.

Orientation

Identification. The Svans are one of the dozen or so traditionally recognized ethnic subgroups within the Georgian (Kartvelian) nation. Their homeland (Svaneti) corresponds to the Mestia and Lentekh districts (Russian: *raions*) of the Georgian Republic, one of the former republics of the USSR.

Location. Svaneti is a territory of approximately 4,200 square kilometers extending from 59°40.5′ to 61° E and 42° to 43°15.5′ N. It is bounded on the north by Kabardo-Balkaria and Karachay-Cherkessia in the Russian Federation, on the west by Abkhazia, on the south by the Georgian provinces of Mingrelia and Lechkhumi, and on the east by the Georgian province of Rach'a. Until the fifteenth century, northern Rach'a was inhabited by Svans as well. Svaneti is a rugged land of towering snow-capped mountains, thick forests, and narrow gorges cut by swift glacier-fed rivers. The two main areas of Svan settlement are along the upper reaches of the Enguri and Tskhenists'q'ali rivers. These are usually referred to as upper and lower Svaneti, respectively. The upper Svaneti is hemmed in on the north by the main range of the Caucasus Mountains, with some peaks in excess of 5,000 meters. A second ridge of mountains, ranging up to 4,000 meters, separates the upper and lower Svaneti. Further south, two other ridges divide the lower Svaneti from the lowlands of western Georgia. Until this century, travel into and out of Svaneti, especially the upper Svaneti, was difficult and often hazardous because of the mountainous terrain, heavy snowfall, and poor roads. During the long winter season, which lasts from October to April, the Svans were effectively cut off from the rest of Georgia. In recent decades the roads have been greatly improved, allowing nearly year-round access, and small airplanes fly a regular route between Mestia and Kutaisi, the main city of western Georgia.

Demography. The present-day inhabitants of Svaneti are, as they have been for many centuries, almost entirely Svans. Some Georgians from elsewhere in the republic and a handful of Russians live in Mestia, the largest village in the upper Svaneti, and in some parts of lower Svaneti. The Svans identify themselves as being of Georgian nationality and are not separately counted in the Soviet census. If one judges on the basis of language, the Svans presently number about 35,000, representing about 1 percent of the Georgian people. Most Svans still live in Svaneti. There are also Svan villages, established about a century ago, in the neighboring parts of Abkhazia. After the tragic winter of 1986–1987, during which several villages in the upper Svaneti were destroyed by avalanches, many Svans were resettled in the Marneuli region to the south of Tbilisi.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Svan language is the smallest of the three languages composing the Kartvelian or South Caucasian Family, one of the three groups of indigenous languages spoken in the Caucasus region. Four Svan dialects have been described. Svan, like the other members of its family, Georgian and Laz-Mingrelian, has a complex pattern of case marking and rich verbal morphology. In terms of phonology, morphophonemics, and lexicon it differs sharply from the latter languages and is believed to have diverged from the ancestral Kartvelian language some three or four millenia ago. The grammar and lexicon of the Svan language reflect long-standing contact with speakers of North Caucasian tongues. It has never been used as a written language. All Svans now speak and write Georgian, and most, especially in the younger generations, are also able to communicate in Russian. Some may know the languages of neighboring ethnic groups (e.g., Mingrelian, Balkar).

History and Cultural Relations

Archaeological, toponymic, and linguistic evidence indicate that the ancestors of the Georgian people have inhabited the west-central part of the southern Caucasus region for at least 5,000 years and probably much longer. In the third millenium B.C. one group of Kartvelians migrated to the northwest, reaching the east coast of the Black Sea. Place-names believed to be of Svanetian origin are found in this area. Somewhat later, these ancestors of the Svans moved upland into what is now Svaneti. Axes and other artifacts—as well as the ruins of foundries for the production of bronze and iron—dating to the early Bronze Era have been discovered in Svaneti. This indicates that the local population was engaged in metalworking in the second and first millenia B.C. The Greek geographer Strabo (end of the first century B.C.) describes the Svans as a fierce, warlike mountain people, ruled by a king and a council of 300 elders and capable of fielding an army of 200,000. (This figure may be an exaggeration, or perhaps Strabo was including other Kartvelians under the designation "Svan.") By the time of the consolidation of a united Georgian kingdom in the eleventh century, a feudal system similar to that found elsewhere in Georgia was established in Svaneti. Most of the land belonged to the Svan nobility (*wærg, pusd*) or to the local Georgian Orthodox churches and monasteries. The peasants (*glekh*) worked the land and provided crops and other services for the landowners. Several Svan noblemen rose to powerful positions in the medieval Georgian government and were rewarded with important titles and large holdings of land in lowland Georgia.

Beginning in the mid-thirteenth century, wave upon wave of Mongol, Persian, and Turkish armies devastated the lowland parts of Georgia. Because of its remote location, much of Svaneti was never invaded. For this reason, many of the finest works of Georgian artistry—icons, illuminated manuscripts, and gold and silver items—were preserved in Svanetian churches during this period. The Svan villagers protected these treasures zealously (the theft of an icon was punishable by death, usually by stoning, even in recent times). A sizable number of objets d'art of foreign origin (Persian, Syrian, Italian, German) have also found their way into Svaneti, a testament to the wide-ranging cultural and trade contacts of medieval Georgia. After the

dissolution of the Georgian empire, the land was segmented into several smaller kingdoms and principalities. Svaneti came under the nominal authority of the kingdom of Imeretia. From the sixteenth century to the beginning of the nineteenth, a handful of powerful Svan families came to exert dominance over all of the province except for the upland (eastern) half of the upper Svaneti, which came to be known as "Free Svaneti" (Tævisupæl Shwæn). There were also several peasant uprisings during this period, resulting in the decline of the feudal system in some localities.

The Treaty of Georgievsk, signed in 1783, placed the kingdoms of eastern Georgia under the protection of the Russian Empire. Most of western Georgia, including the lower Svaneti, was incorporated into the empire in 1803–1804. The people of the upper Svaneti, however, resisted the imposition of Russian rule for some time. The princely house of western upper Svaneti finally capitulated in 1833, and the rest of the province in 1853–1857. During the period of Russian rule the peasantry was freed from serfdom and given small parcels of land. After the Communist Revolution of 1917 Georgia declared its independence from Russia. In 1921 the Red Army invaded Georgia and incorporated it into the Soviet Union. In recent years notable infrastructural improvements have been made in Svaneti: schools and health centers have been opened, roads upgraded, and electricity introduced.

For many centuries the Svans have been in contact with the northern Caucasian tribes on the other side of the mountains and with the Ossetians to the east. These relations have often been hostile, with raiding parties from one or the other group attempting to seize the other's property. On the other hand, the Svans have engaged in trade with these tribes, and in earlier times many Svans worked for them as migrant laborers.

Settlements

The traditional Svan settlement, especially well preserved in the upper Svaneti, is the *qew* or commune, comprising a group of hamlets, each inhabited by one or more clans. Within the hamlet are a few dozen homesteads, closely packed together, surrounded by farmland. In recent times the organizational structure of the Svan commune (see "Political Organization") has given way to that of the modern Georgian village. There are several types of Svan homesteads. In the type believed to be most ancient, the family and livestock live under one roof in a fortresslike three-story stone structure. More often, there is a separate, adjoining defense tower (*murq'wam*) to which the family and cattle repair in time of attack. (Defense towers are now found primarily in eastern upper Svaneti, with a few remnants in lower Svaneti and northern Rach'a.) In many respects the traditional Svan homestead is more similar to those of other Caucasian mountain provinces (northeastern Georgia, Ossetia, Ingushia, Daghestan) than to those of lowland Georgia.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. Because of the harsh climate, the primary crops have been hardy grains such as summer and winter wheat, rye, barley, and oats. Seeds have traditionally been sown twice a year: in March and April, after the snow has melted, and again in September to October, before the onset of the long Svanetian winter. The Svans also keep domestic farm animals (cows, pigs, goats, and sheep), which are exploited for meat, cheese, and wool. Beekeeping has been practiced since ancient times, and Svanetian honey has an exceptionally fine taste. Although the Svans have long employed sophisticated farming techniques to utilize the land to its full potential, the Svanetian farm has not been sufficient to feed the family. In earlier days, the Svans hunted ibex, stags, and bears to supplement their diet. (Hunting is still a popular avocation of Svans today.) In the nineteenth century, large numbers of Svan men earned additional income as migrant farm workers in the lowland regions of Georgia and the northern Caucasus during the months in which Svaneti is blanketed with snow.

Industrial Arts. The Svans have traditionally produced their own agricultural implements, utensils, furniture, and weaponry. Wooden artifacts are usually adorned with elaborate geometrical designs, using symbols related to Svanetian religion (solar disks, representations of people, animals, and ritual dances).

Trade. The Svans are not noted as a trading people. In traditional times they did serve as a commercial link between western Georgia and the northwest Caucasian provinces and have also provided wolf, fox, and bear pelts for the bazaars of lowland Georgia.

Division of Labor. Food preparation (baking, etc.), caring for children, needlework, and the like were considered to be women's work. Tasks delegated to men included hunting, wood- and metalworking, heavy farm labor, and fighting.

Land Tenure. Regular farm land belonged to individual households, with each possessing up to ten *ktseva* (a ktseva is equivalent to the amount of land one can plow in one day). Pastures, hay fields, and some forests were common property of the clan, village, or commune. If an individual desired to sell land, he had to first offer it to the members of his own clan. Only if they declined to buy it could it be sold to another party.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Most Svans were identified as belonging to a "root clan" (*dzirish samkhub*) composed of a number of families, often of remote relationship. The members of a clan usually, though not always, live in the same commune. They are further identified by their *ts'æm samkhub* (particular clan), a subdivision of the dzirish samkhub, created when brothers split up and divide the family property. The particular clan may include one or more homesteads. Descent is traced patrilineally. One is considered to be more closely bound to one's kin within the samkhub than one is to anyone outside of it, even close relatives (e.g., mother's brother, in-laws). If there would otherwise be no male heir, however, a son-in-law could be adopted (*gezald ləgne*) into the household and take the clan affiliation of his in-laws. Each clan has its

own shrine, burial ground, and special feast days. Marriage within the samkhub, or with other relatives within ten degrees of kinship, was forbidden.

Kinship Terminology. The categories distinguished by Svan kinship terminology are not much different from those of Georgian. For example, one term (*chîzhe*) denotes both son-and brother-in-law, and another (*telghra*) both daughter-and sister-in-law; at the same time, there are words specifically denoting the wife's sister's husband (*mekwshel*, cognate with Georgian *kvisli*) and husband's brother's wife. The most striking deviation from the pattern of Kartvelian kin terms is in the words denoting siblings, which index the gender of both parties to the relationship: a female Ego calls her sister *udil* whereas a male Ego calls his sister *dachwir*; similarly, a male Ego calls his brother *mukhwbe* whereas a female Ego calls her brother *jəmil*.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Marriage partners for Svan children were traditionally selected very early. On occasion two pregnant women would make a pact that, if one gives birth to a girl and the other to a boy, the children will be engaged to each other. In such cases the wedding feast, signifying the transfer of the female from her parents' household to that of her in-laws, may take place while the bride and groom are still very young. The actual matrimonial rite, a simple ceremony involving a priest, would then be held one to three years later, when the couple is of appropriate age. In practice, instances in which a young man and woman would marry against their parents' wishes have always occurred, and in modern Svaneti arranged marriages are quickly becoming a thing of the past. Though her position was not of equal status to that of her husband, the traditional Svan wife had certain rights. She could own livestock and other possessions. In the event of abuse or abandonment by her husband she had recourse to the protection of her parents' family and to the local justice system (see "Social Control"). Divorce was rare in earlier times, and usually occurred for reasons of impotence or failure to produce male offspring. As though to compensate for the irrelevance of emotional bonding in the contracting of marriages, young Svans could enter into special friendships with members of the opposite sex, even if married. This custom, *linturæl*, which was practiced up to the early twentieth century, bears certain resemblances to the *sts'orproba* relationship of the northeast Georgian mountain tribes (see the article on the Khevsur) and also to a form of adoption practiced in some northern Caucasian communities. It was marked by a ritual in which the man sprinkled salt on the woman's breast, then touched his teeth to its nipple three times, saying "You are the mother, I the son." The couple bonded by linturæl could be as affectionate as siblings with each other, no more, though in some cases the relationship did take on a romantic aspect.

Domestic Unit. Until the early twentieth century the Svan *mezge* (household) could include as many as fifty people: a senior male (*koræ makhwshi*, "chief of the house") with his wife, younger brothers, sons, their wives and children, and sisters and daughters not yet married. The koræ makhwshi functioned as administrative head and as chief celebrant of domestic religious rites. In Svaneti, as in the northeast Georgian mountain provinces, the genders were spatially separated within the home. The main floor of the Svanetian house was divided into four quadrants, centered around the hearth (*q'welp*). The koræ makhwshi and special guests had their seats in the eastern quadrant, which was also where the most important domestic rituals took place, and the other men sat in the quadrant to their right, closest to the entrance. The other two quadrants were reserved for the women and children. Menstruating women and women who had just given birth were considered to be impure and a potential source of ill luck. At such times they were not allowed in the home and were confined in special huts (*laushdügolr*).

Inheritance. Even after the death of their parents, brothers would usually remain together: the separation of the household was considered a great tragedy. Should they decide to split up, the brothers divided the land and property equally, save for a parcel of land (one day's plowing) that was given to the eldest. Clan subdivisions (ts'æm samkhub) originate in this way. Should a man die without sons, his property was inherited by his brother's or father's brother's family. Female relatives were not given any property, and the heirs were obliged to provide for them. Should there be no males of the above degree of relationship, the estate became the property of the clan as a whole.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. The division of society into landowning and serf classes ended in the nineteenth century. In recent times most Svans continued to work as farmers, though a number of Svans have participated in Georgian academic and artistic circles.

Political Organization. The affairs of the commune were decided by a council (*luzwrob, lukhor*) presided over by an elected headman (*makhwshi*); both men and women participated in the deliberations. The council decided cases of infraction of traditional law and assessed punishment by fine, exile, or, very rarely, death. Other important questions, concerning agricultural affairs, relations with other communes and with northern Caucasian tribes, and so forth, were discussed in council meetings. From time to time there would be meetings of the commune makhwshis from all Svaneti to decide critical questions affecting the whole province. Czarist authorities abolished the institution of makhwshi in 1869. With the imposition of Soviet rule, the luzwrob has been supplanted by the village council (Russian: *sel'<skij>sovet*). The jurisdiction of these councils usually corresponds to the traditional commune.

Social Control. In case of a dispute, the parties could select a committee of judge-mediators (*môrew*) to decide the issue. The decisions of the committee could not be appealed. Before giving testimony, the disputants were required to take an oath of honesty upon an icon. As icons were regarded by the Svans as having the power to bring misfortune to a family for many generations to come, these oaths were not taken lightly.

Conflict. All too often Svans bypassed the justice system (see "Social Control") and took matters into their own hands. Should a member of a clan be killed or seriously wounded—even if accidentally—or in some way humiliated by a member of another clan, the first clan was dishonored as a whole. Any male member of the clan felt entitled to exact revenge (*lits'wri*) upon any adult male in the offending clan. In this way blood feuds were started, which at times extended over several generations and claimed the lives of dozens of people. In addition to killing, one could exact revenge by capturing and imprisoning a member of the enemy clan and holding him for ransom. This was considered to be an extremely serious humiliation. Feuds could be halted or avoided if the offending clan paid an indemnity or blood-price (*ts'or*) to the other party. The ts'or for killing a man was very costly (six parcels of prime farmland or thirty-six bulls); lesser compensation was exacted for cases of wounding, insult, thievery, and breach of engagement to marry.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs and Practices. Svanetian religion is based on an indigenous system, similar in many respects to those of other Caucasian tribes, which has been influenced by long and intensive contact with Mazdaism (presumably through the Ossetians) and Orthodox Christianity. The chief Svan deities are Khosha Ghêrbet ("Great God"); Jgəræg (Saint George), the chief protector of humanity; and Tĕringzel (archangel). Important female figures include Barbal (Saint Barbara), a fertility deity and healer of illnesses; Dæl, goddess of the hunt and protector of wildlife in the high mountains; and Lamæria (Saint Mary), protector of women. Christ (Krisde or Matskhwær, "savior") presides over the world of the dead. The Svanetian year is marked by a large number of major and minor feast days connected with the changing seasons, the harvest, etc. In addition, there are certain days within the week and month when people are expected to abstain from work and undergo periodic fasts. Among the principal feast days are those for the New Year (*sheshkhwæm* and *zomkha*); the festival of torches (*limp'ari*), at which protection from diseases is sought; and the Lord's feast (*uplisher*) in late spring. The gods are invoked and presented with sacrifices: slaughtered animals, various types of bread, and alcoholic beverages. It is important to note that because grapes cannot be cultivated in the upper Svaneti, vodka (*haræq'*) is the ritual drink, not wine as in lowland Georgia. Most ceremonies took place inside of churches or other holy places (*laqwæm*), or in the home. Domestic rituals centered around the hearth, the cattle stalls, and, at least in certain localities, a large stone (*lamzər bæch*), placed in the grain storage area. Women were not allowed to enter the churches or participate in certain rituals. On the other hand, there are feast days and observances specifically for women, which men are forbidden to attend. In particular, certain prayers directed to the hearth and to a type of domestic deity (*mezir*, represented as a small gold or silver animal) are reserved for women.

Arts. The Georgian Classical Period (tenth to thirteenth centuries) was also a period of intense artistic activity in Svaneti. A large number of churches were constructed (over 100 in the upper Svaneti alone) and adorned with frescoes, icons, carved wooden doors, and items made of precious metals. Svan artisans were especially renowned for their skill at producing finely detailed gold and silver icons, crosses, and drinking vessels. It has been estimated that as much as one-fifth of the medieval Georgian metalwork that has been preserved to the present day is of Svan origin. There was also a distinctive local school of icon and fresco painting.

Svan folk literature comprises a variety of genres: epics, ritual and lyric poetry, tales, myths, and fables. Most of the themes represented in Svan literature are shared with other parts of Georgia, though elements of Ossetian and northern Caucasian origin (e.g., portions of the Nart sagas) also appear.

Among the folk arts, special mention should be made of Svanetian music. A tradition of polyphonic a-cappella singing has evolved in Svaneti, as in other parts of Georgia. One distinctive feature of the music of this province is its greater use of dissonant intervals and striking harmonic progressions. These choral songs accompany certain religious rites and festivals. Songs accompanied by the *chæng* (harp) or the *ch'unir* (a three-string violin) are also frequently heard in Svaneti.

Medicine. Medical knowledge was a jealously guarded trade secret, handed down within certain families. The traditional Svan *akim* treated wounds and certain illnesses with preparations made from herbs and other natural ingredients. Many ailments, especially contagious diseases, were regarded as divinely sent, as punishment for some infraction of customary law. Sacrifices of livestock or, in serious cases, donations of land to the local shrine, were required of the party deemed to be responsible for offending a deity.

Death and Afterlife. The Svans believed that dying people could see several years into the future and would gather at the bedside of a dying relative to ask questions. When death occurred, the family and neighbors would break out into loud wailing and keening. After the burial the close relatives of the deceased would be in mourning for as much as three years. They would fast (abstain from animal products), wear mourning colors (traditionally red), and the men would shave their heads and faces and let their hair grow out until the end of the mourning period. If a person should die away from home, his or her soul was thought to remain at the spot where death occurred. A "soul-returner" (*kunem mət'khe*) would be summoned to locate the soul (with the aid of a rooster, which was believed to see the soul) and escort it back home. Only then could the funeral observances begin. The souls of the deceased led a somewhat shadowy existence in a world similar to the one they left behind. Their well-being in the spirit world was related to their sinfulness before death and the zeal of their surviving kin in making prayers and sacrifices on their behalf. Once a year, at the festival of *lipanæl* (mid-January), the souls of the deceased were believed to return to their families. They remained in their former home for several days and were entertained with feasts and the recitation of folktales. Also during this time, the souls met and determined the fortune of their kin for the upcoming year. Because the Svans believe that the deceased

retain the physical characteristics they had before death, a second lipanæl is held several days after the main one to accommodate the souls of handicapped people, who need more time to make the journey from the spirit world to the land of the living.

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KEVIN TUITE

Tabasarans

ETHNONYM: Tabassarans

Orientation

Identification. The Tabasarans are an ethnic group of the former USSR; they live in southeastern Daghestan (the Khiv and Tabasaran districts, or *raions*), and some have resettled in the lowlands (in the villages of Mamedkala and Daghestanskie Ogni in the Derbent District) and the foothills (of the Tabasaran District). Their neighbors to the north are the Kaitag Dargins, with the Lezgins to the south, the Aghuls to the west, and the Azerbaijanis to the east. The largest Tabasaran settlements are the villages of Khiv, Turag, Khurik, Mezhgül, Kondik, Tinit, Sïrtïch, and Khuchni. The Tabasaran territory comprises two natural geographic zones: the upper Rubas Basin in the north and the left bank of the central Chirakh-Chai and the upper Charchag-Su rivers in the south. For the most part the territory is foothills, but part of it is plains, mountains, and valleys.

Location. The climate is moderate to warm, with a relatively mild winter, a hot summer (especially in the valleys), and a rainy and humid autumn. The climatic conditions make the mountains favorable for summer pastures and the plateaus for winter pastures. The Caspian Sea also exerts a significant influence on the climate: in the summer it moderates the temperature and increases the atmospheric humidity, and in winter it insulates Daghestan against cold air masses from Central Asia and western Siberia.

Demography. The Tabasarans in the USSR numbered 75,000 in 1979—71,700 of them in Daghestan. The average population density is about 20 persons per square kilometer.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Tabasaran language belongs to the Lezghian Subbranch of the Daghestanian Group of Northeast Caucasian (Nakh-Daghestanian). Other languages widely used in Tabasaran territory are Azerbaijani in the Tabasaran District and Lezgin in the Khiv District. Russian is also widely known. The development of writing in the Tabasaran area was connected with the spread of Islam. The first written documents in Arabic are dated to the tenth to eleventh centuries, and writing in Tabasaran (using Arabic script) to the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries.

History and Cultural Relations

The Tabasarans are one of the indigenous groups of the Caucasus. In antiquity they were part of Caucasian Albania, and, when it fell, Tabasaran came to figure as an independent region in the historical sources. One of the first references to the Tabasarans is found in the writings of the Armenian author Fawstos Buzand (fourth to fifth centuries), who mentions an independent army of "Tabaspors." The classical Armenian author Egishe (fifth century), noting the peoples and tribes who were enlisted by the Armenian ruler Vasak, includes among them "the entire army of mountain and lowlands Tabasporan and the entire fortified inaccessible mountain country." They are mentioned in a seventh-century Armenian geography book under the name of "Tabaspars." Until the twelfth century there were two feudal estates on the Tabasaran territory, one in the north headed by a *qadı* (a judge in Quranic law) and one in the south headed by a *maysum* (a judge in customary or *adat* law). These were divided into smaller political units headed by *begs*. In addition to these feudal estates there were unions of village societies (Kïrakh, Churkul, Kukhruk, Suvak, Nitrig, Drich, and others). Tabasaran became part of Russia in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Settlements

Most Tabasaran settlements are ancient. Whether settlements have a vertical or horizontal plan depends on geography. In the mountains, settlements were located on slopes. There were no straight streets, since the location of streets depended on such factors as topography and kin-

ship ties. The oldest type of settlement is the small village in which a single kin collective (*tukhum*) lived. At some stage of historical development the kin-based settlements began to break up and were replaced by larger villages consisting of several blocks based on kin groups. By the nineteenth century the principle of kinship-based settlement was no longer dominant, yielding to purely territorially based settlements. Only the territorial principle is followed today. The social division of the village is into blocks. In many villages the name of the block corresponded to the name of a kin group; villages preserving no memory of kin-based blocks are in a minority. In addition to the division into kin-based blocks, every village also had a topographic division into a *zaan mahal* (upper quarter) and *askan mahal* (lower quarter). In every village there was a gathering place (*gim, godekan*), usually adjacent to the blacksmith's shop and later to the mosque, where important economic and social questions concerning the whole village were decided and where men met for conversation. Every village cemetery had plots for the individual tukhums, a tradition that persists to the present day. Some villages had cemeteries for each tukhum (Zildik, Chere, Tinit, Julzhag, and others). Structures belonging to the entire community included military towers and mosques. All villages changed in appearance during the years of Soviet power. Sometimes whole new blocks with special buildings for social and cultural activities arose next to old villages. A number of new villages have arisen in the lowlands, with wide straight streets, running water, electricity, and plantings.

The traditional houses are made of stone and are usually two-storied, with living quarters on the second story and large loggias, a gallery with an arcade, or overhanging balconies; these buildings were joined with the other household work buildings into a single complex. Hay barns were constructed separately and placed next to the house or at the edge of the settlement. In mountain settlements there were three-story and occasionally even four-story buildings. Buildings were L-shaped, U-shaped, or square with a flat earthen roof and an internal court. Many had a central support column, the *murkhval*, often decorated with wood carving. The principal building materials were stone, wood, and clay. Houses were decorated with carved stone detailing with various signs and cosmological symbols—circles, rosettes, swastikas—and depictions of animals such as lions and deer. A good deal of wood went into the construction: wide window and door frames, corbels for cornices, column supports, the upper part of the wooden staircase leading to the second story, loggia, and window supports, all decorated with ornamental carving. The wooden elements of the facade, as well as the beams, were smeared with oil to prevent rot. The rooms in the living quarters had hearths (*gamu*), and the walls had niches for beds, dishes, and other household items. The interior decoration included rugs; chests (decorated with carving) for grain and other food products; wooden bed frames with shelves underneath; low stools; trunks; children's dolls; dishes; utensils of pottery, wood, or copper; and a loom for weaving rugs. During Soviet times two-story houses were built with large windows, slate or metal roofs, and yards (with orchards, vines, and/or gardens). National traditions are preserved in the plan and decoration of modern dwellings.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. The economy is based on agriculture and horticulture (wheat, rye, millet, buckwheat, German wheat, maize, peas and beans, melons and other gourds) and also viticulture and animal husbandry. In the foothills heavy livestock (cows, bulls, steers) was kept in nearby pastures and stalls, whereas sheep were pastured in the more distant mountains and upper foothills. In the past the Tabasarans also cultivated madder, flax, and cotton. The main grain-raising zones are the flatlands and the foothills. Artificial irrigation is used. The main implements for plowing in the past were the light mountain plow in the highlands and a heavier type in the lowlands. With the technology accompanying the Soviet collectivized economy, new forms of cultivation were appropriated and the acreage devoted to horticulture and viticulture was increased.

Clothing. The traditional male attire was generic Caucasian: shirt, pants, quilted coat, *cherkeska* (collarless Circassian coat), felt cloak, sheepskin coat and cap, footwear of leather with cloth or felt gaiters, knitted woolen socks, soft leather shoes, and heelless slippers with wooden soles. As adornments men wore belts with buckles, pendants, disks, a dagger, and a cartridge belt. The traditional female attire consisted of a tuniclike dress, pantaloons, a headdress and kerchiefs, a belt with a silver buckle, a pendant on the breast made of silver coins, a pendant on the forehead, and an apron decorated with coins, rings, earrings, and bracelets. Adornment to the dress included silver clasps, pendants, coins, and small disks. Footwear consisted of leather Caucasian slippers and woolen socks with floral designs. Children's clothing was of the same type as that of adults. The traditional costume, almost supplanted by contemporary clothing, is partly maintained among the women as domestic attire—shirt, wide pantaloons, kerchiefs for the head, woolen socks, and some adornments. Light blue, green, and red are preferred colors for clothing. Old men still wear the traditional headgear, and the felt cloak is still part of the professional attire of shepherds.

Food. The basis of the traditional Tabasaran diet was grains, beans, wild herbs, meat, and milk. The basic daily dishes were dumplings (*khinkals*), with or without meat and with a dressing of sour milk with garlic and ground nuts. They also prepared pies stuffed with herbs; curds; rice boiled in milk; minced meat; stuffings of tripe, eggs, and milk; and pancakes. Meat was eaten roasted or boiled. They prepared ravioli, pilaf, and porridge (of grains and flour). Many dishes used poultry meat. Milk products included fresh and sour milk, curds, sour cream, butter, and cheese. Both leavened and unleavened breads were made. The Tabasarans ate vegetables, greens, fruits (both orchard-grown and wild), and sweets. The basic beverage was *airan* (made from buttermilk). Some mildly alcoholic beverages were known (*buza* and *ukhrag*). Festival dishes included halvah, mutton roasted on a spit, chicken pie, a dish made of dried sheep's feet (*quyir*), ground wheat, peas, and *aluga* (a porridge made of flour from oven-ripened wheat). The cuisine today is also distinguished by the variety of milk, meat, grain, and vegetable dishes and fruit and vegetable preserves (jams, pickles, compotes, marinades).

Industrial Arts. The traditional trades were rug weaving (the known centers were Khuchni, Arkit, Tinit, and Ersi); woodworking (the centers were Khurik, Khanat, and Juli); pottery (in Juli); weaving of wool, flax, and cotton; embroidery (of socks, for example); carving of wood and stone; smithing; wool preparation; felt making; and tanning. In the villages of Marega, Karchag, and Nichras, saltpeter and sulfur were extracted. Many Tabasarans worked as migrant laborers in the Derbent region. The following arts and crafts are still practiced: production of rugs (napped and unnapped), embroidery of socks, and fashioning wooden utensils. In Soviet times the artisans united into cooperative associations (factories, corporations).

Trade. The Tabasarans have internal and external trade relations that were established long ago. Trading operations were completed on fixed market (*bazar*) days in major settlements such as Khuchni, Khiv, Kondik, and Tinit. Livestock bazaars were held in the fall in Tinit, Tatil, and Rukel. Being the immediate neighbors of Derbent, the Tabasarans early on were drawn into external trade relations with other peoples of Daghestan, Transcaucasia, and the Near East. After the unification with Russia, trade with central Russia was established and, in some cases, strengthened. Trade was primarily by barter; a strictly established unit of exchange did not exist. The products of animal husbandry and agriculture, pottery, woodwork, rugs, wool, and fruits were traded. Madder also was part of the system of exchange.

Division of Labor. The division of labor in the family was gender-based. The heavy work (plowing, seeding, irrigation, the repair of agricultural equipment and of irrigation systems) was carried out by experienced men. Women worked in grain agriculture, harvesting, gardening, tending cattle, processing dairy products, weaving, knitting, and the like. Young people assisted the adults and did heavy work that did not require a great deal of skill. Children did what they could to help their parents. If, in the presence of their children, the parents did work inappropriate for someone of their advanced years, public opinion would censure the children.

Land Tenure. In traditional Tabasaran society, many forms of landownership—feudal, peasant-private, communal, and ecclesiastical—prevailed; the feudal pattern was formerly predominant. After the establishment of Soviet power and the nationalization of the land, all the peasants received land. Powerful collective and state farms were established. The collective-farm system made it possible to carry out improvements and convert empty expanses of land into fertile ones.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. There are various terms for the designation of kinship groups, "tukhum" being the most common; others include *nasil*, *jins*, *qam*, and *merasar*. All these terms designate an aggregate of all kin relations, near and remote, in the patrilineal lines to seven degrees. Usually the *jamaat* (communal assembly) consisted of several tukhums, each of which had its own name (usually that of its founding grandfather). *Rayat* (dependent or bound peasants) did not have the right to organize their own tukhum. Persons arriving from other places or separate families could be accepted into a tukhum with the agreement of all involved. At the same time, the tukhum had the right to ostracize undesirable persons from its midst. Every tukhum used to have its attached plow lands, woods, hay fields, pastures, mills, and enclosures for livestock. In each quarter in the settlements, each tukhum had its gathering place (gim), located by the gate of the head of the tukhum; it was here that patrilineal assemblages met. In the traditional communal way of life of the Tabasarans, the customs of mutual aid, hospitality, and blood vengeance were staunchly preserved. There existed various forms of ritual brotherhood (e.g., in feudal times, the entrusting of a small child to another's household for education and the handing over of an infant for nursing in the home of a prosperous peasant). Kinship is reckoned in both paternal and maternal lines: the father's line was "of the fur cap" (*bachuk' teref*) and the mother's line was "of the kerchief" (*lakach terefnan*). (Such reference to gender by characteristic headgear is known elsewhere in the Caucasus.)

Kinship Terminology. The term for one's mother's brother is *khalu*; father's brother is *em*; mother's sister, *khala*; father's sister, *eme*. Cognatic kinship in the direct line could be designated up to six degrees: son (*bay*), grandson (*khtul*), great grandson (*gudul*), great-great-grandson (*ts'udul*), and so forth. Collateral relatives (father's older brother, male first cousins, etc.) were not distinguished by special terms but were designated with descriptive constructions; for example, a male first cousin on the father's side was "father's brother's child" (*emdin bay*), and so on.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Not only the immediate family but a wide circle of relatives was occupied with the selection of a bride or a groom. A family would seek out a bride from a circle of families that were equal in social and economic position to that of their own family. The usual age of marriage for both young women and young men was 15–16 years. Marriages were forbidden between families related by ritual kinship. Marriage was by arrangement; infant betrothal, levirate, sororate, marital exchange, and abduction were also known. The wedding lasted three or four days, attended by relatives and covillagers and accompanied by dances, songs, masked performances, and horse races. Postmarital residence was patrilocal.

Domestic Unit. The nuclear family predominated in the nineteenth century, but up until the twentieth century undivided families were not uncommon, with the residues of large (extended) family organization consisting of three or even more generations and including several couples. An indispensable condition of intrafamilial relations in both the individual and the small family was a solicitous, respectful relation to the woman (wife, mother, sister, daughter). To offend or insult a woman was considered shameful behavior unworthy of a man.

Inheritance. Inheritance followed the norms of Sharia (Quranic law), always taking the degree of consanguinity into account. On the death of the father of a family, the

property was divided as follows: first the debts of the deceased were paid off; then a sixth each of the property was apportioned to the father and the mother and an eighth to the widow (a childless widow received a quarter, not counting the *kebin*, the material insurance for a wife in case of separation or the death of the husband); then the rest was divided among the sons and daughters, with twice as much going to the former as the latter. If only a daughter survived, then she would get one-half of all the property, and if there were several daughters, they would get two-thirds of the total, with the remainder going to the deceased's patrilineal relatives (twice as much to men as to women). The law of inheritance, to which the maysums, qadis, and *beks* adhered, was based on Quranic law, which completely deprived women of the right to inherit immovable property (which passed down only to direct heirs in the male line, that is, to sons, or, in the absence of them, to brothers or other close consanguines). Children of a marriage between partners of unequal rank had the same rights as so-called pure-blooded beks.

Socialization. The mother and grandmother raised the children. Great significance was attached to moral education, the inculcation of work skills, and the acquisition by children of the norms of social behavior and the customs and traditions of the people and its moral and cultural inheritance. Familial education was directly supplemented by that of the commune.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Communal administration and village legal proceedings were based on customary and Quranic law (*adat* and Sharia respectively). The latter was the basis for decisions on family relations, the conclusion of marriage, the personal and property relations of spouses, divorce, guardianship, and the division of inheritable property. Adat (customary law) pertained to crimes, relations between clans, and local conflicts. Although customary law was essentially the same throughout Daghestan, every village (jamaat) had its own code; that of Tabasaran consisted of seventy points. The maysum and qadi were the fully empowered rulers in their domains. The governance of the village was conducted by elected officials. Every settlement had its council of elders (*qabidir*), with representatives of each clan. At the head of the council of elders stood the senior representative (*kevkha*). The jamaat administration also included managers and overseers of fields and accounts. The more important questions that touched the entire union of village communes—such as agrarian conflicts, mutual relations between villages, external enemies, and so forth—were decided at the village assemblies that took place two or three times a year. A representative of each family participated in the assembly (but not women). In the second half of the nineteenth century the senior elder acquired more and more weight in the business of the commune. The elders represented official power in the village at the same time that the rights of the ancient popular assembly were being sharply limited. In the village assemblies members of the village court were selected for a period of one year from among the elders. The village judges were inaugurated by the chief of the district. For hearing cases and complaints, the judges assembled every morning at an accustomed place (usually near the mosque). In particularly important cases or if either side was not satisfied with a decision, they turned to their senior elder. In one type of case, questions were decided by a third court chosen from representatives of influential and wealthy clans.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religion. The official religion was Sunni Islam, which had spread among the Tabasarans during the Arab conquest of the eighth to ninth centuries. The mosque was an obligatory structure of every village. In small villages there was one mosque; in the larger villages there were also mosques in each quarter or section, each with a mosque school. Side-by-side with the mosques, places of pagan observance (*pir*) were preserved. Islamic holidays and fasts were widely observed. The Islamic clergy—qadis, sheiks, effendis, mullahs—constituted a large privileged group. There were qadis and effendis in the more densely settled places. The clergy took part in assemblies, in which they had a major voice. Residues of ancient, pre-Islamic religious beliefs were preserved—cults associated with fire, stones, trees, caves, and springs, as well as traces of earth, sky, sun, and moon worship. Other popular practices included the worship of the graves of holy men, the belief in spirits and protective divinities, magical performances, and rituals for bringing rain or sunshine. There were also remnants of the worship of animals and birds.

Arts. Tabasaran architecture is among the most distinctive in Daghestan. Certain ancient traditions have been preserved in reworked form, related to the pre-Islamic Christian culture of Daghestan (some traditions go back as far as Caucasian Albania). Islamic graves in the shape of a cross have been uncovered. The arts of woodworking and ornamental carving are highly developed. The Tabasarans maintain the various genres of folklore: legends, myths, historical tales, sermons, fairy tales, everyday ritual and nonritual songs, proverbs, sayings, riddles, and child folklore. Of the folk holidays the most significant and ancient is the Spring Festival (Ebeltsen). The Tabasarans have a rich tradition of music and dance with many kinds of musical instruments, including the clarinet, flute, and tambourine. Their traditional culture, folklore, music, and dance have been influenced by the culture of the Azerbaijanis and the Lezgins.

Medicine. Generally women served as healers in the past. In every village there were healers who were known not only in the village but also beyond its boundaries. Often doctoring was transmitted as an inheritance from parents to children. In the mid-nineteenth century the surgeon Usta Khalil, the bonesetters Gajiomarov and Giul'magomedov, and the midwife Saidalieva were especially renowned. These native healers cured in various ways: with plants, foods, cauterization, bloodletting, baths, massages, curative materials of animal origin, and so forth. They also applied magical techniques.

Intellectual Life. During the Soviet period a national intelligentsia formed. Folklore influences professional culture, as observed in the works of well-known Tabasaran poets and writers (A. Jafarov and many others) and composers

(A. Orujev and others). The Tabasarans show great concern for their history and culture, native architecture, traditional crafts, and oral literature. In all fields of culture, both spiritual and material, the native traditions are combined with innovation.

Death and Afterlife. According to the Tabasarans, the dead in the other world live as they did in this one—except that they neither age nor die. Burial traditionally took place before sundown. Immediately after death those near to the deceased began to weep loudly. In some settlements, female relatives rent their clothes, undid their braids, tore out their hair, and scratched their faces as they keened. Memorial services were arranged but they were not strictly regulated and were held at different days in different villages—on the day of the burial, three days after the burial, on the first Friday, after forty days, or on the fifty-second day. On the holidays of Oraza and Kurban bairam small memorials were conducted with a prayer and the distribution of alms.

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BARIAT MAGOMEDOVNA ALIMOVA
(Translated by Johanna Nichols and Paul Friedrich)

Tajiks

ETHNONYMS: Tadjiks, Tadzhiks

Orientation

Identification. Tajiks are a Central Asian people who live in Afghanistan, in republics of the former Soviet Union, and in China. Within the former Soviet Union, they are concentrated in the Republic of Tajikistan, although important populations also live in Uzbekistan. Tojikistoni shuravi (Soviet Tadzhikistan), a sovereign republic, was formed in 1929. The distinguishing features of Tajiks are their language, sedentary life-style, and Islamic-Iranian culture. The widespread use of "Tajik" as an ethnopolitical term emerged with Soviet usage; prior to that, regional rather than linguistic affiliation held the key to self-identity. In Soviet usage, the term "Tajik" also includes speakers of non-Persian Iranian languages who inhabit mountain valleys in the Pamir mountain area such as Sarikolis, Wakhis, and Shugnis.

Location. Tajik-inhabited areas fall roughly between 65° and 75° W and 35° to 42° N. Tajikistan is the southeasternmost of the republics of the former Soviet Union and is bordered by Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan to the west and north, the Xinjiang Uigur Autonomous Region of the People's Republic of China to the east, and Afghanistan to the south. The total area of Tajikistan is 143,100 square kilometers. The entire Tajik-inhabited region is very mountainous with narrow valleys; agriculture is nourished by mineral silt and irrigation waters from fast-flowing rivers fed by melting snows. The rivers form tributaries of the Panj, which flows into the Amu Darya (Oxus River). Northern Tajikistan includes parts of the Ferghana Valley, where the waters eventually meet to flow into the Syr Darya (Jaxartes River).

Geographically, the Tajik Republic is trifurcated by mountains that are impassable by road in winter. The northern portion is dominated by the town of Khojent, formerly Leninabad; the capital, Dushanbe, known from 1930 to 1931 as Stalinabad, is in the south. To the east, but still part of the Tajik Republic, is the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Region, a sparsely populated area inhabited mainly by small, valley ethnic groups including Kyrgyz. The major urban center of this area has become Khorog.

The climate falls within the temporal continental high-altitude range with about 320 days of sunlight. Precipitation occurs as rain and snow, mainly between November and April. Summers are hot and dry with mean daytime temperature in July ranging from 23 to 30° C.

Demography. The world Tajik population is more difficult to analyze than that within the republics of the former Soviet Union, although this too has been subject to manipulation, especially outside Tajikstan. The 1989 census placed the number of Tajiks within the Soviet Union at 4,217,000, 3,168,000 of these residing within their own republic and 932,000 in Uzbekistan; in other words, about 99 percent of the Tajiks reside in these two republics. Together with the estimated 4 million Dari speakers in Af-

ghanistan, who may also be identified broadly as Tajik, and smaller numbers in the People's Republic of China, the world Tajik population may be estimated at about 9 million. Since the 1959 Soviet census, Tajiks have increased in number by 201.9 percent, making them the fastest-growing major ethnic group of the former Soviet Union. They constitute 62.25 percent of the population of Tajikistan and 4.7 percent of that of Uzbekistan (Uzbeks constitute 23.52 percent of that of Tajikistan). The number of Russians in Tajikistan is declining (7 percent in 1989).

Linguistic Affiliation. The standard Tajik dialect is mutually intelligible with the Persian of Iran and the Dari of Afghanistan and is increasingly being called either Farsi-Tojiki or Farsi (Persian), all of which form the major living branch of the Iranian Language Family. In addition to standard Tajik, nineteen dialects exist, which differ from each other morphologically and phonetically. Rural mountain valley people cannot be readily understood by urban Tajiks, who generally use the standard dialect. Tajik intellectuals are monolingual (Russian), bilingual (Tajik and Russian), or trilingual (Tajik, Russian, and Uzbek). The Tajiks, on the whole, are one of the least Russified Muslim communities of the former Soviet Union; in 1979, only 22,666 claimed Russian as their "first native language."

History and Cultural Relations

Tajik historical development is intertwined with that of the other sedentary people of Central Asia, especially the Uzbeks. Before the coming of the Turks to the area and their eventual sedentarization, Iranian groups dominated the urban oases. Islam eventually became universally accepted and Turkic conquerors adjusted their religious and literary culture to that of the local inhabitants whom they ruled. Local (Tajik) administrators continued to dominate in public life under Turkic tribally affiliated rulers. This hybrid Turko-Iranian culture dominated the important oases towns, especially Bukhara and Samarkand. Bilingualism—Tajik and (Turkic) Chagatay or Uzbek—was widespread both on the literate and nonliterate level through the early twentieth century. Most Tajik areas fell under the Bukharan and Khokand khanates until the latter was destroyed by czarist forces in 1876 and incorporated into the Turkestan governor-generalship. Resistance to czarist, then Bolshevik rule gained strength in Tajik areas where Basmachi bands of Uzbeks and Tajiks were finally stamped out only in 1932. With the division of Soviet Central Asia along ethnolinguistic lines in 1924, a Tajik Autonomous SSR was set aside within the Uzbek SSR and this, by 1929, became a full-fledged Tajik SSR. Most of the educated and elite Tajiks lived in Bukhara and Samarkand and made the transition to Dushanbe and other Tajik territory with reluctance. Both the status and the size of the Tajik population in these two cities are sources of conflict; many Tajiks feel that these cities, together with Khiva, as traditional Tajik centers of culture, should be part of Tajikistan.

Disentangling a distinct Tajik culture from the Uzbek culture around it—and from non-Soviet Persian culture—became the focus of cultural activity during the Stalinist period. Separate Tajik institutions, organized on the All-Union model, labored to use valley dialects, history, and especially archaeology to create a Tajik history delinked from Islam and distinct from other Central Asian culture. Thawing of Soviet-Iranian relations led to ever-closer Iranian-Tajik cultural relations; the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan (1979) saw increasing Tajik tutelage of Afghans in Kabul as well as in Dushanbe. Important in this international cultural linking have been Russians and Russianized Tajiks. The Uzbek-Tajik bilingual pattern has been replaced by a Tajik-Russian one. Tension is growing today between the Tajiks and Uzbeks, owing in part to attempts by the latter to increase their power in Tajikistan.

Settlements

Most of Tajikistan is rural; 85 percent of the population lives in valleys and mountain areas up to 1,600 meters in elevation. Most of these settlements are organized in the kolkhoz/sovkhoz pattern superimposed on former villages (*deh kishlaq*, which are sometimes equivalent to loosely extended families practicing endogamy). There are pockets of industrialization in rural areas where non-Tajiks as well as Tajiks work. In the north and south population density runs from 50 to 150 per square kilometer, whereas in the mountains it is as low as 5 to 10. New urban settlements have expanded from former villages. Urban administrative centers, especially Dushanbe, have grown along Western patterns, with roads for motorized vehicles, apartment blocks, parks, and industries. Old villages retain extended family homes, often placed within orchards and vineyards. Walled compounds ensure household privacy.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. Under the Soviet system, Tajikistan became organized along Soviet Marxist economic lines. Cotton, a commercial product developed during the czarist period, has dominated Tajik agriculture—Tajikistan ranks second among former republics of the Soviet Union in cotton production. Other agricultural products, geared to the western, urban Soviet centers, include grapes and orchard fruits and nuts, vegetables, grain, and flowers. Greenhouse production, especially in the Surkhan Darya region, is flown to colder parts of the former USSR. Stock breeding, chiefly by Kyrgyz and Uzbeks, also contributes to the economy in mountainous regions. A black-market economy in produce, more recently expanded to manufactured goods smuggled from Afghanistan, also thrives.

Industrial Arts. Hydroelectric power and mining/processing form the main heavy industries in Tajikistan. Large dams (Qairoqqum, Nurek, Sarband, Boighazi, Markazi, and Sharshara) supply power to Soviet Central Asia and Afghanistan. Industrial manufacture is in cotton-related machinery. Together with light industry in textiles, furniture, and food processing, the industrial sector employs most non-Tajiks, especially Russians.

Trade. Under the Soviet system, trade within the union was conducted on a nonmonetary basis. Thus, Tajik cotton, hydroelectric power, and other products were traded by Moscow on the world market for hard currency or as barter items. In turn, Tajikistan received needed commodities and services. On a lower level, trade in fresh agricultural produce on private plots has flourished in urban

areas where the government has constructed new bazaars to facilitate private trade.

Division of Labor. Labor patterns have undergone transformation under the Soviet system in two important ways: the importation of labor (Slavs, Koreans) and the mobilization of women into the formal labor force. This imposed system of labor has resulted in nominal universal employment. Most women, however, do agricultural work. The fast-growing Tajik rural population shows signs of having outpaced agricultural employment capacity. Entry into light or heavy industry appears barred by lack of training and aptitude. Women, regularly visible in high positions, continue to be the only ones who perform domestic labor.

Land Tenure. Under collectivization, little land remained private, although private homes were frequently retained. As collectivization is dismantled, the problems of commercial crop production, the small amount of arable land for the large rural population, and the desire for private housing all create problems in a new economic order.

Kinship

Kinship Groups and Descent. Extended families sharing adjacent houses or a single compound were the norm in traditional Tajik society. This pattern has been interrupted by the construction of apartment complexes in which units are distributed based on place of employment. Descent is determined through the father, although women retain their own family names.

Kinship Terminology. Relationships are distinguished by gender and also (reflecting borrowings from Uzbek) by age among siblings.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Marriage patterns differ between urban and rural areas and over the past sixty years. In urban settings and among young people, Soviet influence on marriage may be seen in the exercise of choice in marriage partners and the importance of civil ceremonies. The couple may live with the groom's parents until a suitable apartment is located. In rural areas, the older pattern of arranged marriages with religious/traditional marriage celebrations continues to be honored. The couple will live with the man's family until a house is constructed. Divorce is rare in both settings.

Domestic Unit. The size of the rural domestic unit is large: the average rural household numbers seven to eight children as well as a grandparent or other relations. In urban areas the domestic unit is far smaller, averaging three to four children and possibly a paternal or maternal parent. According to Bennigsen and Wimbush (1986, 89) "traditional customs such as the *kalym* [bride-price], the early marriage of girls, the levirate and sororate, preferences of marriage between cousins, sexual segregation, *aksakalism* [local rule by 'white beards'] and even polygamy are observed by Tajiks more generally than by any other Muslim nationality of Central Asia."

Inheritance. The residence, if privately owned, and its contents are often inherited by the oldest son (or the one with whom the parent lived). Inherited property is infrequently sold.

Socialization. Tajiks rarely send children to institutions for care, even if both parents work away from the home. Accommodation is made within the extended family for the care of young children. Children are raised to value family life, religious or ethical standards, their ethnic identity, and within this, their regional ties. Young Tajiks intermarry with Uzbeks and other cultural Muslims at a far higher rate than with Russians, despite the extensive Russification of urban elites.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Tajik society retains few objects of cohesion except as determined by general Central Asian customs and recent history. Cleavage among urban and rural groups rests also on place of origin and descent. Bukharan immigrants socialize with each other, as do people of various valleys. Soviet institutions and the workplace have brought them together, as has a common language, but without the economic and political institutions, the social fabric is fragile and susceptible to influence from emergent Islamic, nationalistic, and other forces. The core of social organization remains the extended family and region.

Political Organization. In the late Soviet era the pattern of political organization had begun to move toward gradual entrenchment of Tajiks into positions of real power within the Communist party. Independent parties, both nationalist and religious, have arisen since 1986 and are increasingly challenging control of former Communists.

Social Control. Modes of social behavior ingrained within the family function within society at large. These include loyalty to family members and fellow villagers. Other forms of social control exercised by the state have served to create tight groupings to preserve the welfare and safety of the group. Increasingly difficult socioeconomic conditions arising from population growth and ecological damage have begun to strain public order.

Conflict. Social and political conflict is most apparent between local people and outsiders, in particular Russians. A secondary source is the regional friction over access to resources and services. Added to these among Bukharan Jews, fundamentalist Muslim groups, and secular Muslims are strains arising from religious custom or conviction. Resolution of some levels of conflict has emerged with the steady emigration of Slavs and Bukharan Jews. The confrontation between zealous Muslims and secular Muslims remains to be resolved.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Most religiously minded Tajiks belong to the Sunni sect, and within this to the Hanafi juridical school. Small, isolated groups, especially among the Pamir peoples of Iranian but not Tajik language, are devotees of Isma'ili Shiism, and yet a smaller portion follow the Ithna Ash'ari sect. As such, with the exception of Bukharan Jews, Slavs, other Christian-associated groups, and the urban-dwelling Koreans, the people of Tajikistan generally follow Islamic belief patterns. Belief in the supernatural,

outside of formal Islam, falls into several categories: curative customs, fortune-telling, and ascription of bad fortune to the power of fate or of evil beings called jinn.

Religious Practitioners. Strong evidence exists of the growth of Islamic practice among rural Tajiks, particularly the educated leadership on collective farms. In the absence of formal religious schools within Tajikistan (such as are found in Uzbekistan), individual Tajiks demonstrate a surprising familiarity with formal Islamic theological and juridical doctrine, owing in part to unregistered mullahs, Sufi brotherhoods, and a special category of half-Sufi-half-shaman; about a dozen shrines to saints are major religious centers (Bennigsen and Wimbush 1986, 91). Fasting during Ramadan, and especially the fast-breaking feast of Eid-e Fitr are popular and more public than in earlier years. Family ownership of a copy of the Quran is valued despite the lack of facilities for instruction in its contents. Informal teachers not recognized by the state or the Spiritual Directorate of Central Asia and Kazakhstan in Tashkent function throughout society on a semisecret level.

Ceremonies. Rites of passage include circumcision of male children, marriage, and funerals. Holidays include the Islamic Eid-e Qorban and Eid-e Fitr, as well as Nowruz, the traditional Iranian new year celebrated at the vernal equinox.

Arts. Literature, especially poetry rooted in the brilliant classical culture that Tajiks share with other Iranian peoples, is foremost among traditional Tajik arts. Architectural decoration (*gach kari*), carpet weaving, metal decoration, embroidery, and calligraphy have continued to be valued, although all these arts have acquired some level of Soviet content to conform with political dictates. In the fields of music, dance, and theater, innovations are widespread as Western arts have been introduced and local arts have been adapted.

Medicine. Tajik medicine, like other medicine in Central Asia, falls into two branches: the Western-oriented branch represented by the Gastrointestinal and Chemistry Institutes of the Tajik Academy of Sciences established in 1955, and the traditions of folk medicine passed within particular families by word of mouth but based also on written works of medieval scientists such as Ibn Sina. The two branches have drawn closer together as the herbal cures offered by folk medicine have become the object of study of the scientific institutions and the medical properties of cumin and the like have been recognized.

Death and Afterlife. Formal ideas of death follow either the nonreligious pattern or the Islamic one. It is customary for funeral proceedings for Tajik Communists to be conducted according to Muslim custom and for the burial to take place in a Muslim cemetery. Among the traditional populace, the afterlife is firmly held to be a time for reward and punishment for conduct in the present life.

See also Bukharan Jews; Kyrgyz; Pamir Peoples; Uzbeks; and *see* Tajik in Part Two, China

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EDEN NABY

Talysh

ETHNONYMS: Self-designation: Talushon (sing., Talush); exoethnonyms: Talĭsh, Talĭshlar

Orientation

Identification and Location. The Talysh are settled in the north of Iran and in the Lenkoran, Astaran, Lerik, and Massalin districts of the Azerbaijan Republic. The territories in which the Talysh live are sharply divided into two different geographic zones: the Lenkoran lowland, with the Plains of Gilan in Iran adjacent to it, and the mountain district of Talysh. The area inhabited by the Talysh is distinguished by climatic diversity, occasioned by three parallel mountain ranges in the Lenkoran region—the Talysh, the Peshtasar, and Alashar-Burovor ranges—with numerous spurs. Elevations range from the very highest point, 2,494 meters in the Talysh range, to 28 meters in the Lenkoran lowland. The climate of the southern zone in the lowlands is close to subtropical (i.e., coastal). The largest amount of precipitation (30–160 centimeters per year) falls in the mountains; because of this precipitation, the landscape is well wooded. A quite dense network of rivers crosses the region, and the yellow soils are favorable to the raising of subtropical cultivated plants. The Iranian section, which is generally less mountainous, has a hotter and more arid climate. The southwest corner of the Caspian seaboard, populated by the Iranian portion of the Talysh, is covered with 12,000 hectares of dense forests rich in many types of trees including oak, beech, maple, linden, plane, and hazel.

Demography. According to the census of 1926 there were 77,039 Talysh in Soviet Azerbaijan; in the 1979 census all Talysh were listed as Azerbaijanis; in the 1989 census the Talysh numbered 21,914. The drop in the Talysh population in the USSR by a factor of 3.5 is the result of their partial assimilation. Only a subsequent census can more fully establish the number of Talysh in Azerbaijan.

The population density in the Caspian part of Iran is about 100 persons per square kilometer. Some 100,000 Talysh live in Iran. In terms of physical features the Talysh correspond to the Near Asian variant of the Balkan-Caucasian Group of the Greater Caucasian race.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Talysh language is close to the so-called Old Azeri language (not to be confused with Azerbaijani Turkish), a language of the Northwestern Subgroup of the Iranian Group of the Indo-European Family. The Talysh speak both the Talysh and Azerbaijani Turkish languages; in Azerbaijan many also speak Russian. The Talysh language is not used for writing at present. In Iranian Talysh territory instruction is conducted in Farsi, and in the *medressehs* (Islamic schools) it is conducted in Talysh, Farsi, and Arabic. Before the Revolution in Russia the Talysh language was written with the Arabic script; later, in 1930, the Latin script came into use. A Talysh-language newspaper and textbooks were published in the 1930s in Soviet Talysh territory, but the literary language was abolished in 1939. Since then instruction has been in Azerbaijani Turkish in the Talysh schools of Azerbaijan (Bennigsen and Wimbush 1986, 220).

History and Cultural Relations

The Talysh are the remnant of an ancient Caucasian aboriginal population that spoke a language close to Old Azeri; This language is perhaps the "Hyrcanian" of the ancient sources (Strabo). A large number of Talysh were subject to Turkicization (i.e., assimilation into the Azeri Turkish culture) from the early Middle Ages. The Talysh established a khanate in the seventeenth century, following the fall of the empire of Nadir Shah. The founder of the khanate's dynasty was Seid Abbas, by birth a Talysh noble. In 1785 the Talysh Khanate became a dependency of Fatali, the Kuban khan, after whose death (1789) the Talysh Khanate regained its independence. The Talysh Khanate was joined to Russia initially by the Gulistan Treaty and finally by the Turkmenchay Agreement in 1828. Unification with Russia may have served to hinder the complete assimilation of the Talysh into their Turkic-speaking environment.

Settlements

Talysh settlements situated in the mountain zone are of the compact type of building characteristic of the eastern Caucasus. The settlements in the mountains are not large or congested. The settlements in the plains section have a free layout. The lowlands and the riverbanks are the most densely settled. In the mountains the typical Talysh house is built of uncut stone, with a flat roof; in the forest zone houses are built of wood. In the unforested coastal zone the usual house is made of clay or of rushes with a clay plastering and a roof of reeds or sedge with two or four slopes. The floor is of earth or wood. In the old style of mountain houses, hearths are built of stones in or next to a wall, with no exit aperture for smoke, which escapes through the open door. For this reason doors in Talysh houses are high, reaching to the ceiling. The Alar and Orand seminomads spend the summer in huts, the winter in warmer half-dugout primitive dwellings. In the lowlands the Talysh construct summer dwellings called *lam*, 3–4 meters in height, consisting of a platform on wooden posts, surrounded by a wooden railing. No furniture is used in traditional Talysh homes. The floor is covered with mats. Modern homes on the plains are of two-floor construction, furnished partly in the urban manner. Talysh dwellings in the lowlands and the foothills usually are surrounded by lawns, flowers, and an extensive, well-maintained farmstead.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. The basic means of livelihood for the Talysh is village agriculture, in which the major activity is rice cultivation (*chaltïk*); in the mountain-forest region wheat and barley are the main crops. Because of the mild climate of the coastal region, the main crops there are tea and citrus fruits (the latter being grown on the lemon and mandarin plantations in the Astaran District). In the unforested mountain zone (Zevaed, Parnaim, etc.) the Talysh subsist in part by growing grain and in part by raising cattle; some of them—the Alars and Orands—lead a seminomadic form of life linked with animal husbandry. In the summer they tend their crops; at the onset of autumn some of them descend into the lowlands, where, until spring, they prepare logs and canes for the breeding of silkworms. Others remain in the villages to clean the rice. Because the Talysh region is well forested with valuable types of trees, the main commercial activities are silk production and the timber industry. For the Talysh of the lowlands, vegetable growing, the cultivation of melons, and other kinds of gardening have particular significance; they trade their produce in the towns of Iran and Azerbaijan. They cultivate garlic, onions, pumpkins, watermelons, peas, pomegranates, quinces, and grapes. More recently introduced crops include tobacco, maize, and tomatoes. In the Talysh forests there are very many gardens that have gone wild, and grapes, apples, pears, and nuts, are gathered there. Among the significant achievements of contemporary Talysh are the building of a network of roads and railroads (220 kilometers from Osmanly to Astara) and the creation of the base for a commercial subtropical economy.

Clothing. The costume of the Talysh is distinct from that of the Azerbaijanis. Male attire consists of a shirt (*shay*), pants (*khoma-shavlo*), trousers (*shavlo*), a short caftan, and a *chokho*, a type of *cherkeska*. Women formerly went out into the streets dressed in a white Muslim veil (*rubend*) with two openings for the eyes; the lower portion of the veil was a net of silk threads. They were enveloped from head to foot in a second veil of cotton. The head is covered with a *pilyandï*, or shawl. Ordinarily a woman wears a cotton or silk tunic-shaped blouse and wide trousers, sometimes belted, and jewelry. Some Talysh women now wear urban clothing. The custom of putting on the veil when going out in the street has been abandoned by Azerbaijani Talysh and today is seen only in isolated cases.

Food. Bread is baked in earthen ovens called *tanyu*, of a type widespread throughout the Near East and Transcaucasia. The food is basically boiled rice in the form of various pilafs (*plo*): *yakhni plo* (pilaf with boiled meat), *sio-plo* (with duck), *laga-plo* (with lentils), *shivit-plo* (with greens

and meat), *to plo* (with chicken), *kishmishī-plo* (with currants), and so forth.

Industrial Arts. There are many Talysh artisans, the main crafts being silk production and the production of silk textiles, rugs, and felt, as well as tinworking, shoemaking, and jewelry making.

Division of Labor. There was traditionally a clear division of labor between men and women. The men were occupied with the preparation of the soil for sowing, whereas women were occupied with getting and processing milk products. The metalworking and woodworking trades were men's work; the production of silk carpets and textiles was the province of women. For the carpet trade and silk spinning, the men prepared the food for the silkworms and unwound the cocoons. Some male mountaineers found work as porters (*ambal*), woodcutters, and charcoal burners in the lowlands. In the Iranian part of the Talysh region, crafts were preserved better than in Azerbaijan, where the Talysh were drawn to a greater degree into contemporary industrial production and where their crafts suffered strong competition from cheap manufactured articles.

Land Tenure. Landownership was basically communal, but in the foothill regions, where rice cultivation was intensive, plots of land belonged to small families, who had the right to sell or bequeath them. In accordance with Sharia (Quranic law), women here had a share in the land, as well as in the remaining property.

Kinship

The Talysh preserve divisions into kin groups and tribal groups. The patriarchal origins are mostly preserved in the mountain regions of Talysh. Reckoning of descent follows the patriline, with a kinship system characteristic of the Iranian-speaking peoples. Kin terms are father (*nīe*), son (*zua*), grandson (*neve*), grandfather (*dede*), brother (*bul*), sister (*nēve*), female cousin (*amu kine*), male cousin (*amu zua*), father-in-law (*eve*), stepfather (*dedelīg*), and stepdaughter (*ogeey kinee*).

Marriage and Family

The Talysh family is basically monogamous. Larger families are encountered sporadically. Polygyny is permitted by Sharia, but such families are found only rarely, which the Talysh explain by citing the major role of women in the cultivation of rice, the major crop; this gives them the power to resist competition from additional wives. The Talysh marry at the age of 15 to 20 years (for boys) and 12 to 16 years (for girls), with the payment of a *kebin* (bride-price), which consists of money as well as objects (a carpet, a brass vessel, etc.). To avoid the payment of the kebin, the groom sometimes abducts the bride. For an early marriage, the parents select the bride for their son. After the matchmaking the parents of the girl invite the groom and his comrades to their home (*kon nak'līkh*) as guests. When the bride arrives, an uncle or a brother of the groom puts a sash around her waist three times and puts his *papakha* (fur cap) on her head three times, pronouncing, "Mother, sister, maiden, bride. I want you to have seven sons and one daughter!" On bringing the bride into the house, the groom's family slaughters a ram and throws the head to one side and the trunk to the other; the bride then enters the house between the head and the body of the ram (a purification ritual widespread in Persia, performed when meeting high-ranking individuals). Once the bride has entered the house, a cup of honey is placed on her head; later, seven young boys eat the honey. Among the northern Talysh participants at the wedding customarily give gifts to the groom (money and objects) and announce to the other guests who gave what and how much. After three days a friend of the groom (the *dayna*) leads the bride to a spring to fetch water for the first time—an important sign of the conclusion of the wedding and the beginning of the family life of the bride.

Sociopolitical Organization

Talysh society is class-stratified. The feudal class is represented by the khan and the *bek* estate, for whose benefit the peasants and craftsmen bore various obligations. In Soviet Talysh territory the feudal-patriarchal structure has been replaced by new social groups like the kolkhoz peasantry, workers, artisans, office workers, and intelligentsia, a portion of whom constituted the Communist party's administrative apparatus. Characteristic of the southern Talysh are the stronger traditions of village society and the greater retention of traditional social groups and relations. In traditional sociostratification among the Talysh, clan and tribal relationships, serving as mechanisms of self-government, have been well preserved. The sociopolitical structure of the Talysh prior to the unification with Russia was feudal, with strong patriarchal-class roots. The feudal ruler and chief leader was the khan of Talysh. The next level of the hierarchy was occupied by the beks. An important position in the administration was occupied by the clergy, who administered the territory in accordance with the laws of Sharia. The major part of family civil matters was resolved according to Sharia and customary law; the power of the khan as a judicator was limited by laws and customs. *Qadis* (judges) and mullahs resolved conflicts, as well as cases calling for a mediator. In specially stipulated cases, at the wish of the parties concerned, it was possible to appeal to the khan. The major part of civil and criminal matters among the peasants belonging to the khan or the beks were resolved by the latter. The majority of Talysh peasants (*maafi*) had an obligation of military service. The Peasant Reform of 1870 had little effect on the social structure of the Talysh; in Iranian Talysh territory, however, there was an intensification of elements of religious rule and self-government. In former Soviet territory the Talysh are governed by the laws of the Azerbaijan Republic: according to the constitution, the organs of government are the councils of people's deputies, which are elected in all settled points and administrative-district centers. In the 1990s, in connection with the independence of Azerbaijan, reforms are being carried out to strengthen the role of democratically elected members of local government. The Talysh are a divided people, partly in the sphere of the former Soviet political culture and partly in the sphere of the traditional Irano-Muslim world. Nevertheless, traditions of self-rule are well preserved in both spheres. Con-

temporary reforms in Azerbaijan are further democratizing and at the same time strengthening Muslim norms in law and politics.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. The Talysh are Muslims—for the most part Shiites, with Sunnis in twenty-five villages in the southern Talysh region (Astarinski Mahal). Among ancient beliefs the most clearly expressed is the reverence for trees and groves. The oak tree in Mashkhan, where people come even from distant places to worship, is regarded as especially sacred. A second holy oak is found near the villages of Razi and Pmadī, on the summit of Bakhmaku. The holy trees are hung with colored rags. The Talysh populated the world surrounding them with good and evil spirits, regarding as particularly dangerous Alazhan (literally, "the Red Woman"), who attacks women in childbirth and newborn children—the Talysh portray her in the form of a black woman with great eyes and enormous breasts, which she tosses over her shoulders. As Shiites the Talysh especially observe the Muharram, the month of mourning, abstention, mutual aid, and help for the poor.

Ceremonies. The foremost festival of the Talysh is the festival of the New Year (Navruz), occurring on the day of the vernal equinox. The Muslim festivals of the end of the fast and Kurban Bayram are also also celebrated. The Talysh of Azerbaijan celebrated the Soviet civil holidays until 1991.

Death and Afterlife. The funeral customs adhere to the general Muslim practice. Among the Talysh the deceased is washed not by specialists but by neighbors and relatives. The body is arranged with the face toward the south and covered in a corner of the grave that is then closed off with short, thick boards set vertically to the wall. Among grave monuments are carved sculptures of rams, with which the Talysh sometimes tell fortunes. Funeral banquets are held on the third, seventh, and fortieth days after death. A copy of the Quran is placed in the house of the deceased, and visitors arriving over the course of the following three days each read out a word. The next world is imagined according to general Muslim eschatology: judgment day, paradise, and a hell with nine circles, the most dreadful of which is the final, fiery circle. Condemnation to eternal torment is reserved for those who have committed the most grievous sins without being remorseful.

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MAMAYKHAN A. AGLAROV
(Translated by David Testen)

Tats

ETHNONYMS: none

Orientation

Identification and Location. The Tats live in the Caucasus: in the Azerbaijan Republic and in Daghestan. The Tats of Azerbaijan dwell on the Apsheron Peninsula (where the city of Baku is located) and in the Kubinsky, Konakhkendsky, Shemakhinsky, Divichinsky, and Ismailinsky regions—in terms of the pre-Revolutionary administrative divisions, the Bakinsky, Kubinsky, Geokchaysky, and Shemakhinsky districts (*uezd*) of Baku Province (Bakinskaia Guberniia) and the Kazakhsky and Zangezursky districts of Elisavetpol Province. In Daghestan the Tats live in seven settlements in the vicinity of Derbent (the former Kaitag-Tabasaran District). "Tat" is the self-designation of the Tats. In the past it was also a social term, reflecting the form of life and the status of certain groups of the population. The Turks use the name "Tat" for agriculturists, the settled inhabitants of Central Asia, the Crimea, and the Caucasus. The Tats dwell in three natural climatic zones: a mountain zone with an extended winter and a short summer; a foothill zone with a warm, quite capricious climate (a garden zone); and a zone on the plain (the Apsheron Peninsula) with an arid climate, strong winds, and sandy, saline soil.

Demography. In the nineteenth century the Tats were settled in large homogeneous groups. The intensive processes of assimilation by the Turkic-speaking Azerbaijanis cut back the territory and numbers of the Tats. In 1886 they numbered more than 120,000 in Azerbaijan and 3,600 in Daghestan. According to the census of 1926 the number of Tats in Azerbaijan (despite the effect of natural increase) had dropped to 28,500, although there were also 38,300 "Azerbaijanis" with Tat as their native language. According to the census of 1989 the number of Tats in Azerbaijan was 10,200, with around 13,000 in Daghestan. Here their number had grown to a large degree at the expense of the Mountain Jewish community (whose native language is Tat), who had registered as Tats. The Tats have not only been assimilated by the Azerbaijanis. The inhabitants of the settlements Kilvar and Matrasa (Christians belonging to the Armeno-Gregorian church) have lost their native Tat language over the course of the past fifty years and regard themselves as Armenians. This process was furthered by an Armenian-language school created here in the

1920s, the continual migrations of Armenians (bearing with them the Armenian language, culture, and self-consciousness), and marriages between Tats and Armenians.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Tat language belongs to the Southwest Iranian Group of the Indo-European Language Family. Aside from the Tats proper, the Mountain Jews who live in Azerbaijan, Daghestan, and, in small groups, in Kabardino-Balkaria and Georgia also speak Tat. The Tat language comprises two basic dialects, "Muslim Tat" (including the speech of the Armeno-Tats) and "Jewish Tat." The majority of Tats also know Russian, as well as the Azerbaijani language, the interethnic language of Azerbaijan and lower Daghestan. Before the October Revolution the written and literary language of the Tats was Persian, in which they studied in the Muslim schools and conducted official correspondence and, in part, clerical work (along with Russian). In the 1920s a writing system was created for the Tat language (for the Jewish Tat dialect only) on the basis of the Latin alphabet. In Daghestan this script was used for instruction in elementary school and the publication of newspapers, magazines, works on folklore, and the writings of Tat (Mountain Jewish) authors, starting in 1929. Since 1938 Tat has been written with the Cyrillic alphabet. The Tat language in Azerbaijan (the Muslim Tat dialect) is unwritten. Here the Azerbaijani language serves as the written and literary language as well as language of instruction.

History and Cultural Relations

The contemporary Tats are the descendants of an Iranian-speaking population sent out of Persia by the dynasty of the Sasanids in the fifth to sixth centuries. Settled in various places of eastern Transcaucasia (in northern Azerbaijan near the fortress of Derbent), these colonists were a buffer for the Persians against raids from the north by the warlike nomads. In the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth the main group of Tats came into the Kuba and Baku khanates that arose in the territory of northern Azerbaijan and in 1813 became part of the Russian Empire.

Settlements

The villages (*kendistun*) of the Tats lie in several natural climatic zones. In the northeast of Azerbaijan the Tats live in clustered mountain settlements built on ledges on the slopes of mountains, consisting on the average of 80 to 120 households. Large villages such as Lagich (700 households, 6,000 inhabitants) are rare. On the Apsheron Peninsula settlements are more dispersed. Each village has a mosque, a bath (*hamum*), and a well. A typical farmstead contains a small inner courtyard (*duhundær*); the well-to-do have a garden plot, a vineyard, and a kitchen garden. Around each farmstead runs a wall of natural limestone. Within the courtyard under an awning are an oven (*tænur*) for baking bread and farm buildings (a cattle shed, a chicken coop, a stable); the courtyard also has a well with a small stone basin and a few trees (fig, almond, apricot). In the mountain homesteads there is often no courtyard, although the flat roof of the next house below (on the mountain slope) serves that purpose.

In the mountains the Tat house (*khunæ*) is usually one- or two-storied and constructed of rectangularly formed natural stone and clay mortar. The exterior side of the facade and the interior walls of the house are coated with clay and whitewashed. The roof is flat, with well-packed earthen roofing above which rises the stone chimney of the fireplace. The upper floor of the house is for living, the lower for work. In one of the walls of the living rooms there are niches (*jumækhoudun*) for storing clothes and bedding. Above the niches extend shelves with splendid dishes. The house has a front gallery (*sÿræ*), a type of porch enclosed on all sides. The sÿræ occupies the entire facade, or middle of it, and has a wide entrance. It is illuminated by a small aperture in the ceiling and the door. The houses of the Apsheron area lack a sÿræ; it is replaced by a porch (2–3 meters in width) of stone, which runs along the entire facade of the house. In summer the porch serves as additional accommodations for the family. In the house there is an obligatory guest room. The rooms are lit by an oil lamp (*shirogh*) made of clay. For heating in winter they use a special device, a *kÿrsi* with a metal brazier, which is widespread in the Near East, Central Asia, and the Far East. There are also fireplaces.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. From time immemorial the Tats have practiced agriculture (wheat, barley, maize), cattle raising, viticulture, and gardening. Livestock raising (sheep, cows, bulls, buffalo) is practiced in the mountain villages.

Clothing. The traditional male and female apparel of the Tats basically resembled that of the Azerbaijanis. The basic garments were the shirt (*zirshein*) and trousers (*shalvor*). Men's outdoor clothing included the *ghabo* (the shirt known throughout the Caucasus as the *arkhalug*) *chokha* (or *chukho*), and wide trousers (shalvor). The ghabo tightly cinched the waist, from which it spread out with gathers. The chokha was worn with a leather belt with silver ornaments. The chokha was worn over the ghabo, frequently unbuttoned. On the chest along the sides were sewn *gazyri*, small tubular holders (originally for cartridges). Sheepskin coats (*pustin*) were worn. The trousers were tucked into knitted wool socks. Most Tats wore footgear of raw leather of the bast shoe type (*tirakh*) and a sheepskin hat (*papakha*). This hat bore strong associations of honor, prestige, and prosperity—it was rarely removed, and to snatch the papakha from someone's head was a profound insult against its owner. A semispherical hat (*tezek*) was also worn. In cold weather a cloth *bashlyk* was donned. The outdoor clothing of the women included a short arkhalug (*chotghonou*), detachable and gathered at the waist, with a rectangular cut on the chest, and a very wide skirt (*pazhæ*). On their feet they wore leather shoes with wedge heels, backless but with upturned toes. The headgear consisted of a cap (worn by older women), a fillet (*lechæq*), a light-colored shawl (*kælæqin*), and a dark woolen shawl (*charshou*) covering the woman's whole figure. In cold weather this shawl served as a warm outer gar-

ment. Women's headgear was fringed with gold and silver threads and decorated silver coins. Various types of jewelry were obligatory: necklaces, rings, earrings, and bracelets. The masculine and feminine costumes were sewn out of silk, velvet, satin, wool, and cotton; bright colors were preferred, predominantly red among women.

Food. Bread (*nu*), unleavened and leavened, was baked from wheat flour. The unleavened bread was made in the tænur, a clay oven in the shape of a truncated cone set into the earth. Bread from leavened dough was baked on a cast-iron or clay griddle (*saj*). Flour soups (*ardavá*) were eaten, including soups prepared with buttermilk and seasoned with sorrel and soup with noodles (*ærishta*). Other dishes included pastries (*qitab*) with a filling of pumpkin or green onion; pilaf (*ash*) with various seasonings; *khinkal* (similar to dumplings); haricots; peas, and other vegetables (pumpkins, potatoes, carrots, cabbage, cucumbers, marrows, and peppers); fruit (apples, pears, plums, quinces, cherries, peaches, pomegranates, and apricots); and greens. In some areas watermelons, other melons, and grapes (eaten fresh or, in winter, dried) were cultivated. Walnuts figured in many Tat dishes. Dairy products consumed include cheese (*pænir*), sour cream, curds, butter, cream (*qeimaq*), and *qutuq* (fermented milk of the yogurt type). Meat (most frequently mutton) was a rarity in the daily diet, but it was obligatory on holidays, when entertaining a guest, or at weddings. Beverages included infusions of grasses, flowers, and sweetbriar berries; tea only appeared in the village settlements toward the beginning of the twentieth century and was an expensive, prestigious commodity. Homemade vodka (*araq*) was prepared out of berries or fruits. The basic sweet was honey, and halvah and treacle were made.

Industrial Arts. The Tats were noted for their carpets (with nap and without), which were handwoven by the women; they also knit patterned woolen socks. The brass vessels with engraved ornamentation made by the master craftsmen of the village of Lagich enjoyed wide renown. At the beginning of the twentieth century seasonal work in the oil fields of Apsheron and the fisheries of Mingechaur and the Caspian Sea gained increasingly greater significance. At the present time many of the traditional crafts of the Tats have been abandoned. Brass vessels are no longer made, the demand having declined at the beginning of the twentieth century as cheap factory-made vessels became available. Carpet making has been maintained, but the quality of the carpets has declined with the introduction of aniline dyes into the production.

Division of Labor. Labor was divided on the basis of gender and age. The men plowed, sowed, grazed cattle, were involved in hunting and certain crafts, built houses, and went on seasonal work. The women fulfilled household duties, educated children, were engaged in some crafts, collected fruits and grapes (with the help of the children), and helped in gathering and bringing in the harvest.

Land Tenure. In traditional Tat society the following forms of land tenure were commonly known: private, communal, feudal, and mosque property (*waqf*). The peasants' private holdings included the garden plots (which were inherited). The head of the family could sell his farmland; his neighbors enjoyed preemptive rights. The plow land, pasturage, forests, and hay fields were the property of the village commune, which divided them among the households constituting the commune. Land reallotments were rare. In the 1930s collective farms (kolkhozy) were established. The kolkhoz workers own small private plots.

Kinship

Kin Groups. The village commune of the Tats consisted of family-kinship groups (*bona*), each incorporating several families (*hanavadæ*). The law of inheritance was regulated by Sharia (Quranic law) and, infrequently, by *adat* (traditional law). With the death of the head of the family the immovable property was inherited by the sons; daughters received only movable property, each receiving one-third of the allotment of their brothers. In addition the oldest brother received an increment for seniority and the youngest an increment for marriage expenses. On the death of a husband the widow retained the rights to his property in accordance with Sharia.

Kinship Terminology. Kinship was calculated along paternal and maternal lines. Kinship along a direct line was referred to with special terms, along indirect lines descriptively. The basic Iranian terms of kinship were retained, and others were borrowed from the Azerbaijani language. To the first group belong *may* (mother), *piyær* (father), *kælæmay* (grandmother), *kælæpiyær* (grandfather), *zæn* (wife), *shÿvær* (husband), *dukhtær* (daughter), *birar* (brother), *khuvar* (sister), *birarzæræ* (brother's son or daughter), and *khuvarzæræ* (sister's son or daughter). The second group includes *nükÿrdæ* (bride, groom), *balduz* (wife's sister), *qeiin* (wife's brother), *qeiinata* (father-in-law), *qeinana* (mother-in-law), *æmiqïzï* (female first cousin on the father's side), *æmioghleï* (male first cousin on the father's side), *khælæ* (maternal aunt), *dayi* (maternal uncle), *æmæ* (paternal aunt), *æmi* (paternal uncle), and *nævæ* (grandson).

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Endogamy was the norm. A marriage with a blood relative (particularly a cousin) was regarded as the most honorable. The norm was marriage by contract, but the abduction of girls (without their consent) and marriage by elopement (with their consent but without that of the parents) were also known. Betrothals were sometimes arranged in the cradle. The ideal age for marriage was traditionally considered to be 14 years for women, 18 for men. But girls were often married when considerably younger—at 11 to 13—whereas men married later. A widow had the right to marry a second time. The marriage of a widow with the brother of her deceased husband (levirate) was condoned. The conclusion of the marriage bond was accompanied by the exchange of gifts and the payment of various sums by the groom and his parents to the parents of the girl. The bride-price did not remain theirs, however, but went to benefit the bride. The groom paid the mother of the bride "milk money" (*sÿd bagha*; in Azerbaijani, literally, "the price of milk") in the sum of ten to twenty rubles. The marriage contract was concluded by a mullah in the presence of witnesses for both sides. By

the contract the groom would pay *kebin*—provision for the wife in case of divorce—ranging from twenty rubles to several thousand. The kebin money was regarded as the inviolable property of the wife. The bride was selected for the young man by his parents, who sent matchmakers to the girl's parents. Once they had received consent, they set a date for the betrothal (*ärus*), to which they invited the relatives of the groom and the bride. They brought clothing and jewelry as gifts from the groom to the bride and sweets for those attending the betrothal. The wedding (*arsi*) was held in the autumn or winter, when time could be spared time from fieldwork. For the wedding they prepared a dowry, refreshments, and gifts. The groom presented the bride's father with a horse, a weapon (dagger or rifle), and cattle (the number of head already stipulated before the betrothal). The wedding took place over two to seven days, simultaneously in the house of the groom and that of the bride. The refreshments were conveyed to the house of the bride by the groom's family. The bride, wearing a special veil (*arnæ*), her face hidden, was brought to the groom's house on a horse. Before she entered the house, the mother of the groom sprinkled the bride with rice or wheat. At the wedding, songs in the Azerbaijani language and Azerbaijani dances were performed, and musicians (a drummer and two clarinet players) entertained the guests. After the wedding the bride observed customary avoidance towards the parents of her husband and his older kinsmen: she did not speak to them (expressing herself with gestures) and strove not to be seen by them at all. The husband's brother avoided his sister-in-law and could only see her veiled. The custom of avoidance was also observed by the husband, who over the course of the first two years carefully concealed himself from the parents of the bride.

Domestic Unit. The average size of the Tat family at the end of the nineteenth century was eight people. The nuclear family, consisting of a married couple and their children, predominated. Larger families, including parents and the families of their sons (the paternal type of extended family) or the families of married brothers (the fraternal type of extended family) were rare. The head of the family was the husband (in his absence, the oldest son) who enjoyed the respect and unquestioning submission of all members of the family. When the head entered the room, the entire family rose and did not sit down again before receiving his permission. The head was in charge of the economy, assigned tasks to every member of the family, and demanded the assignment of all earnings into the common funds.

Socialization. Children of 5–6 years of age helped their parents at work. The boys drove horses to water and pastured the cattle, and the girls prepared food and learned to knit and weave. At first children of both genders were completely in the care of their mother. Later the mother took responsibility for the girls, whereas the boys came under the supervision of their father. Great attention was devoted to moral education and gaining familiarity with the traditions and norms of Tat society.

Sociopolitical Organization

In social life the adat and Sharia applied. In murders, woundings, mutilations, or rapes the norm of family retribution was preferable, a murder calling for a murder. In cases in which the murderer paid the family of the victim a sum determined by the adat, the killer had to beg forgiveness of the elders of the family that he had insulted. In the second half of the nineteenth century many traditional customs and norms disappeared, replaced by the legislation of the Russian Empire, according to which certain offenses (e.g., murder, rape) were regarded as punishable crimes.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religion. In confessional terms, the Tats may be divided into two groups: Muslims, who are the majority (Sunnites in northern Azerbaijan and in Daghestan and Shiites in the southern districts of Azerbaijan), and Armeno-Gregorians (the villages of Kilvar and Matrasa). The Tat-speaking Mountain Jews (a portion of whom presently call themselves "Tat") observe Judaism. In daily life a large number of superstitions survive. One was forbidden to pour water on a fire in a hearth: it was believed that a son would then die. It was not acceptable to give away leavening for bread: it was believed that all prosperity would vanish from the house. Sacred places—*pirs*, normally the graves of holy persons—were revered. In times of drought a ceremony was conducted to bring rain, and in times of protracted rains a ceremony was performed to bring out the sun. Various rituals were to be carried out on the holiday of Novruz bairam, the beginning of spring. On this day people were not allowed to work—they were obliged to go visiting; arrange entertainment; color their hands, feet, and hair with henna; and pour rose water on each other.

Arts. A distinctive Tat style was most apparent in carpet weaving (ornamentation, color range). Toward the beginning of the twentieth century the traditional geometrical ornamentation began to be replaced by a stylized floral ornamentation. In the Soviet period carpets have appeared with stylized depictions of birds, animals, and portraits of notable political figures. Tat folklore has largely been lost. Performances of folk poetry were being given only in the Azerbaijani language as early as the 1920s. Funeral lamentations were performed in two languages (Tat and Azerbaijani), and only lullabies were sung in Tat. The traditional folklore was better preserved among the Tats of the Kuba District.

Medicine. Traditional treatments involved herbs and cauterization. The curative sulfur springs were popular. Births were attended only by midwives (*mamo*).

Death and Afterlife. Among the Muslim Tats burials were conducted according to Muslim ritual. A ceremony of mourning was carried out over the deceased: women struck their faces and chests, tore their hair, scratched their faces, and performed the traditional lamentations. Upon interment the body was placed on its right side with the head toward the south in the direction of Mecca, and a mullah read the Quran. Funeral feasts with entertainment were conducted on the seventh day, the fortieth day, and the anniversary. Close relatives observed mourning, wearing black clothing and not shaving their beards. A widow observed mourning for not less than a year.

See also Mountain Jews

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Tofalar

ETHNONYMS: Karagas, Tofa, Tuba

Orientation

Identification. The Tofalar are an ethnolinguistic group and the indigenous people of an area called Tofalaria. Tofalaria, as the place where the Tofalar reside, is not a distinct administrative area within the Russian Federation. Thus, "Tofalaria" is a crudely conventional, albeit generally accepted, designation. It is located in two village soviets: the Tofalar and the Upper Gutarskii, both of which are in the Lower Neudinskii District (*raion*) of Irkutsk Oblast in Russia.

Location. Tofalaria is located on the northeast slope of the eastern Sayan mountain range and abuts on the north and east with the Krasnoyarsk Krai, on the southwest with Tuva, on the southeast with Buriatia, and to the east with other village soviets of the same Lower Neudinskii District. It lies between 95°37′ and 100°05′ E and 51°53′ and 54°59′ N and is thus relatively close to Central Asia. All of Tofalaria is in mountains covered primarily with larch and cedar. The heights of the spurs of the eastern Sayan range and the high-mountain plateaus are covered with alpine meadows and mountain tundra rich in reindeer moss. The northwestern and southwestern parts of the territory are a zone with almost no flora, and on the heights of the mountains there is always snow and ice. The elevations of many mountains are between 2,200 and 2,600 meters above sea level, although Pik Trianguloiatorov reaches 2,875 meters and Pik Grandioznyi 2,742 meters. The climate of Tofalaria is typical for the mountain districts of southern Siberia, and the higher the mountains, the colder and harsher the climate. In the valleys between the mountains the climate is milder. Winter temperatures range to −15° or −20° C; summers are moderately warm (about 20° C), with frequent rains (especially in July and the first part of August) that cause flooding of the rivers. If the summer temperature rises to 30° or 35° C, a considerable melting of mountain glaciers and snow masses (*snezhniki*) increases the flood.

Demography. According to the 1979 census, there were 763 Tofalar in Russia, with 476 of them in Tofalaria itself. By 1985 there were 596 Tofalar in Tofalaria out of a total of 710; by 1989 this total was 722. In recent decades their number has generally increased: 543 for 1851; 456 in 1882; 426 in 1885; 417 in 1926; 560 in 1959; 620 in 1970.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Tofalar language is related to the Tuvan language in Russia, to the languages of the Tsaatans and Uigur-Uriankhai living in Mongolia, and to the languages of the Monchak and the Sayans living in Mongolia and China; all these together form the Sayan Subgroup of the Siberian Turkic Language Family. A writing system based on the Cyrillic alphabet was introduced for Tofalar in 1989, and instruction in the language in schools was initiated at that time. Until then, Tofalar existed only in spoken form.

History and Cultural Relations

The Tofalar are the indigenous people of the area. In the territory of Tofalaria archaeologists have found not only remains of Neolithic settlements, but cliff drawings and paintings (*risunki*) of animals, and petroglyphs of the same period (Okladnikov 1979, 62–80). The Ket, the Assan, and the Arin tribes related to the Ket, and the Sayan Samoyeds were apparently the historical descendants of this same Neolithic population until recent times. A linguistic substratum is evidenced by the Samoyed and, in particular, Ket place-names in Tofalaria. The Ket substratum is also attested to in appreciable Ket elements that show up in the phonology and vocabulary of Tofalar. The Turkicization of the aboriginal population of the Sayan area took place in the Old Turkic period; witness the Oghuz and, in particular, the Old Turkic elements in Tofalar today, which account for the inclusion of the Tofalar language with other languages in the Sayan Subgroup (Baskakov 1969, 313).

There was also a significant influence from Mongolia in the Middle Ages, and later from Buriat.

All of this testifies to the deep and long-standing economic and cultural relations between those groups. Contacts with Russians began in 1648 when the stockaded town of Udin (now the city of Nizhneudinsk) was built by the Tofalar together with other tribes then occupying the Eastern Sayans and the Pribaikal area. The area was linked to the Russian state at this time and began to pay tribute in furs. In 1920 Soviet authority was established in Tofalaria. In 1929–1930 the Tofalar, until then nomads on the taiga, were forced into a sedentary life and settled in three large settlements *poselki* (sing., *poselok*): Alydzh, Nerkha, and Upper Gutara. In addition to Tofalar, Russians, Ukrainians, Tatars, and other peoples of Russia lived there and had, as they still do, close economic, cultural, and marital relations with them. During their nomadic days, the Tofalar had contact only with the neighboring Kamasins, Turin-Toiin, Nizhneudin, and Okin Buriat, among whom many Tofalar selected wives; the Toiin live among the Tofalar and speak Tofalar.

Settlements

Until 1929–1930 the Tofalar led an exclusively nomadic form of life and did not have fixed settlements. Conical tipis (*chum*) of poles served as dwellings throughout the year. These were covered during the summer with widths of material (*polotnishch*) stitched together from pieces of birch bark that had been boiled in water. In winter the cover consisted of the skins of domestic or wild reindeer that had been sewn together. All the territory belonging to the Tofalar was divided among the Tofalar clans. Each clan pursued its nomadic life strictly within its territory (*aimak*). In the course of nomadism, several families related by blood would usually unite in an *aal* (nomad camp; pl., *aallar*) because by helping each other, it was easier to herd the reindeer and to hunt. The Tofalar divided their entire nomadic area into three parts: (1) the Burungu aallar, the eastern group of nomad camps, which included the territory of the nomadic clans called Chogdy, Akchogdy, and Kara-chogdy on the Yda, Kara-Buren', Ytkum, and Iya rivers; (2) the Songy aallar, the western group of nomad camps, which included the territory of the Haash and Saryt-haash clans on the Agul, Tagul, Gutara, Big Birius, and Iuglym rivers; (3) the Ortaa aallar, the middle group of nomadic camps, which included the territory of the Cheptai clan on the Little Birius, Nerkha, Erma, and Iaga rivers. After their shift to a sedentary life, the first group began to live in the Alygzher poselok, the second in Upper Gutara, and the third in Nerkha.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. The traditional activity of the Tofalar is husbandry of domestic reindeer. Their reindeer are the largest in the world. Tofalar use them as mounts and transport loads on their backs. When riding they use horse saddles of the Buriat type, with stirrups. For transport they use a special type of pack saddle. Reindeer mares were milked and the milk was used as food. The reindeer gave the Tofalar hides for clothing and the winter coverings of their tipis. Reindeer meat was also used as food, although the basic Tofalar diet consisted of the meat of wild ungulates (hoofed animals)—Siberian deer, elks, and musk deer. They also used the meat of large birds—capercaillies, partridge, geese, and ducks. They cared for their domestic reindeer because of their basic value as pack animals; without the reindeer it was impossible to move across the mountain taiga and the high-mountain tundra. The Tofalar hunted sables, Siberian polecats, and squirrels for their fur, using rifles and accompanied by dogs. The furs were used to pay taxes and to buy necessary goods. Fishing in rivers and lakes was an ancillary activity and did not have a major significance in the Tofalar economy. In addition to the curing (jerking) of meat and the drying of reindeer milk for winter use, dried *saran* (pl., *sarana*) tubers were prepared in large numbers, and wild onions were also dried. In addition, during harvest years in the taiga, Tofalar prepared the meat of cedar nuts for eating. Thus, their traditional economy was threefold: husbandry of domesticated reindeer, the hunt for game and furs, and the preparation of edible wild plants. Products such as flour, groats, salt, sugar, tea, tobacco, and alcohol were purchased from traders in exchange for furs. The Tofalar also bought various materials for clothing. Today they work in the state-run industrial economy that was created in the territory in 1967 on the former state farms.

The activities of the Tofalar at present remain the same as described above, although, of the gathering activities, only the collecting of cedar nuts has survived (having acquired significance in trade). Sedentary life permits them to keep (in addition to their hunting dogs) cows, hogs, and horses, and to grow potatoes and other vegetables. Domestic reindeer, which were collectivized in 1932 along with the hunting territories, became the property of the economic system in which the Tofalar work as hired reindeer shepherds, state hunters, and general laborers.

Industrial Arts. There were no specialized crafts or artisans. The Tofalar prepared all that they needed themselves from wood, birch bark, and leather. Metal products, including personal decorations, were usually purchased.

Trade. Before the Revolution the Tofalar mainly bartered with Russians, Buriats, and Mongol traders; they acquired saddles of Buriat and Mongol manufacture, hunting knives, axes, felt saddlecloths, harnesses, treated sheepskin, and diverse textiles and ornaments. In the 1920s, with the introduction of consumers' cooperatives among the Tofalar and the abolition of the tax in furs, they began to sell furs to the government for money, with which they then purchased goods.

Division of Labor. Men hunted, fished, pastured reindeer, and manufactured various useful objects from wood and birch bark. Women ran the home economy, cared for the children, prepared the food, and prepared and stored products such as jerked meat, dried sarana, onions, and reindeer milk; they chopped wood, fetched water, milked the reindeer does, cured hides, and sewed clothes from skins and textiles. In addition, they managed the nomadic movements of the family: they packed and unpacked the reindeer and took down and reassembled the tipis.

Kinship

Kinship Group and Descent. In their earlier, nomadic way of life the Tofalar were organized by clans. The tribe was led by an elder called the *ulug-bash* (big head). The basic unit was the *nyon* (clan), in which ties were reckoned patrilineally. Officially, there were five named clans but in actuality there were seven. One of them was called the "Karahaash"—hence the pre-Revoluntionary name of the Tofalar, "Karagas"; this clan, however, died out at the beginning of the twentieth century because of an epidemic. A clan consisted of a group of closely related families descended from one ancestor. Such a group was called an aal and was exogamous.

Kinship Terminology. Tofalar kinship terminology contains separate sets of terms expressing blood ties as well as ties through marriage, thus there are many terms for relations through the father's and the mother's lines. In addition, terms for addressing older relatives have been elaborated in considerable detail; for example, an older brother is called an *aha* and an older sister, *uba*, whereas younger siblings are called by the single term *dunma*.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Traditional marriage was clan-exogamous and was usually concluded early in life after a preliminary courtship, an agreement between the parents, and the payment of bride-price (Russian: *kalym*) to the father of the bride. The wedding, as a rule, lasted three days, and the feast was accompanied by special rituals, songs, and dances. Three days later the young husband took his wife away to his nomadic camp, where they set up their own tipi and began to live as an independent family. If the bride had premarital children, they remained with her father and were considered his children. Today marriages are entered into in accord with the general norms of Russian society. Mixed marriages are common.

Domestic Unit. The family was and remains the basic unit in Tofalar society, consisting, as a rule, of husband, wife, and children and also, quite possibly, surviving parents. Unmarried adult children continue to live with their parents.

Inheritance. Upon marriage older sons customarily separated from their parents, forming independent families. From their parents they received property essential for raising a family. The youngest son, as a rule, remained in the paternal tipi and inherited the paternal home. Customary levirate did not exist among the Tofalar, but after the death of a husband his brother usually gave material help to the widow, who continued to live independently and could marry according to her wishes. The widow inherited all the property of her deceased husband.

Socialization. The Tofalar traditionally did not practice corporal punishment in the raising of their children, who grew up under the severe conditions of nomadic life and early on joined in the work of the group. By age 16 boys and often girls were hunting on a par with adults. From that age on boys were obliged to pay a tax in furs. Girls were married at age 15 or 16. At present Tofalar children, like the children of all the nationalities of the extreme north, enjoy privileges and are under governmental guardianship. They are raised free of cost in nurseries and kindergartens and receive free secondary and higher education. Even today the Tofalar are characteristically respectful to their children, treating them as members of the family with their own interests and wishes.

Sociopolitical Organization

The Tofalar never had political autonomy. Their nomadic groups were always distant from social, political, and cultural centers; they were always in a dependent, subordinate position. In the Middle Ages they were subject to the Mongol khans and paid tribute to them. Later, Western Buriat princes subjugated them, and they remained vassals until union with Russia in the seventeenth century. Self-government first appeared among the Tofalar in 1922 when their clan soviet was organized. In 1927 the Karagas Clan Soviet was separated into a special national entity. In 1930 the Karagas native council was formed, which, in 1934, began to be called the Tofalar National Soviet—the people were given back their genuine name. In 1939 this soviet was changed into the Tofalar National District, which functioned until 1950, when it was disbanded and two village soviets were created in its place: the Tofalar and Verkhnegutar, each subordinate to the Nizhneudin *raispolkom* (district administration). This administrative division has been preserved to this day.

Conflicts. The Tofalar have always been a peaceful people who did not wage war with their neighbors. On the contrary, more powerful neighbors were always conquering them. To escape conflict, the Tofalar often practiced nomadism high in the mountains, where they waited until the trouble passed. Thus it was during the civil war, in which they did not participate. But in 1941 almost all male adults volunteered for military service despite the fact that they lacked weapons (*bronya*). In the war they proved themselves able fighters and snipers.

Religion and Expressive Cultures

Religious Beliefs and Practices. The Tofalar were shamanists. Their conversion to Christianity after their incorporation into Russia was primarily formal and did not influence their shamanistic views. There were shamans among the Tofalar until their total suppression in 1930.

Because of their nomadic way of life, the Tofalar had neither local religious practitioners nor regular ceremonies or services; nor were there professional shamans. Any person, man or woman, who felt the inclination, could act as shaman. The rites of shamanism were carried out as needed; the rest of the time a shaman lived the usual work-filled life. At the present time there are neither shamans nor priests among the Tofalar.

Art. Representational art was not developed among the Tofalar. The most popular and evolved folklore genre was and remains the song. Preeminent among musical instruments were the *chadygan* (a stringed instrument like a *gusli*) and the *charty-hobus* (balalaika), which were used to accompany songs and dances at festivals.

Medicine. The Tofalar did not have professional doctors or curers. Almost everyone was competent in the tech-

niques of folk medicine, of curing with herbs. Sometimes the Tofalar turned for healing to the Buriat lama-curers.

Death and Afterlife. The Tofalar believed in life after death, in what they called the Kingdom of Erlik. Personal belongings were buried with the deceased, in the belief that he or she would need them in the next life. Since the world of the dead was conceptualized as one where everything is the wrong way around, the objects accompanying the deceased had to be damaged. The contemporary Tofalar burial ritual has been subjected to significant Christian influence; this is why the Tofalar, like all Russian Christians, mark the ninth and fortieth days, the sixth month, and the first year after the death of a relative.

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Tsakhurs

ETHNONYMS: Self-designation: Iiqhy. The ethnonyms Tsakhur (Ts'akhur) and Tsakhi are related to the name of the largest village, Tsakhur.

Orientation

Identification and Location. The Tsakhurs live in the southwestern part of Daghestan (the Rutul District) and in northern Azerbaijan (the Zakatal and Kakh districts). The Daghestanian Tsakhurs occupy a territory that is closed off and difficult of access called Mountain Magal (on the upper reaches of the Samur River). Paths and an automobile road join them to their closest neighbors, the Rutuls and the Lezgins, and mountain passes over the main Caucasus chain link them to Azerbaijan. The climate is cold: there are snowdrifts and avalanches in the winter, whereas in the summer the rivers sometimes flood. The Azerbaijan Tsakhurs occupy the foothills and plains, areas which have a temperate climate, fertile soil, and good communications.

Demography. The overall population of the Tsakhurs in 1989 was 20,055 (the growth over the preceding ten years had been 48.8 percent). Of this number 5,194 (25.9 percent) lived in the Daghestan ASSR, and 13,318 (66.4 percent) lived in the Azerbaijan SSR. The Tsakhurs belong to the Caspian variant of the Balkano-Caucasian subrace of the Euro-Indian race.

Linguistic Affiliation. Tsakhur belongs to the Lezgin Subgroup of the Daghestanian Group of the Northeast Caucasian (Nakh-Daghestanian) Language Family. In the 1930s A. N. Genko established a Latin-based alphabet, C. A. Dzhafarov wrote several primers, and for two years instruction was carried on in the native language. Literacy did not go any further, however, and the Tsakhur language was not used for writing for the remainder of the Soviet period. Until the beginning of the 1950s the school language was Azerbaijani and, after that, Russian, whereas among the Tsakhurs of Azerbaijan it has continued to be Azerbaijani. Today Russian is widespread among the Daghestan Tsakhurs, as is Azerbaijani among the Tsakhurs of both areas (Daghestan and Azerbaijan). Recently the decision has been made to use Tsakhur once again as a written language.

History and Cultural Relations

The Tsakhurs are an ancient, indigenous population of the eastern Caucasus. Their early ethnic history is related to that of Caucasian Albania and of the peoples speaking languages of the Lezgin group. Scholars believe that the Tsakhurs were an ethnically distinct entity among the Lezgin peoples no earlier than the fifteenth century. The name "Tsakhur" first appears in Armenian and Georgian sources of the twelfth century (in the first as "Tsekhoik"). Later in the Middle Ages (thirteenth century) the village of Tsakhur was the subject of writings by the Arabic cosmograph Zakaria al-Kazreni and subsequently by the Turkish geographer and traveler Evlia Chelebi (seventeenth century). Originally the Tsakhurs lived within the limits of contemporary Daghestan but after that pushed forward into northern Azerbaijan. From the fifteenth century on there was a feudal formation (sultanate) on Tsakhur territory, with its center originally in the town of Tsakhur in Daghestan but later, from the seventeenth century on, in the city of Elisu in Azerbaijan. Among the Azerbaijan Tsakhurs there also existed free village communes in Elisu, Karadulakh, Bagh Suragil, Jannykh, Mukhukh, and Sabunchi. The inhabitants of the last three named settlements, together with their Avar neighbors, formed a union (the Dzharo-Belokanskiye Free Communes). Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Tsakhurs were fighting for their independence against the Turks and Persians, who were engaged in a struggle for supremacy in the Caucasus. From 1707 to 1723 the Azerbaijan Tsakhurs battled against the Iranians. The Persian army, lead by Nadir Shah, invaded Daghestan in 1735, 1741, and 1743, burning villages, killing or enslaving many Daghestanians, and bringing famine and epidemic upon those who remained. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Tsakhurs were looking to Russia

for help. With the signing of the Gulistan Treaty of 1813, the Tsakhur territory (in the form of the Elisu sultanate) was incorporated into the Russian Empire. The Tsakhur sultan Daniel-Beg initially gave his loyalty to Russia, for which he was granted authority over the Rutul Mahal, but in 1844 he gave his support to the anti-Russian uprising of the Islamic Caucasian peoples under the leadership of Shamil. Many Tsakhurs joined Shamil's army. In 1852, to counteract this source of support for the rebellion, the Russian government exiled the Daghestanian Tsakhurs to Azerbaijan and destroyed many of their settlements. In 1861, after the Shamil revolt was crushed, the Tsakhurs were allowed to return to their homeland.

Settlements

The traditional settlements of the Tsakhurs had a stepped, terraced, and horizontal layout. The oldest of them were situated in inaccessible, well-defended places. Typically their settlements faced south and were close to potable water, arable land, and pastureland. The streets, narrow and winding (sometimes like a tunnel), joined all the parts of a settlement and the main square. Around the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth there were two types of settlement: the larger settlement and the small village. At this time the earlier territorial-kinship principle of settling an area underwent change. The kinship-based settlements consisting of one *tukhum* (extended kinship group, clan) grew and divided into quarters in which the members of several tukhums often lived together with their relatives. In each settlement there was a communal square (for assemblies, meetings, and holiday festivals), next to which was located the mosque. (In a series of settlements there were mosques for each quarter or neighborhood or block.) The Tsakhur also penetrated into the southern slopes of the main Caucasus chain, into Azerbaijan, where since ancient times they have migrated with their livestock to their winter quarters. In the eighteenth century and, more particularly, the nineteenth century, the flow of immigrants from Mountain Magal increased for economic reasons and has not ceased to this day. Many of these settlements received the same names as they had had in Daghestan. One supposes that some Tsakhur settlements also had existed in Azerbaijan in earlier times. In Soviet times some of the Azerbaijan Tsakhurs have migrated from the mountains to the plains and have founded new settlements.

Tsakhur dwellings evolved from the single-roomed to the many-roomed type. The most characteristic type at the turn of the twentieth century was the one-storied stone house with two or three rooms, a flat earthen roof, varying spatial layout (depending on the contour of the land), an earthen floor, and no yard. Farm buildings were erected separately. Rarer were houses with verandas on the southern side and two stories. Houses were built from stone, clay, wood, rushes. In the interiors the most remarkable things were the fireplaces within the walls and also niches (later, shelves) for keeping cups, plates, clothes, and bed linens; the room also contained jars for grain and flour (decorated with carving), large wooden plates and dishes for milk products, carpets (with and without pile) and on top of them pillows for sitting (many people lacked furniture). Weapons were hung on the walls and the pillars. In the family room of the older houses there were carved supporting pillars with a support beam and a hearth set in the center of the floor space (for heating purposes and baking bread); during winter the whole family warmed itself next to it. The Azerbaijan Tsakhurs, when building houses in the mountains and the foothills, maintained Daghestanian tradition (that is, the basic dwelling made of wood). In the plains houses were of brick (made of clay with admixtures of dung, straw, and/or horsehair) or wattle and daub and consisted of one or multiple stories with an attic and a gabled roof covered with rushes or straw. In Soviet times the Daghestan Tsakhurs, preserving the more basic type of one-storied house, have also been building two-storied houses (in one line, L-shaped or U-shaped) with two to five rooms, among which the guest room, with its wooden floor, stands out. The rooms have large windows and, facing the street, a facade with verandas (either open or glassed in). A cast-iron or stone stove provides heat. A granary with space for agricultural tools is on the first floor. Urban furniture has appeared, but rugs have been retained. The Tsakhurs of Azerbaijan build two-storied, many-roomed houses, most often as part of housing projects, with three-or four-planed roofs (of tile, slate, or iron) and small yards and vegetable patches.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. Among the Daghestanian Tsakhurs the leading occupation was livestock raising (primarily sheep, but also cattle and horses). Thick-wooled sheep, adapted to high mountains, were bred for meat and milk. Winters the sheep were driven from Daghestan into Azerbaijan (the Zakatal sheep region); summers they were herded in the mountains. More than half the population of the mountain villages migrated with their flocks six or seven months out of the year. In the mountains they sowed winter and spring barley, maize, spring lentils, winter rye, and wheat. Their own grains did not suffice for the whole year; they would buy additional grain in Azerbaijan. Among the Tsakhurs of Azerbaijan the basis of the economy was agriculture; the three-field system predominated; they also raised cattle, sheep, and domestic fowl. They sowed barleycorn, maize, wheat, rice, and millet using artificial irrigation. Farm implements included the heavy plow (hitched to two or three pairs of oxen), iron harrows, and horse-drawn mowing machines. Profitable branches of the economy among the Azerbaijan Tsakhurs included gardening, truck farming, and also sericulture and tobacco growing. In Soviet times all branches of the economy have continued to develop, provided with a new technology and increasing scope.

Clothing. The traditional male clothing combined general Daghestanian and Caucasian traits: a tunic-formed shirt; pants that narrowed toward the bottom; over this a quilted coat unfastened, perforated, and tailored to hug the body; a belt with metallic pendants; a sheepskin coat; and a felt coat. Footwear was low-cut and of leather, high-cut and of knitted wool with turned-up toes, shoes without counters (worn with woolen socks), or soft, leather boots. Headgear consisted of a high conical sheepskin cap for everyday use and, for holidays, a lower hat or a cowl. The

woman's clothing included a tunic-shaped shirt, pants, and a wide skirt over the shirt tails; over this was worn a long dress like a man's quilted coat (*beshmet*). Other items included an apron, a sheepskin coat, knitted socks and footwear, shoes without counters, Caucasian-style slippers, a headdress surmounted by a kerchief, and (in some villages) a small hat like a nightcap covered with silver ornaments, stones, and embroidery. Women's ornaments included a pendant on the breast (with silver chains, coins, and bosses sewed on), adornments for the head (rows of silver chains), leather belts, rings, earrings, necklaces, and bracelets. The children's clothing reproduced that of adults in its cut and its constituents. The contemporary clothing is of the European type but preserves certain traditional elements (the fur cap, kerchief, skirt, and felt coat).

Food. The basis of the Daghestanian Tsakhur diet was meat, milk products, and grains; in Azerbaijan the diet included fruits and vegetables. In the mountainous regions the bread was unleavened (of rye or barley); in the lowlands it was more often wheat, less often maize or barley. In winter they prepared flour from roasted barleycorn. In Tsakhur cuisine there were many dishes from fresh beans and lentils (bean soups); herbs were also used as stuffing for pies (to which were added cheese, curds, and eggs). Meat, both fresh and jerked, was boiled and roasted and used for soups with fresh beans, onions, shashlik and *rissole* (fishballs made with breadcrumbs) rolled in cabbage leaves and fried. There was pilaf with mutton and also chicken broth. Every day in the mountainous region they used to prepare dumplings of wheat—less often maize—with meat or homemade sausage and a garlic sauce. Dairy products included cheese, milk, curds, and sour cream. A soup with rice and herbs was made with milk (eaten both hot and cold). Alcoholic drinks and tea appeared in the beginning of the twentieth century. Fruit juices, sherbet, honey water, and dry wine were known to the Azerbaijan Tsakhurs. At present many traditional dishes are still prepared, and techniques for preserving fruits and vegetables and for making jams and pickles have improved.

Industrial Arts. Traditionally, both kinds of Tsakhurs worked wool and wove textiles from wool combined with silken threads on horizontal looms: felt coats, jackets for shepherds, bedding, socks, and so on. Other traditional crafts included rug manufacture, the knitting of woolen socks and footwear, woodworking, leatherworking, and metalworking (blacksmiths, tinsmiths, and armorers, some of them working in other areas of the Caucasus). In Soviet times knitting and rug making have been maintained.

Trade. The Daghestanian Tsakhurs bartered with Azerbaijanian Tsakhurs and Azerbaijani Turks, particularly during the season of winter migrations. The Tsakhurs purveyed the products of animal husbandry and wool working and bought grain, fruits, and domestically produced arts and crafts. Relations with other districts of Daghestan were limited. In the villages, both in the mountains and on the plains, there were stores and shops with a selection of textiles, footwear, and dishes and plates. A large range of wares was offered by Armenian merchants who came from Daghestan and Azerbaijan. Trade was interrupted during the winter because of the difficulty of traversing the mountain roads.

Division of Labor. The women played the chief role in domestic production. Many additional obligations were laid on the womenfolk when the man of the house went off to earn money in other places. The woman was responsible for weeding, the collection of the harvest, the processing of wood, and local crafts; she also tended the cattle, made hay, stored up firewood, was in charge of the preparation of food, and raised the children. The man saw to the pasturing and upkeep of the sheep and heavy agricultural jobs (plowing, the repair of farm implements). Work habits were instilled in the children from the earliest years. According to the norms of customary law, the boy had to assist his father in all economic activities, especially in the pasturing of livestock, just as the girl had to help her mother.

Land Tenure. Both Tsakhur communities recognized several forms of ownership: the feudal, the communal (pastureland, forests), ecclesiastical (land owned or inherited by mosques), and private (landed pertaining to peasant housholds). With the establishment of Soviet power the nationalization of the land took place and collective and state farms were organized.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. The most widespread term for kinship groupings is "tukhum," which denotes a set of groups clearly related along patrilineal lines (up to five or even seven generations). If it grew, the tukhum could divide, and groups of a different (first, second) order appeared. In every settlement there were several tukhums (in the city of Tsakhur, fourteen; in Suvagil, twelve), each with its own name, usually derived from the name of its founder. Some tukhums derive their origin from other ethnic groups (Arabs, Andis, Kubachins, etc.). In the distant past each tukhum had its definite place of settlement, plow land, pastureland, hay fields, forest, mill, and cemeteries and decided on the admission of persons from other settlements or the expulsion of unworthy persons. The members of the same tukhum supported each other morally and materially. In their social relations the tukhums were not uniform. The tukhums of one settlement would constitute a commune at the assemblies at which important communal matters were decided. The tukhum and the commune in general served to maintain many positively valued traditional institutions such as the custom of mutual aid and hospitality. In the nineteenth century the tukhum had already ceased to be the primary economic and political entity; territorial relations predominated in Daghestan in this period. Yet survivals of ideological systems derived from the tukhum have been preserved until this day (e.g., marriages with persons of less honored tukhums are sometimes considered undesirable). Sworn brotherhood, a form of ceremonial kinship, was also common.

The Tsakhurs reckon kinship in both the patrilineal and the matrilineal lines. The patrilineal kindred and the matrilineal complement one another.

Kinship Terminology. There are distinct terms for the father's brother and the mother's brother, the father's sister and the mother's (i.e., bifurcate-collateral kin terms). There are specific terms for kinship in the direct line through six generations: great grandfather ("old father"), grandfather, father, son, grandson, great grandson ("contin-

uation of the grandson"). Relatives in collateral lines are also distinguished (e.g., brother, male cousin, male second cousin). The remaining relatives are called "the kindred," a term with the second meaning of affinal kinship, that is, the relatives of the wife or the husband. Such relatives are also called by a special term for affines.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Around the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century marriage was by agreement. Preference was given to intratukhum marriages, taking account of the social and material conditions of both sides. Levirate and sororate were preserved. Polygamy was rare, particularly among Daghestanian Tsakhurs. The marital age of young men was 23 to 24, of young women, 18 or 19. Marriages at an earlier age were allowed among the Daghestanian Tsakhurs. Infant betrothal was rarely practiced. The parents had the decisive word in the selection of a marriage partner. Matchmakers were selected from among relatives (aunt, uncle, grandfather) or honored elders. The time interval between courtship and the wedding was one to three years. The wedding lasted from two to five days, and all relatives and fellow villagers participated in it. The climactic moment was the transfer of the bride to the groom's house) (postmarital residence was patrilocal). Contemporary marriage is concluded through the choice of the young people themselves, but the custom of courtship is preserved and weddings follow the traditional scenario.

Domestic Unit. Between the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century the predominant form was the nuclear family of two generations or five to six members. There were some families in which the aging parents lived with a married son. In several settlements (Muslakh, etc.) undivided families of several generations and several married couples were observed until the 1930s, even the 1950s. Relations within the family were characterized by respect toward elders, mutual assistance, love of work, and the observance of moral norms.

Inheritance. Property to be inherited was divided according to Quranic law, taking into account blood ties and age: to begin, part was apportioned to the parents of the deceased, then to the widow, then to the children and the remaining relatives. Men (sons, male relatives) got twice as much as women. In the feudal situation, in accordance with customary law, a woman was barred from the inheritance of immovable property.

Socialization. Women (mother, grandmother) raised children from the earliest age on. Men (father, grandfather, older brothers) gave more attention to the boys, especially after they reached age 7, giving them various jobs involving adult work. Within the family children were instilled with economic skills. They were taught to observe the customs and traditions of the people. The socialization of children also took place via diverse forms of communal and religious life (participation in holidays, funeral ceremonies, prayers, etc.).

Sociopolitical Organization

In the nineteenth century many questions of social life and local legal procedure were determined by the norms of customary and Quranic law. The decisions on familial property matters and certain civil ones were governed by Quranic law (the religious officials responsible for these matters were selected for two years). Criminal and other civil cases along with intertukhum and intra-and intercommunal conflicts were decided in terms of customary law (administered by an elder). The final word in important communal matters was held by the communal assembly, which consisted of the adult male population. The governance of the commune was carried out by a council of elders, with a leader elected for one year (who had assistants). The chief elder decided all conflicts between the inhabitants of a settlement with the help of elected judges who had the right—in addition to that of recovering damages ensuing from a case—of sentencing a guilty party to arrest, fines, or designated public service. Litigants had the right of appealing to a district court.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religion. The Tsakhurs practiced Sunni Islam, which had spread under the influence of the Arabs in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; in the thirteenth century the city of Tsakhur was one of the main centers for the Islamicization of the mountainous part of southern Daghestan. The mosques (which were distinguished by their architecture) were the centers of religious life. They were erected on the central square of the settlement. Muslim priests (mullahs, effendis) served in the mosques and carried out various rituals related to weddings and funerals. Parochial schools also operated near the mosques. Muslim beliefs were interwoven with pre-Muslim ones. Pagan beliefs—reverence for sacred graves (holy places) and festivals—were incorporated into local Islamic practice. Traces of cosmogonic and totemic ideas were preserved: belief in the special power of stones, trees, fire, water, and spirits. A series of popular festivals and rituals, accompanied by magical elements, were related to pre-Muslim, pagan customs, including performing the rites of spring (lighting bonfires and jumping through them), the collecting of flowers, evoking the rain, and certain wedding ceremonies.

Arts. Scholars recognize a distinct architectural tradition in southern Daghestan. As further elaborated by the Tsakhurs in the ninth century, the most original components were the canonical one-story house (which became standard) and also the principles of the artistic arrangement of the interior of the dwelling (its composition, the original form of wooden details, and the particular way of painting carved wood). Ornamental art is reflected in rug manufacture and knitting (socks, footwear). Tsakhur folklore is of many genres: tradition, legends, tales, epic songs and traditional epic poems, proverbs, sayings, anecdotes, riddles, and ritual songs (especially wedding songs). The folklore, music, and dances of the Tsakhurs were closely related to those of the Lezgins and especially to those of the Azerbaijanis; there was extensive mutual influence among them. The most widespread musical instruments were the clarinet (*zurna*), drum, and tambourine.

Medicine. The Tsakhurs used to seek the aid of local healers and bonesetters and also healed themselves with home remedies (massage, tight binding, bloodletting, heating the body, and the application of certain products prepared from medicinal herbs).

In case of sickness they also turned to diviners and sorcerers, used magic, and went on pilgrimages to holy places. Mothers giving birth were assisted by midwives. Today Tsakhurs make use of modern medicine along with popular healing arts.

Modern Intellectual Life. A notable achievement of Tsakhur culture has been the development in Soviet times of a national intelligentsia. Among their scholars is one of the first linguists of Azerbaijan and Daghestan, S. A. Dzhafaror; the language specialist Professor G. Kh. Ibragimov of the Daghestan State Pedagogical Institute; and the physicist and corresponding member of the Azerbaijan Academy of Sciences Professor A. L. Mukhtarov (Azerbaijan State University). The Tsakhurs are proud of their poets (S. Dzhafarov and D. Dabersov, both publishing in Lezgin) and of artists such as Ismail Daghstanly and Nazirova Mira Bashir-kizy. The contemporary culture of the Tsakhurs is evolving, even while retaining many traditional features, under the powerful influence of the culture of the Azerbaijanis and, to a lesser extent, of Daghestan. The influence of the general process of internationalization and integration is also a factor.

Death and Afterlife. The Islamic clergy played a prominent role in the funeral ritual. News of a death was speedily conveyed by messengers to all the relatives, acquaintances, and even the inhabitants of distant settlements. Fellow villagers hastened to visit the family of the deceased, proffer help, and express their condolences; women lamented over the dead man. Interment took place on the same day before sunset. The deceased was the object of requiem services lasting for three or four days of mourning; the nearest of kin gathered, prayers were read, and food was eaten. Wealthier people organized memorial services after three days and after a year.

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GALINA SERGEEVA
(Translated by Paul Friedrich)

Turkmens

ETHNONYMS: Turcomans (from the Persian usage), Türkmens

Orientation

Identification. The Turkmens are one of the major ethnic groups of Central Asia, where they had their own Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR), also referred to as Turkmenia or Turkmenistan. The majority of Turkmens of the former USSR live within the present-day republic of Turkmenistan, although some communities are found in neighboring Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. In addition, large numbers of Turkmens reside outside the former Soviet Union, in northeastern Iran, northwestern Afghanistan, northern Iraq, and eastern Turkey.

Location. Turkmenistan is the southernmost republic of the former Soviet Union. It is bounded on the west by the Caspian Sea, on the south by Iran and Afghanistan, on the northwest by Kazakhstan, and on the north and east by Uzbekistan. The Amu Darya forms much of the border with Uzbekistan. The dominant geographic feature of the republic is the largely uninhabited Kara Kum (lit., "Black Sand") Desert, which occupies almost 90 percent of Turkmenistan. Human habitation is concentrated on the fringes of the Kara Kum, especially along the southern border of the republic, in the foothills of the Kopet Dagh, and in the oases of the Murgab and Tejen rivers, as well as along the Amu Darya in the east, the Caspian shore in the west, and the western border of Khorezm in the north.

Turkmenistan tends to have hot, dry summers; mild winters; short, humid springs; and dry autumns. Temperatures range from an average high of 2° C in January to 30° C in July, with highs near 50° C recorded in the Kara Kum Desert. Precipitation averages only 20 to 30 centimeters annually. Both temperature and precipitation vary considerably within the republic.

Demography. The Turkmen population of the Soviet Union as of the 1989 census was 2,718,297, an increase of 34 percent over the 1979 population of 2,027,913, and 78 percent over the 1970 population of 1,525,284. The Turkmens are therefore one of the fastest-growing ethnic groups of Central Asia, largely owing to very high birthrates; they presently average over five children per family. The increase among the Turkmens contrasts with a declining Slavic population in Turkmenistan. In 1979 Slavs accounted for 13.9 percent of the republic's overall population, in 1989 only 10.5 percent. With well over 50 percent of the population residing outside of urban areas, the Turkmens are among the most rural inhabitants of the former Soviet Union.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Turkmens speak a language belonging to the Oghuz or Southwest Branch of the Turkic Language Group. Thus, they are closer linguistically to the Azerbaijanis and the Turks of Turkey than to the neighboring Turkic peoples of Central Asia, such as the Uzbeks and Kazakhs. Distinct tribal dialects exist among the Turkmens. Elements of an emerging Turkmen literary language

can be found as early as the eighteenth century in the common Turkic (or Chagatay) literature of Central Asia. The modern literary Turkmen language is a relatively new creation, however, developed in the 1920s under Soviet supervision and based on the Yomut and Teke dialects. Initially the Soviets opted for modifying the traditional Arabic script of the Turkmens, but in the late 1920s a shift was made to the Latin alphabet and, after 1939, to the modified Cyrillic alphabet. Recently there have been calls to return to the Arabic script, which Turkmens living outside the former Soviet Union have continued to use.

History and Cultural Relations

The Oghuz Turkic ancestors of the Turkmens first appeared in the area of Turkmenistan in the eighth to tenth centuries A.D. The name "Turkmen" first appears in eleventh-century sources. Initially it seems to have referred to certain groups from among the Oghuz that had converted to Islam. During the thirteenth-century Mongol invasion into the heart of Central Asia, the Turkmens fled to more remote regions close to the Caspian shore. Thus, unlike many other peoples of Central Asia, they were little influenced by Mongol rule and, therefore, Mongol political tradition. In the sixteenth century the Turkmens once again began to migrate throughout the region of modern Turkmenistan, gradually occupying the agricultural oases. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the majority of Turkmens had become sedentary or seminomadic agriculturalists, although a significant portion remained exclusively nomadic stockbreeders.

From the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries the Turkmens repeatedly clashed with neighboring sedentary states, especially the rulers of Iran and the khanate of Khiva. Divided into more than twenty tribes and lacking any semblance of political unity, the Turkmens managed, however, to remain relatively independent throughout this period. By the early nineteenth century the dominant tribes were the Teke in the south, the Yomut in the southwest and in the north around Khorezm, and the Ersari in the east, near the Amu Darya. These three tribes constituted over one-half the total Turkmen population at that time.

In the early 1880s the Russian Empire succeeded in subjugating the Turkmens, but only after overcoming fiercer resistance from most Turkmens than from other conquered groups of Central Asia. At first the traditional society of the Turkmens was relatively unaffected by czarist rule, but the building of the Transcaspian Railroad and the expansion of oil production on the Caspian shore both led to a large influx of Russian colonists. The czarist administrators encouraged the cultivation of cotton as a cash crop on a large scale.

The Bolshevik Revolution in Russia was accompanied by a period of rebellion in Central Asia known as the Basmachi Revolt. Many Turkmens participated in this rebellion, and, after the victory of the Soviets, many of these Turkmens fled to Iran and Afghanistan. In 1924 the Soviet government established modern Turkmenistan. In the early years of Soviet rule, the government tried to break the power of the tribes by confiscating tribally held lands in the 1920s and introducing forced collectivization in the 1930s. Although pan-Turkmen identity was certainly strengthened under Soviet rule, the Turkmens of the former Soviet Union retain their sense of tribal consciousness to a great extent. The seventy years of Soviet rule have seen the elimination of nomadism as a way of life and the beginnings of a small but influential educated urban elite. This period also witnessed the firm establishment of the supremacy of the Communist party. Indeed, as reformist and nationalist movements swept the Soviet Union in recent years, Turkmenistan remained a bastion of conservatism, displaying very few signs of joining in the process of *perestroika.*

Settlements

Turkmens traditionally lived a seminomadic life, with the summer encampment considered to be the "homeland." The encampments were contractual in nature, although they almost always were composed primarily of close relatives. The basic settlement was the *oba* (Russian: *aul*), which consisted of a group of households associated with a definite territory that they held in common. The traditional dwelling of the Turkmens was the round, collapsible tent (*oy*), consisting of a wooden frame with felt and sometimes reed coverings that could be erected or dismantled in about an hour. The Turkmens retained this dwelling even after becoming completely sedenterized. To this day these yurts, now serving as summer quarters or guest rooms, can be seen alongside modern brick homes.

Collectivization has replaced the oba with the kolkhoz, yet the basic family and tribal structure is intact. Movement to urban areas naturally weakens these traditional settlement patterns. The cities, however, are still primarily non-Turkmen; for example, Ashkhabad, the capital and largest city of the republic, is only 41 percent Turkmen.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. Traditional Turkmen society was characterized by a distinctive division along economic lines between pastoralists (*charwa*) and agriculturalists (*chomur*). This division was found within almost every tribe and settlement and even within families. Individuals constantly alternated between these two lifestyles, although the pastoralism was somewhat preferred. The traditional stock animal was the dromedary camel, well-suited to the climatic conditions of Turkmenistan. Only in the nineteenth century, with increased sedenterization, did sheep become the main animal in the Turkmen herds.

In the twentieth century Soviet planners have dictated the cultivation of cotton to the virtual exclusion of most other crops in Turkmenistan. The serious ecological repercussions of this cotton "monoculture," in terms of soil exhaustion and excessive water usage, have only recently been acknowledged. For example, the Kara Kum Canal, a Stalinist-era project to convey water for irrigation from the Amu Darya to the Turkmen Desert, has been shown to lose up to 50 percent of its water in transit (through seepage and evaporation) and to have significantly contributed to the dessication of the Aral Sea, formerly the world's second-largest inland sea, which is now rapidly disappear-

ing. Very little industry has been developed in Turkmenistan and what does exist mainly employs ethnic Slavs.

A brisk trade is carried on in the bazaars of the republic, where many products not easily found in state stores, including fruits and vegetables from private plots and meat from privately held livestock, are readily available, although at much higher prices.

Industrial Arts. Many samples of Turkmen craft work can be found, especially in the bazaars. These include metal and wood household utensils, tools, and furniture. In modern times the traditional Turkmen practice of hand-weaving beautiful carpets has been transformed into a state industry with factories mass-producing carpets.

Trade. Since Turkmenistan is heavily oriented toward agriculture, the republic relies on other regions of the former Soviet Union for imports of most finished goods. In return, the republic exports virtually all of its raw materials, especially cotton and natural gas, to other former Soviet republics.

Division of Labor. Turkmen men and boys were traditionally responsible for tending the herds and performing heavy agricultural work, whereas women managed domestic affairs. Women and girls contributed to the household economy through weaving carpets. In modern times, men generally drive the machinery on the kolkhozy and manage the transport and sale of goods in the bazaar. Women and children represent the backbone of cotton harvesting, which is still mainly done by hand.

Land Tenure. Historically, pastures and natural water sources were held in common by the oba, whereas plowed fields and dug wells were considered private property. After sedentarizing, some Turkmen tribes developed a system of land tenure known as *sanashik*, in which there existed an equal division of land and water between tribes and tribal subdivisions. This system included an annual redistribution between all eligible landholders (i.e., married males) in the tribe. During the Soviet period, land was declared the property of the state and collectivized.

Kinship

Kinship Groups and Descent. The Turkmens are organized into a segmentary system of territorial descent groups. The largest descent groups are usually referred to as tribes. Each tribe is further subdivided into increasingly smaller and more closely related descent groups. Descent is traced patrilineally to a common ancestor, Oghuz Khan. The Turkmens preserve knowledge of their descent group and its relation to other groups in oral genealogies. Individual Turkmens know their recent genealogy—at least five to seven generations—very well, although they often conceal knowledge of the fifth and sixth generations to avoid becoming embroiled in more distant blood fueds. When two strangers first meet, they inquire about each others' descent group to establish their relationship to each other. When households that are not closely related camp together in the same oba, a tenuous kinship tie is often discovered. Marriage does not serve an important function in linking Turkmen descent groups. Although agnatic ties are very close and require political, social, and economic cooperation, uterine and affinal ties seldom go beyond limited economic assistance.

Among the Turkmens five sacred lineages exist, which trace their descent not to Oghuz Khan but to the first four caliphs in Islamic history. These groups, known as Owlad tribes, are strictly endogamous, rarely intermarrying with other Turkmens, although they live interspersed among all Turkmen tribes. The Owlad are especially revered by the Turkmens and carry out important religious and social functions in the communities where they live.

Kinship Terminology. Turkmen kinship terminology is highly specific and serves to indicate the important distinctions in Turkmen society. For example, separate terms differentiate agnatic and nonagnatic relationships, as well as the important societal distinction of senior and junior positions between and within generations. Affinal and uterine relations are often addressed with broad classificatory terms.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. The Turkmens are generally endogamous, choosing spouses from within their own tribe. This contrasts with the strict exogamy of other Central Asian peoples such as the Kazakhs and Kyrgyz. Marriage ceremonies are conducted according to Islamic rites, although this practice was often discouraged by Soviet authorities. Women traditionally marry very young (in their early teens), but their spouses can be much older. This is because of the practice, which continues to this day, of asking relatively high bride-prices for daughters. This forces men to wait until they can earn enough to afford to marry. The high bride-price historically also served as a means of leveling income by redistributing wealth. Traditionally, newlyweds would not actually live together until two or three years after the wedding, when the bride would come to live with her husband and his family. Polygamy, though allowed under Islamic law, has always been rare among the Turkmens. Modern Soviet life weakened—but did not eliminate—many of the traditional marriage practices of the Turkmens. To this day Turkmens almost never marry non-Turkmens, especially Russians or other Slavs.

Domestic Unit. The Turkmens maintain a traditional extended family with the fathers accorded formal authority within the home, although wives and elder sons may exert considerable informal influence. As sons marry and establish their own households, they continue to live in close proximity to their father and practice economic cooperation. Soviet housing shortages and internal passport laws to some extent strengthened rather than weakened the traditional Turkmen extended family.

Inheritance. The Turkmens follow traditional custom rather than strict Islamic law regarding inheritance. Each son receives his portion of inheritance after he marries and forms a separate household with his own children, usually sometime between ages 30 and 40. The youngest son remains with his father until the latter's death and then receives all remaining property. Naturally, the Soviet legal system provided other possibilities in determining inheritance.

Socialization. In accordance with the value system of Turkmen society, men are expected to show great respect and deference to their elders, especially their father, grandfather, and even elder brothers. Women are expected to show even greater subordination, traditionally covering their mouths with their headcloth in the presence of male guests or even their own in-laws. Turkmen women, however, have never worn veils as was common in neighboring Islamic societies. Historically, women would sit in less honorable places within the yurt. Even in modern times, Turkmen women often remain in separate parts of the home when the husband is entertaining guests.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Historically, Turkmen society has been highly egalitarian, with little notion of class distinctions. Unlike other Turkic groups of Central Asia, Turkmens had no traditional aristocracy. There are very few examples in Turkmen history of exceptionally rich individuals, and the Turkmen custom of aiding relatives in times of economic need ensured that few people remained impoverished for long. There did exist a differentiation between people of pure Turkmen origin (*igh*) and those of slave (*qul*) or mixed (*yarim*) origins. Practically speaking, however, this distinction meant very little except for purposes of social ceremony. As elsewhere in Soviet Central Asia, a kind of "Soviet aristocracy" developed, consisting of families of famous writers, artists, and other members of the urban intelligentsia, as well as leading members of the Communist party.

Political Organization. Turkmen society has never been marked by strong political leaders or tribal chiefs. Men gained influence through such personal qualities as military valor, but their authority was limited to their ability to persuade others to join them and was seldom of long duration or conferred to their descendants. Under Soviet rule, the Communist party became the dominant political organization. At the same time, however, tribal loyalties continued to play important roles in granting positions within the party and government. For example, the Teke tribe long dominated the upper echelons of the Turkmen party apparatus, as well as appointments at the state university.

Social Control. Turkmen society is strongly influenced by the desire to maintain tradition (*adat*). Historically, tribal elders made decisions in councils that were designed to achieve consensus within the entire community. This practice is often employed in Turkmenistan even today.

Conflict. The Turkmens were renowned throughout their history for their warlike tendencies and their devastating raids (*alamans*) against sedentary neighbors, especially Iran. Within Turkmen society, there is an important responsibility for close agnates to come to the defense of each other in any conflict. The Owlad tribes have an equally important responsibility to serve as neutral mediators between potential Turkmen combatants.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. The Turkmens are Sunni Muslims of the Hanafi branch. Despite the claims of some observers that their nomadic heritage created a certain laxness or heterodoxy in their religious practice, Turkmens are devout. The incorrect perception stems in part from the fact that in the past few mosques were found among the Turkmens, a phenomenon not uncommon among traditionally nomadic societies, where religious practice is centered more in the movable home than in a stationary mosque. The Turkmens saw themselves as resolute defenders of Sunni orthodoxy against the Shiism prevalent among their southern neighbors in Iran.

During the Soviet period the authorities repeatedly tried to eradicate religious belief, without success. Among the most persistent traditions has been that of *ziyarat*, or pilgrimage to the tombs of Muslim saints, a practice that was always strong among the Turkmens and that increased in popularity because of the difficulty for Soviet Muslims of performing the pilgrimage to Mecca. Later Soviet policies allowed for more openness in religious practice and permitted the opening of several new mosques.

Religious Practitioners. Turkmens respect the mullahs, who teach and lead the faithful in their religious life. In the past, these mullahs received their training in the urban centers of Khiva and Bukhara. For much of the Soviet period mullahs and their activities were strictly controlled by the authorities, a policy that increased the influence of the more secretive leaders (*ishans*) of mystical Sufi orders. These latter, who are often closely tied to the sacred Owlad tribes, have traditionally played a significant role in the spiritual life of the Turkmens and have functioned as unofficial preservers of the Turkmens' Islamic heritage during the more oppressive periods of Soviet rule.

Ceremonies. The Turkmens keep all the major ceremonies of the Islamic calendar, with the feast of Kurban Bairam perhaps the most important for them. This has been true despite strong official disapproval in years past.

Arts. The Turkmens have a rich oral epic tradition held in common with other Oghuz Turks, including the epic of *Dede Korkut* (*Gorkut Ata* in Turkmen). They also have produced numerous poets renowned for their eloquence, the most famous being Maqtum Quli (eighteenth century). Their weavings, which include everything from large floor rugs to saddle bags, purses, and other domestic utilitarian items, are considered to be among the finest examples of decorative art in the world. Many scholars see the preservation of tribal markings and religious symbols in the designs found in Turkmen weavings.

Medicine. Only late in the Soviet era did authorities admit the poor state of medical care in Turkmenistan. For example, the infant mortality rate in the republic, which is estimated to be between 60 and 100 per thousand, is the highest of the former Soviet republics and among the highest in the world. Perhaps for this reason amulets to protect children from evil spirits and other folk medical practices have remained common, despite the advent of modern medical treatment.

Death and Afterlife. Funerals among the Turkmens are performed according to Islamic rites, even by avowedly atheistic party members. Special feasts and remembrances are held forty days and one year after a death. Turkmens usually bury their dead in cemeteries built up around the tomb of an Islamic saint or an Owlad tribesmen, who

serves as a guide and helper in the afterlife for those buried near him.

See also Kazaks; Uzbeks

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WILLIAM A. WOOD

Tuvans

ETHNONYMS: Dubo, Tyva (Chinese historical sources); Soioty, Tannu-Uriankhaitsy, Tuvintsy, Uriankhi (nineteenth-century Russian); Tandy-Uriankhai or Uriankhai (nineteenth-century Tuvan)

Orientation

Identification. Most of Tuva is contained today in the Tuvan Republic, one of eighteen republics in Russia. The Tuvan Republic comprises about 171,000 square kilometers. The capital is Kyzyl.

Location. The Tuva region is located in southern Siberia. The Tuvan Republic is bounded on the west by the Gorno-Altai Autonomous Region, on the northwest by the Khakas Autonomous Region, on the north by the Krasnoyarsk Territory, on the northeast by the Irkutsk region, on the east by the Buriat Republic, and from the east to the southwest by Mongolia. Tuva is located at about 52° N, approximately the same latitude as Warsaw, London, and Calgary. Kyzyl was once thought to be the geographical center of Asia; an obelisk there contains the words "Centre of Asia," "Azianyng Tövü" (in Tuvan) and "Tsentr Azii" (in Russian).

The landscape of Tuva is mainly alpine. Mountains occupy about 82 percent of the country, plains only 18 percent. The entire territory lies above 500 meters; the highest mountain, Möngün Taiga (Silver Mountain) is 3,976 meters above sea level. Fertile lands are mainly in the river valleys, including those of the Ulug Khem (Tuvan: "Big River," the Yenisei between Kyzyl and Shagonar), Khemchik, Shagaan-Aryg, Chadaana, and Barlyk.

In Tuva one can find practically all the climatic zones and landscapes typical of Asia: deserts, tundra plateaus, reed jungles, alpine meadows, open steppe lands, high mountains, and dense taiga. Tuva is characterized by the diversity of its wildlife (antelope, foxes, bears, wolves, mountain goats, sables, snow leopards, and reindeer) and of its domestic herds (Tibetan yaks, reindeer [which are continually mixed with wild stock], Bactrian camels, small and sturdy horses, cattle, sheep, and goats, among others). Tuva's climate is sharply continental, with severe, cold winters and hot, dry summers. Temperatures range from a low of −61° C in the mountains in winter, to 43° C in the plains in summer. The mean annual temperature is −3.3° C in the plains and −6.1° C in the mountains. Winter, the longest season, lasts from the end of October to the end of March. Temperatures remain below 0° C 190 days on average, of which 60 days are below −30° C. January is the coldest month. Spring begins in April, summer begins in mid-May, and autumn begins in mid-September. Clear weather prevails all year in Tuva, with about 300 sunny days annually. The dry air makes it easier for people to withstand the winter cold and the summer heat. Precipitation ranges from about 20 centimeters per year in the river valleys to about 50 centimeters annually in the mountains.

Demography. In 1989 the population of the Tuvan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (ASSR) was reckoned to be 308,557; of which 198,360 (64 percent) were Tuvan; 98,831 (32 percent) Russian; and 11,366 (4 percent) other nationalities. The same census showed there were 206,924 Tuvans in the USSR, 99 percent of whom considered Tuvan their native language. There were about 20,000 Tuvans living in northwestern Mongolia and about 4,000 in the Altai region (northern Xinjiang) of China. Nearly 30 percent of Tuva's population resided in the capital, Kyzyl, which had a population of more than 86,000 (mainly Russians). Most Tuvans still live in rural areas. The annual population increase among Tuvans is 21 per 1,000, or just over 2 percent.

Linguistic Affiliation. Tuvan is a Turkic language influenced by Mongolian. It can be divided into four mutually intelligible territorial dialects that are distinguishable by pronunciation and vocabulary. About 3,000 inhabitants of southeastern Tuva speak Mongolian as well as Tuvan.

More than a thousand years ago, ancestors of the Tuvans used a runelike script to write ancient Turkic, but the system eventually died out. During the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, as Tuva was influenced by Lamaism, only Mongolian and Tibetan were written in Tuva. Around 1930 the Unified Turkic Latin Alphabet was developed for Tuvan and for other Turkic languages; little more than a decade later, various forms of the Cyrillic alphabet were devised for Turkic languages in the USSR. The Tuvan version uses the Russian alphabet plus three extra letters to accommodate specifically Tuvan sounds. Nevertheless, the Tuvan Cyrillic alphabet remains an imperfect vehicle for representing spoken Tuvan.

History and Cultural Relations

Archaeological evidence shows that Tuva was inhabited in the Paleolithic era by heterogeneous tribes of Europoid, Mongoloid, and mixed stock. In addition to native tribes, Scythians (or at least their culture) were present in Tuva (seventh to third centuries B.C.), followed by the Huns (second century B.C. to second century A.D.) and Ancient Turks (sixth to twelfth centuries)—most notably the Uighurs (eighth century) and the Kyrgyz (ninth century), whose ethnonyms survive today as clan names in western and southeastern Tuva, respectively. There are notable burial sites from each of these historical periods that have yielded rich archaeological material: Arzhan (Scythian), Kökel (Hunnic), Tere-Khöl (Uighur), and various locations with "stone men" (Tuvan: *közhee*; Russian: *balbal*) with runelike inscriptions in Ancient Turkic (Kyrgyz).

In 1207 Tuva was conquered by armies of Chinggis (Genghis) Khan. It was settled over the following centuries by Mongolian tribes, who eventually became absorbed by the local Turkic, Ket, and Samoyed population, under the rule of the Altyn khans. From 1757 to 1911 the territory was ruled by the Ch'ing dynasty. In 1914 Tuva, without being given a choice in the matter, was placed under the protection of Russia.

In the years following the October Revolution of 1917, several battles between the Reds and the Whites took place in Tuva. The name of Tuva's capital reflects that struggle: originally Khem Beldiri (Tuvan for "River Confluence"), it was renamed Byelotsarsk in 1914 (Russian for "White Czar"), and Kyzyl-Khoto (Tuvan for "red" and Mongolian for "town") in 1921. Today it is known simply as Kyzyl.

From August 1921 to October 1944 Tuva was a nominally independent state issuing its own currency and postage stamps. (Virtually all the stamps were designed by Russians and printed in Moscow, however.) Although only the USSR and Mongolia sent diplomatic representatives to Kyzyl, the maps of many other countries showed Tuva as a separate state. The government of Taiwan still considers Tuva Chinese territory. Near the end of World War II the "small *khural*" (politburo) of Tuva, led by Salchak Toka, a graduate of the Communist University of the Toilers of the East (acronym KUTV in Russian), petitioned that Tuva be brought into the USSR.

Settlements

Tuvans traditionally lived in settlements called *aals*, based on kinship, which formed the basic administrative units called *somon* or *arban*. Yurts were arranged according to each household's relation to the aal's leader, who was elected irrespective of age or sex. With urbanization, the collectivization of herds, and the enlargement of settlements, the traditional aal system is weakening. The somons and arbans have been replaced by thirteen administrative districts based on territory.

For centuries the Tuvans lived in felt yurts, as did Mongolians, Kyrgyz, Kazakhs, and other Central Asian nomads, with whom the Tuvans historically have had close cultural ties. The yurt is a cylindrical structure with a conic top. Its trellised frame is made of wood; its walls are made of felt, which provide good protection from Tuva's sharply continental climate. Held together by rope, the yurt is designed for easy erection and dismantling, essential for nomadism. A more permanent variant is the hexagonal log "yurt." In eastern Tuva conical "yurts" made of birch bark (Tuvan: *chadyr* or *alazhy*), similar to the native American tipi have been used by hunters and reindeer herders. Beginning in the 1950s under Soviet influence, Tuvans began a slow conversion to rectangular dwellings made of wood, brick, or concrete. This transition has been marked in many cases by the deterioration of such dwellings.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. The basis of the Tuvan economy is and has been livestock breeding augmented by hunting and limited irrigated agriculture. Shepherds continue their traditional way of life, living in yurts and migrating with their herds to specific pastures. Hunting still provides furs for export (squirrels are the most common; sables the most lucrative), and Siberian elk (*maral*) horns are sold to Oriental pharmacists as an aphrodisiac. The principal grain crops—oats, barley, wheat, and millet—are grown for food and fodder. In the 1950s heavily mechanized agriculture was introduced and at first yielded marginally better results, but loss of fertility and soil erosion have since taken their toll. New crops—in particular, vegetables—have been introduced recently, and farmers from northern China have been recruited to show the Tuvans and Russians how to grow them. The predominant industrial activity in Tuva is mining, especially for asbestos, cobalt, coal, gold, and uranium.

The typical Tuvan diet historically has consisted of meat (mutton, beef, horse, goat, camel, reindeer, and wild game), roots, cedar nuts, preserved dairy products such as dried curds (*aarzhy*), melted butter (*sarzhag*), and cheese (*byshtak*), and—for those living close to rivers or lakes—fish. For special festive occasions Tuvans brew *arak*, fermented milk. In the past Tuvans did not eat bread, fruits, vegetables, or pork, but today all of these are part of the Tuvan diet when they are available.

Division of Labor. Traditionally, there was a clear division of labor, although it did not prevent a husband and wife from working together at the same tasks. Men tended to pasture livestock, sow grain, hunt, and do certain physical household chores, whereas women generally reared children, milked cattle, cooked, and kept house. In recent years this division has been blurred, with women doing many of the same jobs as men—and the children's upbringing being neglected in many cases.

Land Tenure. Land in Tuva was state property during the Soviet period, which has resulted in a host of serious problems, including the predatory exploitation of forests and mineral resources, the flooding of river valleys for hydroelectric projects, and the destruction of pastures and arable land. Beginning in the late 1980s, some limited land reforms were discussed.

Kinship

In the past Tuvans were strictly subdivided into clans—Mongush, Kyrgys, Ondar, Maady, Sat, and so on. Since the introduction of the *paqssport* (identity card) system in the 1950s, the Tuvans have been using family names, which

are inherited only through the male line. This has given rise to a high demand for male children. Nevertheless, Tuvans still use terms that reflect their earlier complex kinship system. Some of these terms have different meanings according to context. For example, *aky* (elder brother) can also mean an uncle from the father's side (father's younger brother); similarly, *ugba* (elder sister) can also mean an aunt from the father's side (father's younger sister). Such precision based on age and sex, applied to older relations, is not accorded to younger brothers and sisters: all are referred to as *dunma*.

Marriage and Family

In the past marriages were arranged and took place at the ages of 12 or 13. Polygamy was not infrequent. Today polygamy is illegal, the minimum age for marriage is 18 years, and parental consent is not required. Formerly, the bride lived with the husband's family; today, the couple's place of residence is determined mostly by economic conditions. Divorce has become common; abortion is a widespread form of birth control because of a lack of alternatives. Three-generation families, still common in the countryside, are giving way to two-generation (nuclear) families in the towns as housing becomes more available. In the past inheritance was strictly through the male lines of descent; today all children have equal rights of inheritance.

Sociopolitical Organization

Under the Soviet system, the Tuvan ASSR had a Supreme Soviet (legislature) of 130 members, and a Council of Ministers, both guided by the Communist party of the Soviet Union's Regional Party Committee. With the disintegration of the USSR, attempts are being made to strengthen the legal and political rights of citizens and to make government responsive to the people's will.

Under Soviet rule the social structure in Tuva was artificially simplified from its traditional form. After the collectivization of herding and agriculture, people were assigned various categories of work; nevertheless, there were several thousand unemployed persons, especially in towns. Tuvan society is now guided by an intelligentsia that includes scientists, educators, technicians, and artists.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs and Practices. The traditional religions in Tuva are Siberian shamanism, traces of which can still be found in the countryside, and Tibetan Lamaism, which entered Tuva in the second half of the eighteenth century and still persists among older people. In 1931 there were more than 4,000 lamas and two dozen lamaseries. After purges instigated by graduates of the KUTV during the 1930s, the lamas were dispersed and repressed, some of them were shot, and nearly all the lamaseries were destroyed. Recently, however, a Buddhist community was officially registered in Tuva. Efforts are underway to rebuild the great lamasery at Chadan.

Arts. Tuvan culture is noted for its rich oral epic poetry (as are other Turkic cultures) and especially for its music. There are more than fifty different musical instruments. In Kyzyl, music and drama are performed in an ornate theater with Oriental architectural influences. In the countryside, traveling ensembles often perform outdoors. Perhaps the best-known Tuvan movie star is Makhim Munzuk, who played the title role in Akira Kurosawa's Oscar-winning film (1975), *Dersu Uzala* (The Hunter). The most unusual Tuvan art form is overtone singing (*khöömei*, also known as "harmonic" or "throat" singing), in which a low, throaty voice—usually a drone lasting up to thirty seconds, sung after a melodic line of text—is accompanied by a "second voice"—that is, harmonics of the drone—produced by the same singer contorting his lips, tongue, soft palate, and throat muscles. Overtone singing, practiced almost exclusively by men, has at least five styles—from *sügüt* ("whistling"), through khöömei ("hoomei," the Anglicized Tuvan name given to the entire genre), to *kargyraa* ("rattling"). Overtone choirs are being formed in Europe and North America, and overtone singing is finding its way into the repertoire of a wide variety of musical groups.

Tuvans have a highly developed stone-carving art that is deeply rooted in their history. In the twentieth century stone carving has focused on small (hand-sized) renderings of animals and humans in a style reminiscent of the Scythian. The medium is pyrophyllite, a material like soapstone. Other carved materials include wood and bone. Gold-and silversmithery also have a long tradition. There is a constellation of crafts involving animal skins—tanning, currying, pressing wool, and so on—that result in ornate utensils, clothes, and footwear.

Medicine. Herbal treatments were developed over the centuries by shamans and were augmented by Tibetan medicine as practiced by lamas. Since the 1940s conventional Western medicine has been dominant. Recently there has been a revival of interest in herbal remedies and medicinal plants.

Death and Afterlife. Although Lamaism is not publicly practiced in Tuva today, belief in reincarnation and the influence of karma is strong, especially among older people. When a person dies, the funeral is held within five days. The influence of shamanism can be seen in the timing of subsequent ceremonies, on the seventh and forty-ninth days after death: the soul is believed to remain in the dwelling of the deceased for seven days, at which time it departs for the kingdom of the dead (in the realm of darkness and shadows), reaching its ultimate wandering point only on the forty-ninth day. A ritual candle (*chula*) is kept burning by the family of the deceased during this six-week period. Tuvans do not decorate the dead nor the grave, as they believe the body goes back to Mother Nature, and the soul needs no decoration. Today Tuvans, like Christians, often have an annual feast on a particular day to honor the dead ancestor.

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RALPH LEIGHTON AND K. A. BICHELDEI

[*Editor's Note:* This summary is based largely on an essay written specifically for the *Encyclopedia of World Cultures* by K. A. Bicheldei, researcher at the Tuvan Institute of Language, Literature, and History. In early 1990 Mr. Bicheldei was elected a delegate from Tuva to the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR.]

Udis

ETHNONYMS: Udins, Uti

Orientation

Identification and Location. The Udis inhabit eastern Transcaucasia, in the district center Vartashen and in settlements in the Nij Kutkashen Raion of the Azerbaijan Republic. In 1921–1922, after the civil war, a group of Udis settled in eastern Georgia, where they founded the village Oktomberi (Q'vareli Raion).

Demography. The Udi population was 7,100 in 1886; 2,500 in 1926; and 6,900 (of which 5,800 lived in Azerbaijan) in 1979. Behind these figures is a rate of natural population growth offset by an intensive assimilation of Udis into the Azeri (and to a lesser degree, Armenian) ethnic communities. The Udi settlements are located at the base of the southern slopes of the Caucasian range. Clean mountain rivers, a healthy climate without abrupt weather changes, a rich variety of flora (fir, hornbeam, beech, linden, etc.) and fauna (squirrels, sables, wild boars, rabbits, and so on.), all provide conditions conducive to the economic welfare of the Udis.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Udi language is classified in the Daghestanian Group of the Northeast Caucasian (Nakh-Daghestanian) Language Family. Several linguists (G. Klimov, A. Chikobava, V. Gukasian) consider it a descendant of one of the languages of ancient Caucasian Albania. It is the only Daghestanian language known to have had an orthography before modern times. The decipherment of the small number of surviving epigraphic texts in the Caucasian Albanian alphabet (dating from the seventh to ninth centuries) indicates that the written language of Albania was related to Udi. The Albanian alphabet is considered by experts to have been a distinct, original offshoot from the Aramaic script. In recent times Udi has been an unwritten language. During the nineteenth century Udis of the Armeno-Gregorian faith wrote in the Armenian language for clerical purposes and used Classical Armenian in church services. Armenian was likewise used as the medium of instruction in parish schools. Udis belonging to the Orthodox church attended services conducted by Georgian priests in the Georgian language, which they could not understand. In the early 1930s an Udi orthography was devised using the Latin script, and a primer was prepared by the Udi linguist brothers Jeiranishvili (published in 1934 in Sukhumi). At this time in Vartashen an elementary school was opened with two sections: one with instruction in Armenian, the other in Udi. After only three years the Udi section was closed. At the present time the Orthodox Udis attend Russian-language schools, and the Gregorian Udis study in Armenian. The Udi language is primarily used within the domestic circle. The majority of Udis are multilingual, with a good command of Azerbaijani and Russian, and often Armenian as well. The younger generation of Udis in Georgia can speak Georgian.

History and Cultural Relations

The modern Udis are descendants of the Uti, one of the ancient tribes of eastern Transcaucasia. Classical sources place this tribe in the vicinity of Uti (the chief city of Partav Barda) in Caucasian Albania (which corresponds basically to northern Azerbaijan and southern Daghestan). The continual migration of Turkic tribes into eastern Transcaucasia led to the assimilation of the majority of the Udis, who converted to Islam and came to speak the Azeri Turkish language. One segment of the Udis, who adopted the Armeno-Gregorian faith, became Armenian-speaking and eventually considered themselves Armenian. Their descendants are found in Nij and, to a lesser extent, Vartashen. A small group of Orthodox Udis (living in Oktomberi and Vartashen) have preserved their self-identity, language, and cultural characteristics. During the eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries the Udi villages were within the Shekin Khanate, and after annexation by Russia they were included in the Nukhinski Uezd of the Elisavetpol Province.

Settlements

The Udi villages lie in the lowlands at the foot of the Caucasus; they have a free, unstructured layout and wide streets. In Vartashen the Udis live side by side with Armenians, Azeris, Mountain Jews, and Lezgins; the Udis of Nij have Azeris as neighbors. Vartashen is divided into three quarters: Jegutlar is inhabited by Mountain Jews, and in the other two quarters live Udis, Armenians, and Azeris (the population of the last has recently increased). Nij was

also segmented into three familial-based quarters at the beginning of the nineteenth century, growing to twelve in the twentieth century. The Udi farmstead contains an orchard, kitchen garden, and courtyard, enclosed by a wattle or stone fence. The house is set back in the garden, sometimes with its front turned away from the street.

The Udi house traditionally had one story, built of stone or simple bricks, set on a raised stone foundation. The house was surmounted by a two-or four-sloped thatch (later tiled) roof. The traditional house was windowless, with light being admitted through small holes in the walls and ceiling, and also through the always-open door. The house contained one to three chambers (*k'oj*); one room with a fireplace was used for receiving guests. In the largest room, the ceiling was supported by thick beams, which in turn were held by wooden pillars. A square vent was built into the ceiling, under which was the hearth, where food was cooked and around which the family kept warm in winter. At the end of the nineteenth century the hearth was replaced by a fireplace (*bokharik*) with chimney, and more recently by an iron stove. One important component of an Udi home was the spacious attic (rarely with a fireplace) that was used used as a silkworm nursery and for drying and preserving fruit. At the beginning of the twentieth century two-story houses with balconies (*eivan*) built onto the facade, large glazed windows, and wooden floors made their appearance.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. Up to the 1930s the base of the Udi economy was agriculture (wheat, barley, rice, millet) and viticulture (long-stem vines). Animal husbandry was not as significant, but each household had its cattle, a few sheep, and poultry (chickens, turkeys). In Vartashen many engaged in silk production and the spinning of silk thread, for which a silk-spinning shop was constructed at that village. Orchards are maintained in Udi villages (pears, apples, plums, cherries, and apricots) along with vegetable gardens (cucumbers, potatoes, tomatoes, beans). The Udis in Georgia preserve the tradition of raising maize and barley, viticulture (short-stem vines), and sericulture. The cocoons are turned over to the government, which processes them at the silk factory in Telavi (eastern Georgia). Upon their arrival in Georgia the Udis engaged in rice production, but this turned out to be unprofitable in their new surroundings and was discontinued.

Clothing. At the beginning of the twentieth century the Udis wore apparel similar to that of Karabagh Armenians. The undergarments consisted of a shirt (*gurat*) and trousers; the overgarments were, for men, a *chokha* (frock) and an *arkhalug* (shirt). The chokha had a low neckline, and was worn over the tightly buttoned high-collared arkhalug. Across the breast of the chokha was affixed a row of cartridge holders. Originally these served to hold spare ammunition, but subsequently they took on a merely decorative function. The arkhalug was cinched with a leather belt decorated with silver adornments. Crude raw-leather shoes were worn with knitted stockings; the well-to-do had footwear of softened leather. The male headdress was a conical sheep's-wool *papakha*. Women's apparel included wide, long trousers, an even wider skirt, above which was worn a knee-length arkhalug gathered at the waist, with long sleeves (slit open their entire length). The woman's arkhalug was worn with a wide silver belt with a heavy buckle; less wealthy women wore a belt (*kushtuk*) made of fabric. Below the arkhalug hung an apron that could be tied up almost to the armpits. On feast days the well-to-do wore short-sleeved velvet coats adorned with fur and leather shoes with low heels. The Udi woman's headdress was a complex affair, formed from several kerchiefs, held with a silver chain across the forehead, to which silver coins were attached; strips of fabric were tied on by the temples, adorned as well with coins. Married women covered the lower part of their face with a kerchief (*yashmag*). In the nineteenth century it was common for girls and boys to daub henna on their hands as a sort of cosmetic. The fabrics used to make Udi garments were homespun calico, velvet, and silk; girls and young women wore bright hues (especially red), whereas elderly women and men preferred darker shades. In the 1920s Western urban apparel began to supplant traditional Udi dress, with some exceptions. Men continued to wear tunics, riding breeches, and peaked caps; women always wore kerchiefs on their heads, but the wide silver kushtuk was reserved as festival apparel. Elderly men would wear the chokha and papakha and for a long time women continued to conceal the lower part of their faces, usually with a kerchief. Most of these dress styles have disappeared by now, in favor of Western apparel.

Food. Udi cuisine is based on agricultural products such as bread, beans, rice, walnuts, fruits, berries, vegetables, and greens. Bread (*shum*) is made from wheat flour (*urum*) and baked in a *torne*. Pilaf is an important component of the diet, and several varieties are eaten. *Chainakhup* is prepared from rice, beans (*pakhla*), raisins, persimmons, and chestnuts; the pilaf *pakhlimkhup* consists of rice and beans with walnuts. Rice is also eaten with sour milk. Roasted and cooked chestnuts are popular; the Udis produce them for sale to buyers from Baku and Tbilisi. Walnuts and walnut oil are important components of the cuisine. Many dishes consist of vegetables (pumpkin, cabbage, eggplant); cucumbers and tomatoes were pickled. Beans are also part of the Udi diet: aside from being used in pilaf dishes, they are eaten fried with butter and eggs, made into porridge or soup, or wrapped in cabbage leaves. The diet is supplemented by wild greens, fruits, and berries (along with raspberries, cornel berries, and blackberries from the gardens). A soup is prepared from nettles and sorrels, or they may be stuffed into *khinkals* (dough pouches, which are then boiled); sorrels are also eaten raw. Among the dairy foods are fermented milk, cream, sour cream, and butter. Eggs are made into omelettes. Meat is not part of the everyday diet, being reserved for holidays and festivals; it is obligatory when entertaining guests. A soup (similar to Georgian *chikhirtma*) is made from chicken bouillon, egg yolks, wine vinegar, and herbs. Cabbage leaves are stuffed with meat. Beef, mutton, chicken, and turkey may be served in a variety of ways (cooked, roasted, or as shish kebab). Roosters, which are specially fed with boiled millet, are stuffed with rice and roasted in the fireplace. Chicken or turkey meat may be added to

pilaf. Among the seafood dishes are salmon, lobster, lamprey, and stellate sturgeon (*sevruga*) cut into pieces and roasted on a spit. Lampreys traditionally were brought in by camel caravans from Evalkha, Azerbaijan, where they are fished from the Kura River. Lamprey fat is used as fuel in oil lamps. Honey (*uchch'*) is used in making halvah. Beverages are produced from berries and herbs and vodka from grapes (*t'ul*), pears, apples, cornel berries, and mulberries. Those Udis who settled in Georgia have adopted Georgian dishes, such as *khach'ap'uri* (cheese bread) and *satsivi* (chicken or turkey with walnut sauce).

Industrial Arts. In the workshops in Azerbaijan Udis manufacture tiles and clay vessels. Some of the inhabitants of Oktomberi (Georgia) work as seasonal laborers. Some Udis hire out as migrant construction workers in neighboring regions of Caucasia.

Trade. The Udis traditionally traded in tiles, bricks, earthenware, chestnuts, walnuts, rice, wheat, and cheese.

Division of Labor. Historically, labor was apportioned according to gender and age. Men worked in agriculture, animal husbandry, construction, the manufacture of tiles and bricks, and woodworking. Women were responsible for housekeeping and child rearing; in addition they tended to gardens and orchards and to the production of silk, rice, and dairy products.

Land Tenure. Both private and communal landownership was known. Arable land and rice fields, pastures, and forests were communal property. Gardens and orchards were privately owned. Communal land was, as a rule, divided among households before sowing began by a person specially appointed for that role by the community. With collectivization in the 1930s came the system of kolkhozy, which appropriated arable land, pastures, and forests. Collective farmers retained ownership of small individual plots.

Kinship, Marriage, and Family

Kinship. The Udi village community traditionally comprised small and large patriarchally organized families and patronymic groups.

Marriage. The Udis observed exogamy, and the typical marriageable age was 16 for boys, 13 for girls. Traditionally, marriages were arranged through negotiation between the parents of marriageable children. After an agreement was reached, the young man, his parents, godfather, and other male friends and relatives celebrated the betrothal. They thereupon proceeded, in a formal procession, to the fiancée's home, driving before them a ram with ribbons and lit candles affixed to its horns. The members of the procession bore four copper or wooden trays (*khoncha*) laden with sweets, cooked chicken, and wine; they also brought the wedding ring and fabric for the bride's dress. After presentation of the gifts the two parties agreed on the wedding date (generally within a year). From this time the young man had the right to visit his fiancée at her home, in the company of some of his close friends. Likewise during this period the fiancée became acquainted with women from her fiancé's family, who would bring her presents. There was also a formal presentation of gifts purchased by the fiancé (dress, shoes, linens, watch, etc.) to the young woman. Besides the numerous presents exchanged between the two families, the fiancée was obliged to provide "money for the road" (10 to 60 rubles), a "bribe" of 12 rubles, a silver belt, coins to adorn the bride's headdress, and many other items. The wedding took place over three to four days. Relatives and friends of the groom headed to the bride's house and escorted her back to the groom's home, where she was presented with yet another gift by the groom's father. The groom brought melted butter on a dish, which he smeared on the doorposts, and the groomsmen (*makrukh*) applied butter over their lips in the form of a moustache. The bride was escorted into the house under a canopy of crossed swords. Throughout the wedding feast the bride stood with veiled face behind a curtain in a corner of the room, accompanied by her father's sister. Her new mother-in-law brought her food to eat. Meanwhile the groom was seated at the table with the guests. (Nowadays the bride and groom sit together at the wedding banquet.) It was customary for the host to present the musicians with gifts of money (*shabash*). The bride's parents did not attend the wedding. Contemporary Udi weddings preserve some old traditions. They have been shortened to a single day (usually Sunday), although weddings have become more lavish and more guests are invited.

Domestic Unit. In the nineteenth century Udis mostly lived in small families, consisting of parents and their children. Large patriarchal families were primarily observed at Nij. These included parents and their married sons. Each couple had their separate room with its entrance from the balcony. The chief of the family was the father or, in his absence, the eldest son; the chief exercised considerable authority over the other members of the family, who submitted to him without question. The chief occupied the place of honor by the hearth, decided matters concerning the household, and assigned tasks. The eldest female held similar authority in regard to the preparation and distribution of food.

Family life was governed by certain constraints on interaction. Women dined separately from men, did not speak to outsiders, and kept their distance from them—a wife could not leave the homestead without the permission of her husband. For a period extending to many years after her arrival in the household, a daughter-in-law was not permitted to speak to her husband's father, nor (for a lesser period) her mother-in-law. She was expected to stay out of the presence of her husband's elder brother and father and of elders from outside the family for several years after her marriage. After the father-in-law presented her with a gift, she could speak to him. For his part, the husband avoided contact with his wife's parents and close relatives for a week after the wedding. On the eighth day he invited his in-laws to dinner, to indicate the end of the avoidance period. According to custom the daughter-in-law had to perform certain obeisances before her in-laws: she had to kiss the hands of her husband's parents and elder brother and each evening wash the feet of all elder males in her husband's family.

Inheritance. The rights of inheritance were fixed by customary law. The inheritance was divided evenly among sons, with unmarried sons receiving a larger portion to cover future marital expenses.

Socialization. Children learn to work beginning at an early age. By the age of 8 a boy is helping his father in most tasks, and a girl her mother. A high premium is placed on moral training.

Sociopolitical Organization

The community life of Orthodox and Armeno-Gregorian Udis is regulated by customary laws (*adat*). The churches also exercise an important authority, as did the czarist Russian government.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs and Practices. The Udis are Christians (Orthodox and Armeno-Gregorian), although they continue to observe many pagan practices. There are cults of saints (*pir*), the sun (*bïgh*; cf. the Udi word for "God," *bikhajukh*), the moon (the chief deity of Caucasian Albania), fire, the heart, and ancestors. The ruins of certain churches are considered especially sacred: Saint Elisey (named for a saint who preached Christianity to the Udis) and Saint Egishe Arakela (at which people of many different faiths worship).

Arts. As a result of assimilation a distinctive Udi folklore and folk music has not been preserved. At the beginning of the twentieth century some folk songs were still recalled, a few of which were recorded by the noted Caucasologist A. Dirr. At that time Udi tales, proverbs, and sayings were still known. In present-day Vartashen and Nij the Udis sing Azerbaijan and Armenian songs and Azerbaijan and Armenian tunes are played at their weddings. The young generation of Udis dwelling in Georgia know Georgian songs. Most dances are of Azerbaijan origin (*uzundara, shalakho*), and Georgian Udis dance the Georgian *lek'uri*.

Death and Afterlife. After death the body was traditionally washed and wrapped in a shroud; the gathered relatives and neighbors mourned, and a priest chanted the funeral rites. The dead person was brought out to the courtyard on a mattress and set on a special wooden stretcher, like a ladder, covered with silk clothes. The priest made the sign of the cross over the deceased, and all those present crossed themselves and gave gifts of money to the priest. The corpse was buried on the day following death. Four men carried the body to the church, where the funeral rites were sung, and then to the graveyard. The women thereupon returned home, and the men accompanied the body to the cemetery. After interment all gathered at the home of the deceased for a funeral banquet. Since food was not to be prepared in that house, each family brought pilaf, wine, and other food from their own homes. Memorial banquets were held on the seventh and fortieth days and the first anniversary after death. Mourning lasted forty days. Caucasian mourning practices, such as the wearing of black and letting one's beard grow out, were not obligatory. Nowadays only women closely related to the deceased wear black dresses, kerchiefs, and stockings; men affix a small photograph of the deceased to their clothing.

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(Translated by Kevin Tuite)

Udmurt

ETHNONYM: Votyak

Orientation

Identification. The Udmurt are an ethnic group who live primarily in the Udmurt Republic in Russia. The republic was formed in 1934 from the former Votyak Autonomous Territory (1920–1934). Udmurt means "meadowman."

Location. The Udmurt Republic is situated between the Vyatka and Kama rivers, to the east of Moscow. On the north and east it is bounded by Kirov Oblast, on the south by Tatarstan and on the southeast by Bashkirstan. Its area is 42,000 square kilometers. The climate is continental.

There is an abundance of rivers and streams (Cepca, Kilmez, Vala, Iz, Pozim) in the region, and 40 percent of the area is covered by forest, mainly by evergreens.

Demography. In the 1979 census, 713,000 people in the USSR listed themselves as Udmurt. According to official data, the Udmurt population, which was 421,000 in 1897, had increased to 514,000 by 1926, to 606,000 by 1939, and to 704,000 by 1969. In 1959 the population of the Udmurt Republic was 1,337,000, and 89 percent of the Udmurt people spoke their native language, whereas in 1979 the republic's population was 1,494,000 and only 76 percent of the above-mentioned 713,000 Udmurt spoke the Udmurt language.

Linguistic Affiliation. Udmurt belongs to the Permian Branch of the Finno-Ugric Language Family and is a typically agglutinative language with a considerable number of inflectional and derivational suffixes. The Uralic ancestor

language broke into divisions around 4000 B.C. The forebearers of the so-called Permian tribes (Komi-Syryenians, Komi-Permians and Udmurt) had lived together for about 2,500 years and only separated around the eighth and ninth centuries A.D., retaining strong relations after separation. This explains the similarity of the Permian languages, which share about 70 percent of their original vocabulary. Since becoming a separate language, Udmurt was influenced by the languages of the Chuvash and Tatars in the south and the Russians in the north. Present-day Udmurt has several minor and three major (Southern, Middle, and Northern) dialects. The literary language, which is in the process of establishment, is based on the Middle dialect, spoken mainly around Ivzevsk.

Language and Literature

Udmurt is written in the Cyrillic alphabet. From the fifteenth century on, Udmurt words appeared sporadically in Russian texts, especially in annuals. The first text written in the Udmurt language, a poem praising the czarina, appeared in 1767, and in 1775 a carefully printed Udmurt grammar was published in Russian in Kazan. From then until 1917 the Udmurt language grew and the number of printed Udmurt texts (religious publications, course books, etc.) reached over 200. After 1917, especially in the 1920s, this endeavor gained strength and provided the basis for establishing Udmurt literacy.

The father of Udmurt literature was the ethnologist, folklorist, and linguist Grigorij Verevsvcagin (1851–1930), who published his lullaby poem "Blue, Blue Little Dove" as a piece of folk poetry in 1889. Kedra Mitrej (1892–1949) founded Udmurt drama, with his *Evs Terek* in 1915; he was also the first to write Udmurt prose. After the Revolution he published a great number of significant writings in his native language. Well-known Udmurt poets include Gerd Kuzebaj (1898–1937) and Asvalcvi Oki (1898–1973). From the exciting and flourishing period of Udmurt literature that ended in 1938 two of the more talented prose writers were Mihail Konovalov (1905–1938) and Grigorij Medvedev (1904–1938). Between 1938 and 1956 artistic values could be expressed only at great personal risk. Despite these circumstances, Filipp Kedrov (1909–1944) and Pjotr Blinov (1913–1942) wrote significant and popular works that remain in print. Mihail Petrov (1905–1955) was the father of the classic Udmurt novel. At the same time, an outstanding man of letters, Ignatij Gavrilov (1912–1973), appeared on the literary scene, excelling in all genres but especially in drama. Two notable lyrical poets were Stepan Svirobokov (1912–1983) and Nikolai Baiterjakov (b. 1923); Their verse has its roots in Udmurt folklore. After the twentieth congress of the Russian Communist party (1956), Udmurt literature flourished again. Two representative figures from this era are Gennadij Krasilnikov (1928–1975), the pioneer of modern Udmurt prose, and Flor Vasil'ev (1934–1978), who removed the pathetic overtones of lyric poetry and brought it closer to everyday life.

History and Cultural Relations

Archaeological data indicate that the Udmurt have lived in the area of their present-day home since the ninth century A.D. Most of their settlements are on the banks of the rivers, and clans or families build their *kar-s* (castles, towns, nests) relatively far from one another. Udmurt society still bears the mark of the ancient clan organization, and most Udmurt feel that they belong to one of the approximately seventy clans that have been recorded by historians. The word "kar" has a common Permian root, as shown by the current names of the Komi-Syryenian town Syktyvkar and the Komi-Permyak capital, Kudymkar. For a short period in the early 1930s even the Udmurt capital, Ivzevsk, was called Ivzkar ("town by the river Iz'").

Until the middle of the thirteenth century the Udmurt were mainly occupied with fishing, hunting, beekeeping, limited trade and industry, livestock farming, and military campaigns to expand their territory. Their settlements were destroyed by the Mongolian-Tatar invasion. Some Udmurt shared the fate of other groups, becoming subjects of the conquerors, whereas others launched attacks on the tax and tribute collectors of the Tatar administration from their hiding places in remote parts of the forest.

In 1552 the Moscow-centered Russian Empire overthrew the Tatars by joining forces with the small ethnic groups in the Volga region and occupying Kazan. The above-mentioned ethnic groups—in the view of Russian historians—supported Moscow voluntarily and sought inclusion in the Russian Empire in 1558. This interpretation is incorrect in every detail except that the groups were included in the empire. It was this steadily expanding Russian imperial state, often referred to as "the prison of nations," that later became a part of the Soviet Union, including the Udmurt and their territory.

The Udmurt region, owing to its geographical advantages (navigable rivers) and natural resources (timber and mineral wealth), came under central administration, and only the Russian Orthodox church was permitted by the czar to establish cloisters and church estates. The industrialization of the region began relatively early, in the first half of the eighteenth century. Ironworks, shipyards, and sawmills were established in Votkinsk and Ivzevsk; the first workers were the local "state serfs," but increasing numbers of Russian serfs then settled in Udmurtsk. Most were people who had escaped from estates in neighboring provinces. At the sàme time, the proselytizing of the Orthodox church grew stronger and stronger and paralleled Russification efforts of the court administration. In spite of industrialization and centralized control, the standard of living remained low, even in the early twentieth century. The growing population of the local towns was almost totally Russian (with a small number of cultural institutions), and the Udmurt villages, most of them without schools, became more and more isolated. Agriculture was rather underdeveloped, and the Udmurt people, not aware of modernization possibilities, firmly preserved their traditions. They accepted Russian Orthodoxy only superficially; the majority of Udmurt remained unconverted even during Revolutionary times. It was this large unconverted population that afforded the czarist government a pretext to initiate one of the most infamous antiminority campaigns, the so-called Multan case of 1892–1896. Thanks to Korolenko's efficient interference, the attention of European countries was drawn to the plight of Udmurt peasants

charged with ritual murder, and the accused were acquitted.

By the first two decades of the twentieth century, small groups of Udmurt intellectuals had appeared, primarily teachers, priests, village notaries, and clerks, who took a leading role in forming an ethnic consciousness. What was later to become the Udmurt ASSR took shape with some genuine ethnic variety during the following fifteen years, although the hopes of a better life were soon destroyed. It took the Stalin regime only a few decades to accomplish all that the czarist policy had failed to achieve for centuries. Collectivization and the establishment of kolkhozy swept away the old villages, the towns lost their unique features, and the transformation of the Udmurt people into Soviet citizens progressed in schools and in the military. There were several purges of the old intelligentsia and the younger generations of modern thinkers. The Communist party, the local soviet, the police, the Komsomol, and the Pioneer Organization made their presences felt even in the most private corners of everyday life. These intrusions were reinforced by the continual propaganda of the mass media, delivered both in Udmurt and Russian. As with other ethnic groups, retention of their native language helped the Udmurt to survive, to adhere to traditions, to establish their literature, and to preserve their ethnic identity.

Economy

The Udmurt traditionally were agriculturalists; in 1897, 98.4 percent were peasant famers. The three-field rotation system and other systems, such as the more primitive slash-and-burn method, were then used. Under the Soviet system, farming was collectivized and mechanized with the main crops being rye, oats, wheat, barley, and buckwheat. Cattle raising and beekeeping were important secondary activities, and in suitable regions hunting, trapping, and fishing supplemented agricultural activities.

The region of the Udmurt is rich in iron, slate, copper, peat, sand, and other mineral resources. Industry, largely developed in the Soviet era, is concentrated on the production of steel and goods for local consumption.

Kinship, Marriage, and Family

Kinship and social organization in general revolve around the extensive clan system, the council of clan elders in each village called the *kenesh*, and a system of mutual assistance known as *veme*. Little is known of traditional Udmurt marriage and family life, although it is likely that the large, perhaps extended, farm families became smaller and nuclear in form under Soviet control.

Socialization. Teachers of Udmurt ethnicity have been trained since the second half of the nineteenth century in the Kazan Ethnic Teacher Training Institute. Several course books had been published in the Udmurt language before 1917, but the systematic study and evaluation of these is still to be accomplished. After 1917 an attempt was made in elementary education to increase use of the Udmurt language, even in the teaching of science, but, because there were not enough qualified teachers, bilingualism (Udmurt and Russian) became the typical policy in the newly established schools. Later the Udmurt language was gradually and purposefully pushed into the background and today is used only in the lower grades and in the teaching of Udmurt language and literature. In addition to an Udmurt Teacher's College founded in 1934, the Udmurt State University was established in 1970. Both provide schools with teachers of Udmurt.

Sociopolitical Organization

The Udmurt are often regarded as a people who strongly resisted both czarist and Communist rule, as indicated by political resistance in the villages and by the continued vitality of traditional religious beliefs and practices. Prior to Soviet rule, villages were governed by a village council called the kenesh, composed of the clan elders of the village. Even in the kohlkozy, the kenesh remained influential and a major source of resistance to Soviet control.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs and Practices. The Udmurt people's respect for their traditions is demonstrated by their long adherence to their ancient religion and mythology. In the villages, some information about their beliefs can still be collected, especially from elderly people. Their twofold, anthropomorphized mythology, which is based on nature, took its shape in Permian times; in later centuries it was enriched by only a few Muslim and Orthodox elements concerning certain persons, customs, and objects. Their supreme god is Inmar (corresponding to the Finnish Ilmarinen), and the personified evil is called Sajtan (which is a later loanword). Forests, waters, houses, and even barns have their own spirits, whose names include the word *murt* (man).

The most prominent person at feasts is the *tuno* (wise man) who, despite some slight differences, is much like a shaman. The secret locale for ritual sacrifices is a clearing in the forest, the *keremet* (or *lud*). The clans and, later, the kindred families had their own lares and penates, a household sanctuary, and even an altar. Family and public holidays were regulated by strict rules in accord with the rhythm of everyday life activities and the seasons.

Arts. In Udmurt folklore, Turkish (especially Tatar) and then Slavic (primarily Russian) features were integrated into the original Finno-Ugrian (Permian) traditions. Two general types of folklore can be distinguished: the Southern quatrains with fixed rhythm, rhymes, and parallel structures, which bear the marks of Turkish influence, and the Northern songs, which are longer and freer in form and content. These, often improvised, have much in common with the music of other Finno-Ugrians. Folktales and legends are also popular, although the former have lost much of their Udmurt flavor and now differ only in minor ways from other typically European themes and motifs. The legends retain more references to both the Udmurt past and present. Classic historical legends recount wars between different clans and their leaders and between the Udmurt and neighboring ethnic groups (Cheremis and invading Tatars). There were also many legends about clashes with the Russians, but all traces of these were removed by the official cultural policy. There remain a great number of local legends, focusing on the past and the gen-

esis of a settlement, a stream, a hill, or a rock. The tales and legends draw on Udmurt mythology, the vitality of which could not be blunted by Orthodoxy or the later Soviet regime. There are many individual motifs in the less well-known genres (proverbs, riddles, and dramatic customs).

The first Udmurt amateur theater companies were formed after the Revolution and—especially in villages—were essentially vehicles for popularizing new political ideas. The first permanent Udmurt theater with trained actors and directors was established in 1934.

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PÉTER DOMOKOS

Uighur

ETHNONYMS: Uigur, Uyghur

Orientation

Identification. The Uighur, a Central Asian ethnic group of the former Soviet Union, are a distinct ethnic group, although unlike larger Central Asian nationalities (such as Uzbek, Kazakh, or Kyrgyz), they are not identified with an autonomous republic. In 1921 the Uighur were officially recognized as a Soviet nationality during the All-Uighur Congress in Tashkent. An official Uighur district (*raion*) was established in the Republic of Kazakhstan. Uighur comprise the largest minority in China's Xinjiang Province.

Location. The Uighur reside in Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and Kyrgyzstan, with a smaller number in Turkmenistan and Tajikistan. The Uighur inhabit two main areas of these Central Asian republics: Semirechie in Kazakhstan and Farghana, a territory shared by Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan. Semirechie and Farghana exhibit a great range of microclimatic variation. In Semirechie, sandy deserts to the north and northwest are interspersed with meadows and lush forests along the Ili River. Southeastern foothills give way to hardwood forests, then spruce forests and alpine meadows along the slopes of the northern Tianshan and Dzungarian Alatau mountains (south and southeast). In Farghana, landscapes vary from desert and oasis to foothills and high mountains with glaciers. Climate tends toward dry and continental, and temperatures vary according to elevation.

Demography. The Uighur, with a population of 210,602 in 1979 (up from 173,276 in 1970), were one of the smaller Soviet Central Asian nationalities. In China, however, with a population of approximately 7 million, the Uighur are the predominant Central Asian nationality. According to 1990 estimates, the Uighur population in the former USSR rose to approximately 300,000 (with about 200,000 in Kazakhstan).

In earlier decades (1925 to 1959), the Uighur population actually declined (108,570 to 95,208). This phenomenon resulted from the assimilation of many Uighur in Uzbekistan into the Uzbek nationality, an ethnic group with a similar language and culture. In 1970, 23,942 the Uighur resided in Uzbekstan, 120,881 in Kazakhstan, and 24,872 in Kirghizia, with 3,581 in Tadzhikistan and Turkmenia combined. Although the majority of the Uighur population lives in rural villages, over 50,000 Uighur reside in urban areas (Alma-Ata, 29,618; Frunze, 11,548; and Tashkent, 9,353) (1970 figures).

Linguistic Affiliation. The Uighur language has been classified as belonging to the Southeastern or Eastern ("Turki") Subgroup of Turkic languages. The northern dialect has come to represent the official Soviet Uighur language. The transliteration of Uighur was changed from modified Arabic script to romanization in 1928, but as of 1947, Soviet Uighur has been written in the Cyrillic script.

History and Cultural Relations

The Uighur were an ancient confederation of Turkic tribes that united in the sixth century ("Uighur" means "union") and established a khanate south of Lake Baikal (Mongolia) in A.D. 740. It maintained political and military alliances with the Tang dynasty in neighboring China. Trade and marital relations were forged as well, with Uighur princesses often marrying Chinese rulers. In 840 the Uighur Kingdom was conquered by the Kirghiz, another Turkic group. In the successive years, the original Uighur population dispersed south and west, often mixing with local populations. One group of Uighur likely became absorbed into the Chinese Empire, whereas another migrated south to became directly antecedent to the Yugur (Yellow Uighur) of China's Gansu Province.

Many Uighur migrated southwest to the desert-oasis regions north of the Tarim Basin (Xinjiang Province, China). Near Turfan and Kucha they reestablished a kingdom increasingly based on agriculture and trade. Even as its political power declined, art, music, and religion flourished. Uighur established a new script based on the Sogdian writing system (an old Iranian dialect). Buddhism was adopted, along with Nestorian Christianity and Zoroastrianism, but the original state religion of Manicheanism was maintained.

Some Turkic groups, among them possibly Uighur, settled among the indigenous Iranian population in the Kashgar oasis region, southwest of the Tarim Basin. This area became absorbed into the Islamicized Kharakhanid domain during the tenth to thirteenth centuries. Kashgar became an important Islamic center of learning, influenced by Arabic and Persian civilizations.

In the early thirteenth century, the Buddhist Uighur Kingdom to the north voluntarily submitted to Chinggis (Genghis) Khan's rule. Uighur administrators, advisers, and accountants subsequently became influential in the Mongol Empire. During the Chagatay dynasty ruled by Chinggis's offspring (mid-thirteenth century), the entire Tarim Basin area became united and absorbed under the Islamic aegis. The Uighur name, but not its script or language, virtually disappeared for approximately 500 years. Inhabitants of this oasis region, now known as China's Xinjiang Province (formerly Eastern Turkistan), called themselves according to local or regional affiliations: "Turfanlik" (person of Turfan), "Kashgarlik," "Aqsulik," "Yarkandlik," and "Khotanlik," among others. Alternately, they were known by occupation: "Taranchi" (farmer) or "Sart" (merchant). In the 1600s the Chinese Empire established control of Eastern Turkistan during the Qing (Manchu) dynasty. During rebellions against the Qing in the 1860s, several independent khanates were briefly formed. In 1881 the czarist government annexed the Ili region along the Sino-Russian border from the weakened Qing government. When the Ili region was returned to China after ten years, thousands of inhabitants of Eastern Turkistan migrated across the Russian border. The czarist government offered them citizenship, land, and exemption from taxes for ten years. In 1921, during the establishment of the multinational Soviet state, the Uighur name was revived to unite Kashgarlik, Taranchi, and others into a single ethnic identity.

Settlements

In Kazakhstan, the Uighur have settled an area that forms an almost uninterrupted belt in the Alma-Ata Oblast. In Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan, the Uighur live in scattered areas interspersed among the indigenous populations. In the Soviet period, Uighur kolkhoz settlements, often several hundred farmsteads, tended to cluster together according to original Uighur residence patterns, and quarters or villages were modeled after former settlements in China's Xinjiang Province. Although original village boundaries were retained, Uighur kolkhozy have been internally restructured. Formerly, mosques and bazaars dominated the center of town or village. Now administrative buildings, along with farmsteads, clubs, agricultural stores, schools, and other cultural establishments line the streets.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. For centuries, Uighur subsistence was oriented toward oasis agriculture. In czarist and early Soviet periods the Uighur played a key role in developing agriculture, as well as urbanization, in formerly nomadic areas of Kazakhstan. The Uighur engage in both irrigated agriculture in desert regions and dry agriculture in the uplands. Crops include a great variety of grain and produce. In Uzbekistan, cotton has come to dominate much of the local economy, whereas in Kazakhstan animal husbandry has become a key element in the Uighur economy. Uighur meals were traditionally spread on the *dasturkhan*, a tablecloth laden with fruit, sweets, nuts, and breads, a repast particularly associated with festive occasions. This was followed by lamb and beef dishes, including pilaf.

Industrial Arts. Uighur craft tradition derives from the legacy of medieval guilds in Central Asia, in which specialists in various applied arts were trained. In the late 1800s artisans migrating to Russia settled in towns and urban areas such as Yarkand or Panfilov (Kazakhstan) and Andijian and Osh (Ferghana Valley). Tailors, hatmakers, cobblers, blacksmiths, jewelers, bakers, and barbers set up workshops quartered in the bazaars. Under the Soviet government, Uighur artisans of urban areas were united into trade artels, which became the basis for local industry. With the development of light industry, certain crafts and trades (e.g., silk manufacture) diminished in importance. Garments of tie-died silk (*atles*), a fashion traditionally popular among both Uighur and Uzbek women, continue to be produced and sold at state-run stores, but such products are often inferior to traditional handicrafts and goods marketed by local cooperatives.

Trade. In addition to developing agriculture, the early Uighur and other Central Asian peoples became merchants along the Silk Road, which linked Byzantium and Persia to China. Today trade exists on a much smaller scale. Although bazaars no longer dominate the center of town, as in pre-Soviet days, local open-air markets nevertheless do a flourishing business. In Alma-Ata, periodic trade fairs feature Uighur crafts, snacks, and musical performances set up in pastel-colored tents inspired by Kazakh yurts.

Division of Labor. Many crafts and trades have been traditionally monopolized by males, but females have engaged in specific industries such as embroidery, making patterned felt, and weaving rugs. In more solidly Islamic Uzbekistan, women are surrounded by traditional role models of female propriety. In Kazakhstan, however, Uighur women are often encouraged to pursue higher education and white-collar jobs.

Land Tenure. In oasis areas, water rather than land was traditionally subject to inheritance. After the Uighur migrated to Russia, systems of land tenure and water rights were subject to a great deal of flux until collectivization.

Kinship, Marriage, and Family

Kin Groups and Descent. As in other Central Asian family systems influenced by Islam, the patrilineal principle of kinship has prevailed. Polygamy traditionally could occur, but monogamy prevailed. Unlike some other groups that follow old Turkic prohibitions against marriage to close kin, Uighur have often favored vicinal marriage or village endogamy. Among the Uighur of Uzbekistan, however, a divergent trend of out-marriage to Uzbeks has occurred.

Kinship Terminology. Within the extended family, relationships are often categorized according to relative age group. For instance, older brother (*aka*) is distinguished from younger brother (*uka*) and elder sister (*apa*) from younger sister (*singil*). Certain relatives are given terms of respect and endearment in addition to more formal titles: aunt (*apa*) and uncle (*togha*) are also called "little mother" (*kichik apa*) and "little father" (*kichik dada*).

Marriage. Soviet attempts to secularize wedding ceremonies have evolved into celebrations that combine official state ceremony with traditional celebration (music, dance, and feasting).

Domestic Unit. Older-style farmhouses in the kolkhoz often accommodate extended families, including sons and their wives, who live in adjoining units around a courtyard. Contemporary apartments with several rooms frequently house a nuclear family, although relatives often live nearby.

Inheritance. Before collectivization, property was equally divided among the sons.

Socialization. Deference and respect are paid according to relative age-rank in the family. Female roles are confused by often conflicting influences of Islam (which traditionally favored isolation of women) and Soviet policy.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Unlike Central Asian nomadic and seminomadic groups, the Uighur have lost all sense of tribal and clan association. Social organization and identity among the former Soviet Uighur differ according to regional ties (and, to some extent, class affiliation). The northern Uighur, living in Semirichie, retain a stronger sense of Uighur identity. Intellectuals of this region have promoted ethnic unity with the Uighur across the Chinese border. On the other hand, southern Uighur often identify with a Muslim, Turkic, or Turkistani social group rather than a specifically Uighur one. Such social ties relate to current residence patterns, as well as older affiliations. Whereas southern Uighur have been assimilated to a large extent by the Uzbeks, northern Uighur, living in more isolated groups near the Chinese border, retain a stronger sense of ethnic identity. Such divergence may be influenced by older cleavages as well: southern Uighur were more completely integrated into the Islamic aegis, whereas northern Uighur retained a separate identity (if closely linked to the Chinese and Mongol empires) for a longer period.

Political Organization. Although the Uighur are not identified with a national territory (except for the Uighur National District of Kazakhstan), several official institutions demonstrate evidence of Uighur autonomy. Five newspapers are published, including *Kommunizm tughi* (Communist Flag), *Yengi hayat* (New Life), and *Bizning watan* (Our Homeland). A Uighur linguistic department and Uighur institute were established (1949 and 1969) in the Kazakh Academy of Sciences. The Institute for Uighur Studies was established in Alma-Ata in 1980 as a separate entity. The Uighur are the only nontitular nationality group in Kazakhstan to be granted a special language school.

The evolution of the (former) Soviet Uighur nationality indicates two alternate and sometimes contradictory trajectories, which were promoted at various periods by Soviet policy: merging (*sblizhenie*) and fragmentation. Yet assimilation among Central Asian groups, as with the Uighur with Uzbeks, may precipitate pan-Islamicism or pan-Turkism. Alternately, promoting distinct nationalities, while allowing for a "divide-and-rule" program, may engender ethnic separatism or interethnic conflict.

Social Control. After the Soviet system prevailed, the influence of Sharia (Islamic law) and *adat* (customary practice) courts were gradually undercut and replaced by Soviet courts. Today, an unofficial system of community coercion operates to sanction social and religious activity, such as persuading young people to participate in Islamic rituals.

Conflict. Modern Uighur history is fraught with border conflict involving both Soviet and Chinese governments. During the period of economic and political turmoil of the Chinese Communist "Great Leap Forward" in the late 1950s and early 1960s, thousands of Uighur fled to the Soviet Union. As Sino-Soviet relations deteriorated in the 1960s, propaganda wars raged on both sides of the border, each attempting to discredit the other's policies while wooing Uighur and Kazakhs. During recent uprisings (1980s–1990s) among Soviet Islamic groups, the Chinese government has become increasingly concerned about the influence of Soviet rebellions on its own Uighur and other Turkic ethnicities. Thus, the Uighur minority, despite its small size, may remain an important consideration, as the former Soviet republics and China carve out policies with respect to ethnic protest and religious or political conflict. The degree of disaffection among Uighur and related Turkic or Islamic groups will also be influenced, to some extent, by the policies of Middle Eastern countries such as Iran and Turkey and their relation to the former Soviet Central Asian republics. The Uighur Institute in Alma-Ata is involved in researching moral and political questions

that play into conflict within the Middle East as well as the Soviet Union. While eschewing Islamic fundamentalism, it advocates the development of Islamic religious principles among the Uighur.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Several religious traditions influenced the emerging Uighur Kingdom. Buddhism was introduced into Central Asia during the first century B.C. During the following centuries, Zoroastrianism, an Indo-Iranian religion based on the duality of light and dark, and Nestorianism, a Gnostic sect of Christianity, spread throughout much of Central Asia. Such religions coexisted in the region for centuries, but Manicheanism was adopted as the official state religion of the Uighur in 762.

The Manichean religion combined aspects of Zoroastrian, Nestorian, and Buddhist traditions. Like Zoroastrianism, its cosmology centered on the struggle between the dualities of light and dark, associated with good and evil. As in Gnostic Christianity, the soul, which was imprisoned in darkness, sought reunification with Light. As in Buddhism, the soul traveled through successive stages of reincarnation in this journey.

Although Manicheanism was practiced by the elite for several centuries, other religions persisted and prevailed among the Uighur. Shamanism, a religion which called upon spirits of nature for healing and divine intervention, continued to hold sway among the populace. By the time the Uighur Kingdom was reestablished in the Turfan oasis region to the southwest, Buddhism had eclipsed Manicheanism as the state religion.

By the tenth century, however, following the expansion of the Arab Empire, Islam made inroads into eastern Central Asia, and by the fifteenth century, Islam superseded other belief systems or gained a stronghold throughout Central Asia. After the Uighur migrated to the Soviet Union from China, their superficial acceptance of Islam intensified. The majority of the Uighur are Sunni Muslims of the Hanafi branch, but some are adherents of Sufistic sects. In recent years, large numbers of Uighur from the People's Republic of China have been making the hajj to Mecca and other sites sacred to Islam.

Religious Practitioners. Despite the all-encompassing influence of Islam, pre-Islamic practices persisted under Islam. In fact, the Central Asian cult of saints (*mazar*) attests to shamanistic influence. Shamanism, common throughout Inner and Central Asia before the influx of Buddhism and Islam, revered holy places and objects as manifestations of the divine. Among the Uighur, Islamic mullahs and shamans alike were called upon to perform healing trances. During some pre-Soviet rituals, the shaman circled around a rope suspended from the ceiling while uttering Quranic passages and other chants. Afterward, the healer would beat the patient's body with a dead chicken, in an attempt to transfer the evil spirit to the bird.

Ceremonies. During the 1960s and 1970s, the Soviet Union conducted widespread campaigns to replace religious celebrations with secular ritual. Muslim celebrations, such as Qorban (Great Sacrifice of Abraham) and Roza (the fast of Ramadan), were downplayed but (sometimes) carried on unofficially. For a period there was a largely unsuccessful attempt to merge the pre-Islamic new year's holiday of Nawruz with the Soviet secular new-year celebration.

Arts. The Uighur, whether through indirect legacy or direct history, claim a long tradition of achievement in the plastic and performing arts. In the oasis kingdom near Turfan, cave paintings featured Buddhist dieties, princesses, and noblemen. After Islam gained influence and discouraged direct depiction of human and animal figures, decorative art prevailed. Plaster carving and embroidery alike featured geometric forms, arabesques, and plant motifs. Although few examples of Uighur architecture exist in the former Soviet Union, the delicate decorative work is prevalent in China's Kashgar. Pomegranates, flower buds and vines, and interlaced tendrils carved in panels are among the most popular designs. Blue, aqua, saffron, and white are the most popular hues, rendered on plaster, tile, and wood. A wider range of colors (including bright red) and naturalistic flower and landscape motifs often derives from Chinese or Western influences of the past few centuries. Whereas applied arts are minimally developed among the Soviet Uighur, they flourish in China's Uighur community of Kashgar. Dozens of embroidery styles on caps formerly varied with locale but now seem to be merely identified with gender: delicate white stitchery on a green background or embroidery of moons and arabesques on black (male caps) contrast with elaborate beadwork on purple velvet, needlework in a multihued patchwork mosaic, and flower designs in metallic fabric (female caps).

Modern Uighur literature ranges from short stories, essays, and love poetry to epic folk legends (*dastans*), historical-heroic songs and oral narratives, proverbs, and riddles. Drama is a flourishing genre as well, with a separate Uighur theater housed in Alma-Ata, where musical (or dance-drama) and spoken plays are performed. The Uighur trace the beginnings of their literary tradition to the seventh to eighth centuries, with the runic inscriptions of the Orkhon texts in southern Siberia. These ancient Turkic epigraphs include the Moyun-Churu text, which mentions the emergence of the ancient Uighur state.

Uighur literary tradition combines two separate historical trajectories/legacies. The northern oasis area of eastern Central Asia, adjacent to the Chinese Empire and Mongol region, was heavily influenced by Buddhism, Manicheanism, and Nestorianism. In the tenth century, Buddhist writings such as the *Sutras of the Golden Luster* were translated from Sanskrit into the old Uighur script, which was derived from Sogdian (an ancient language of eastern Iran). Poetry, narrative plays, and the epic of Oghuznama, a tale common in northwestern Turkic-speaking areas, were also prevalent.

The classical tradition of Uighur literature that developed in the south in the following centuries reflects a strong Islamic influence. Many of these works were written in Chagatay, a medieval Turkic language written in script derived from Arabic. Foremost among such works is Mahmud Kashgari's *Dictionary of Turkic Dialects* of the eleventh century. Other important works include didactic and ethical poetic writings, including Yusuf Khass Hajib'e Balasaghuni's "Knowledge Which Gives Happiness" of the

eleventh century and Iagnaki's "The Gift of Reasons" of the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. Medieval Uighur literature includes Islamic religious (devotional) works and legends as well: Rabghuzi's *Tales of the Prophets* of the fourteenth century and *Oghuzname* (Legend of Oghuz Kagan) of the fifteenth century. In the fifteenth century, the Timurid Turkic poet and philosopher Alishir Nowai, now claimed by Uzbeks as well as by Uighurs, based epic poems on the Irano-Central Asian love stories of Leyla and Majnun and Farhad and Shirin.

In the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries, in spite of political decline throughout Central Asia, lyric genres such as the *ghazal* and *gasida* flourished. In addition to themes of heroism, romantic imagery was popular. Motifs of the beloved and lover alternately expressed earthly love and divine union, a Sufistic theme. Famous poetic works of these centuries include "Muhabbatnama we Mihnetkame" (Love and Bitterness Intertwined) by Hirkit, "Wandering" by Nowbit, "Gul we Bulbul" (The Rose and the Nightingale) by Shah Yari, and "Muhbbatnama" (Love Letter) by Molla Abdureyim. In the nineteenth century Uighur literature included songs of resistance as well as tales of love.

Uighur classical music, influenced by Persian and Arabic musical theory (al-Farabi), features the *Twelve Mugam*, an elaborate suite of over 120 songs, interludes, and so forth. Folk music varies according to occasion, and varied folk genres are associated with the *meshrep* (informal gatherings of music and activity, often held during the evening) and *toy* (weddings and other celebrations). Official and informal organizations alike promote musical and dance performances. Young people who receive training from specialists in Tashkent join the Uighur Musical (Comic) Drama Theater in Kazakhstan and smaller ensembles. In Alma-Ata Oblast, "Uighur Cultural Days," attended by Uighur, Kazakhs, and Russians alike, feature musical performances and staged events. The Uighur Theater in Alma-Ata offers performances of Western drama translated into Uighur (including plays by Shakespeare and Molière), as well as time-honored Central Asian and Persian classics (the tale of Laila and Majnun). Weekly Uighur television programs aired in Alma-Ata include comic vignettes and musical performances by Uighur pop singers. Such song-and-dance numbers, which feature bucolic scenes and coy lovers, borrow heavily from Indian musical cinema, which is popular in Uzbekistan.

Medicine. Classical medicine was influenced not only by folk cures, but by Islamic and Greek philosophy and science. In the seventeenth century, Imaddidin Kashgari and his disciples advanced surgery, skin and eye treatment, and medical research.

Death and Afterlife. Traditional Uighur beliefs about death and afterlife have been influenced to a large extent by Islam. After a death, Quranic prayers are chanted, and the body is cleansed and wrapped in white gauze. The tombs of Islamic holy men are revered as sacred places. Islamic practices continue to provide a vital link among members of Uighur communities.

See also Uigur in Part Two, China

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HILDA EITZEN

Ukrainian Peasants

ETHNONYMS: none

Orientation

Ukraine is the land of the chernozem (black soil) and the breadbasket of the former Soviet Union. Because of the Ukraine's rich agricultural resources, the peasantry was the majority (75 percent) of its population prior to the Soviet Socialist Revolution. The peasantry of the Ukraine and the population in general were greatly reduced subsequently. Stalinist collectivization policies hit the Ukraine with particular force and led to the famine of the early 1930s. The population was further eroded by German occupation during World War II. Industrialization, spurred by the Ukraine's rich mineral resources, has encouraged a population shift from rural to urban areas, especially after World War II. Nonetheless, the peasantry remains an important part of Ukrainian life and constitutes approximately 50 percent of the total population. Furthermore, rural life has remained the Ukrainian ideal, both among the inhabitants of Soviet Ukraine and Ukrainians living in the diaspora. Rural life symbolizes Ukrainian identity, in part, because, prior to the Revolution, nonrural occupations were predominantly in the hands of ethnic minorities. Also, the states that held political power over the Ukraine—the Rus-

sian Empire and, later, the Soviet Union—liked to portray it as a backward, rural area and encouraged scholarly interest in ethnography and artistic expression through bucolic themes.

Demography. Of the agricultural regions of Ukraine, the most densely populated is the central, forest-steppe region, which has the best conditions for agriculture, namely the chernozem and sufficient moisture. This has long been the most densely populated region, the highest population density being in the western part (Chernivitsi Oblast, Vinnystia, and Ternopil). The rural population is less dense in the northern belt, where conditions are swampy, and even less so in the steppe to the south (the Crimea, Kherson), where conditions are unfavorably dry.

Settlements

Approximately half of the rural population lives in villages of 1,000 to 5,000 people. Smaller villages characterize the forest belt and the mountain regions. On the left bank of the Dnieper River and also in the Kuban and the steppe, village size may be up to 10,000 inhabitants. In the forest-steppe regions settlements tend to be near rivers and in slight depressions to protect them from the wind. In the Carpathians and Podilia settlements are usually in valleys. In Polissia dwellings are located further from rivers, on higher, drier ground. The most common type is the irregular clustered village found in the forest-steppe and the steppe. It may have a central square or street from which side streets extend in an irregular fashion. The next most common is the ribbon village with houses side by side down one street and fields in long belts, usually at right angles to the road. The chain village is an irregular version of the ribbon village. Houses are also arranged down one street, but the spaces between them are variable. The regular or grid village is characteristic of southern Ukraine and of settlements established since the nineteenth century. It is arranged in a square or rectangle with regular spacing between the streets. *Khutir* is the term for an isolated, one-family settlement. Both World War II and collectivization have had little effect on village layout. Villages destroyed during the war were rebuilt according to old patterns; as for collectivization, the usual approach was to have one village become one collective farm, although some consolidation of smaller villages did occur. The most noticeable effects of collectivization in terms of village layout are that buildings such as tractor sheds, processing or storage facilities, and other communal-use structures were added on to the village outskirts.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. The Ukrainian peasant economy depends primarily on agriculture, supplemented by fishing, hunting, beekeeping, and the gathering of berries, mushrooms, and other wild foodstuffs. Although most households kept cows for milk and oxen for use as draft animals and may also have kept sheep and pigs, animal husbandry was an important market activity only in the western and the steppe regions. (It is currently important in the west only.) The principal crops are wheat, rye, millet, barley, oats, and, more recently, potatoes, buckwheat, maize, beans, lentils, peas, poppy seeds, turnips, hemp, and flax. Garden vegetables include garlic, onions, beets, cabbages, cucumbers, melons, pumpkins, watermelons, and radishes. Hops, tobacco, and grapes are also cultivated, as are fruit and nut trees. The normal eating routine is to have four meals a day: breakfast, dinner at noon, a small afternoon meal at 4 P.M., and supper. The diet consists of dark rye bread, various porridges, soups, and fish and fruit when these are available. Meat is holiday fare; the usual pattern is to slaughter an animal before a holiday, eat some of the meat during the festival, and preserve the rest by curing and making sausages. The fire in the hearth is considered extremely important. Once lit, it is not permitted to be extinguished. The embers are fired up each morning for the baking of bread. When this is complete, the other foods to be eaten that day are cooked.

Industrial Arts and Trade. A variety of crafts and trades were practiced. These include carpentry, coppering, tanning and harness making, pottery, weaving, and embroidery. Ukraine is widely known for its embroidery and is nearly as esteemed for its weaving, pottery, and carved and inlaid woodwork. Embroidery has long been emblematic of Ukraine. There are indications that professionalization in this field occurred early, with certain women specializing in embroidery and selling their work to their fellow villagers or letting them copy designs. Actual commercialization was begun at the end of the nineteenth century by the Poltava County self-government. After World War I, embroidery was taken on by worker cooperatives. State folk-art workshops opened in 1934. Currently, the chief centers for production are Kaimianets-Podolskyi, Vinnytsia, Zhytomyr, Kiev, Chernihiv, Poltava, Kharkiv, Odessa, Dnipropetrovsk, Lwiw, Kosiv, and Chernivitsi.

Pottery has been characteristic of Ukraine since prehistory, as evidenced by the earthenware found in Trypillian excavations. Contemporary folk pottery is found in the areas of the best clays: Polilia, Poltava, Polisia, Podlachia, Chernihiv, Kiev, Kharkiv, Bukovina, and Transcarpathia. Glass painting, the production of a picture on the reverse of a sheet of glass, is experiencing a revival in western Ukraine. Ukrainian wax-resist dyed Easter eggs, *pysanky*, are also famous. These are decorated with geometric, floral, and animal motifs. The tradition of decorating eggs experienced a decline owing to the atheist policies of the Soviet system but is being rapidly revived now and is drawing on the Ukrainian diaspora for information on design and technique.

Division of Labor. The usual Slavic division of labor—inside (female)/outside (male)—was less characteristic of Ukrainians than of neighboring Slavic peoples. In Cossack families, this is probably because the male household head was absent for extended periods of time, leaving his wife and children to run the farmstead alone. Thus, women participated in the cultivation of field crops much more extensively than elsewhere, with the harvest especially being considered women's work. Collectivization was effective in the Ukraine: initial bitter resistance was counteracted by force and dissipated by the ensuing famine. Division of labor on the collective farm follows Russian patterns. Both contemporary anecdotes and statistics indicate that a new division of labor has arisen: jobs are as-

signed by gender, not according to degree of heavy physical labor involved, but by degree of technical expertise believed necessary, the technologically advanced jobs going to the men.

Kinship, Marriage, and Family

Although weddings and other life-cycle rites indicate the prior existence of extended-family patterns of social organization, the nuclear family was the norm from the time of extensive ethnographic work in the nineteenth century and has continued to be so. The reasons that Ukrainians were less dependent on large family units than their neighbors include favorable agricultural conditions, which permit the economic survival of smaller groups of workers, and the proliferation of the Cossacks and their way of life as the model for everything from clothing to family life. The importance of ancestors and the likely existence of a prior ancestor cult is indicated by the honoring of the dead in almost all yearly cycle rites, including the ritual meal eaten on family graves on the Sunday after Easter. Ancestors are treated as a general category rather than specific persons in a family's past. Godparenthood is important and bears the same incest taboos as biological relationships. Godparents are usually honored relatives of the father, but may be anyone in the village, one custom being that, in cases of difficult conception or birth, the first people encountered after the birth should be invited as godparents.

Marriage and childbearing are still extremely important markers of adulthood. Birth now usually occurs in a clinic. In the past, although protective magic was practiced during pregnancy and childbirth, the mother was not confined either before or after birth, and the actual birth did not occur in any specific place. The house was the desired location, with the welcoming of the newborn including not only his or her introduction to the family, but also an introduction to the house (by touching the infant to the roof beam and the stove). Where baptism is still practiced, the child is christened by the godparents immediately after birth because it is considered unsafe to nurse the baby otherwise. The mother was expected to work through pregnancy, so there are numerous reports of births occurring in the fields. The mother was also supposed to return to work soon after delivery, leaving the baby to be cared for by his or her grandparents or older siblings. Current practice is a mixture of tradition and Soviet policy, with work continuing through pregnancy but with more of a tendency to take permitted leave after delivery. The desire for children is attested in a number of ways, including the prevalence of fertility magic. There are remnants of a belief in conception as ingestion, and certain foods, such as eggs and powdered pussy willows, are supposed to enhance fertility. Since World War II abortion has become increasingly common and, as elsewhere in the former Soviet Union, is the primary means of birth control.

Marriage. Age of marriage was and has remained quite young—late teens or early twenties. Formal matchmaking by representatives of the prospective bride and groom (*svaty*) was preceded by courtship, usually various meetings and activities arranged by the heads of the respective male (*parubotski*) and female (*divotski*) groups. The wedding itself is a complicated affair with a special wedding cake (*korovai*), a "bachelor party" for the bride and her female friends, numerous exchanges of gifts and food between the groom's family and that of the bride, and ritual expressions of antagonism between the two sides. The wedding was supposed to last a week, with all of the village invited, and even now may last three days. The upsurge of nationalist feeling in Ukraine has found expression in attempts to revive traditional wedding customs.

Domestic Unit. The basic unit now is the nuclear family, incorporated into the community of the collective farm. There are indications that a similar arrangement existed prior to collectivization with families in a single village sharing pasturelands and having villagewide brotherhoods and sisterhoods of unmarried youths.

Inheritance. Inheritance is a moot question in a Soviet Ukrainian village. Prior to collectivization, Ukrainian inheritance was subject to the same laws as elsewhere in the Russian Empire, namely, women were permitted to inherit property as of the late nineteenth century. Traditional patterns of inheritance were that land and cattle were passed through the male line. Women owned all of their jewelry, which they passed on to daughters. They also controlled all of the cloth and other household items that they brought to the marriage.

Socialization. Respect for parents and adults in general is taught by everything from games to songs. Corporal punishment is used, although shaming and withdrawal of affection are important means of discipline. The attitude toward work is interesting, excessive industriousness being considered indicative of avarice, and thus avoided.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs and Practices. Ukraine is nominally atheist. Ukrainian Orthodoxy was traditionally the religion of the eastern portion of the country and Uniate Catholicism was the religion of the west. The current political situation has fostered a great upsurge of religious feeling. Interestingly, whereas Orthodoxy was identified with independence at the time of Bohdan Khmelnytsky, Uniate Catholicism is serving that function now. Because Russia is Orthodox and the Orthodox church is the one legally sanctioned for Ukraine, expressions of nationalist feeling have centered around efforts to reestablish the legal standing of the Uniate Church.

The most important religious holiday is Easter, followed by Christmas. A rich and highly developed system of pagan belief has survived and partially blended with Christianity. Some of its most interesting manifestations are Christmastime mumming (Malanka) and fortune-telling; ceremonial treatment of sheafs of grain throughout the year; and summertime rites around Trinity Sunday (Zelene Sviata) and the feast of Saint John the Baptist (Ivan Kupalo), which include the honoring of vegetation by bringing it into the house, fire magic, and the sacrifice of a doll or decorated tree. These rites survived into the present in part because of Soviet encouragement of the pagan aspect of calendary rites as a substitute for Christian festivities and in part because of nationalist attempts to revive things considered indigenously Ukrainian. One manifesta-

tion of this revival was the celebration of the first public Malanka in Lwiw for New Year 1988.

The Ukrainian peasant believed in a whole pantheon of spirits: those of the forest, of field and stream, and of the various buildings of the farmstead (the house, the barn, the bathhouse). Often referred to as demons, these are actually helpful spirits that were relegated to the realm of the "unclean force" after the introduction of Christianity. One of the most interesting of the spirits is the mermaid, *rusalka* or *mavka*, a female being, usually the spirit of a drowned maiden, who, although dangerous, is said to bring moisture to the fields and to ensure crop fertility. The rusalka may well be a remnant of early matrifocal beliefs.

The primary religious practitioner is the village priest. In the case of the various spirits, however, safe contact is made by women, usually those in a liminal position; a man's seeing a spirit is an omen of misfortune or impending death.

Arts. Besides the rich tradition of embroidery and other tactile arts, Ukrainian culture has a highly developed tradition of oral literature. Folktales, folk songs, folk drama, proverbs, riddles, and numerous other genres have been extensively collected since the nineteenth century. Of special note is the Ukrainian epic tradition, *dumy*, and the professional performers who sang epic, along with other genres, the *kobzari* and *lirnyky*. These performers were blind mendicants organized into semireligious professional guilds.

Medicine. Current medical practices are a combination of the traditional and the modern. Babies are still routinely swaddled. Herbal medicine is very widely practiced, both to prevent illness and to cure ailments. Knowledge of the substances to use for common illnesses is virtually universal. More specialized knowledge of herbs is in the hands of *znakhari*, learned women and men.

Death and Afterlife. With remnants of the cult of ancestors being as widespread as they are, death was not viewed as a tragedy, but a natural process; the deceased was seen as leaving on a journey to the world of the dead and provided accordingly with food and coins. People who died in old age were dressed in their wedding clothes or a shroud. Those who died young, before they had a chance to marry, were dressed as for a wedding, supplied with a wedding ring, and had their funerals celebrated as wedding rites. Laments were sung over all who died by female members of the family or by professional mourners.

The dead are believed to continue to live on after death, but in a different state and a different place. There is confusion as to the location of the land of the dead. Pre-Christian beliefs had the dead living under the earth, affecting the crops. Christianity places the kingdom of the righteous dead in heaven. Certainly the realm of the dead is forty days away, both because a major commemorative service is held forty days after death and because of the importance of the number forty in both life-cycle and yearly-cycle ritual. There are indications of a belief in an assigned time on earth because those who die young, especially those who die violently (by human hands) are believed doomed to be unquiet dead, forced to remain on earth until their allotted time is expired.

See also Carpatho-Rusyns; Don Cossacks; Ukrainians

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NATALIE KONONENKO

Ukrainians

ETHNONYM: Ruthens

Orientation

Identification. Ukrainians are the second-largest Slavic group in the world and they form the sixth-largest nation in Europe. They comprise the majority of the population of the Republic of Ukraine, which declared its independence on 24 August 1991. According to the census of 1989, Ukrainians constitute 37.4 million or 72.7 percent of the total population of Ukraine, estimated at 51.7 million people. In addition, there were 6.8 million Ukrainians living in the former republics of the Soviet Union and at least 2 million living in the countries of Europe, the United States, Canada, and Australia.

Ukraine is a polyethnic republic. Over a quarter of its population is not Ukrainian (22 percent are Russians, 0.9 percent Jews, 0.8 percent Belarussians). These groups have played an important role in the economic, political, and cultural development of the Ukrainian nation. Ethnic influences are especially pronounced in multicultural regions (Transcarpathia, Odessa region, Donbass, and the Crimea). Development has occurred in conjunction with the ethnic consolidation of the Ukrainian people, the growth of their national self-awareness, an increase in the social mobility of the population, and the formation of common

features of its culture and life-style. The Ukrainian language is used more and more in everyday speech.

A number of state laws have stimulated these changes, in particular the Law on Language, which not only establishes Ukrainian as the national language but creates conditions for the preservation of the languages of all the ethnic minorities (opening of national schools, chairs in universities, radio, optional language instruction), freedom of religion, opening of national communal centers, and so on.

Location. Ukraine is in the southwest of the eastern European plain. It is famous for its beauty and picturesque scenery; its lands, mostly plains, are bounded by the Carpathian and the Crimean mountains on the west and south. The Black and Azov seas wash its southern borders. Its soil is extremely fertile, especially the chernozems. Ukraine is rich in natural resources: there are large reserves of coal (in the Donetsk region) and abundant deposits of iron ore and manganese. Within the Ukrainian "Cristalline Shield" are titanium, nickel, chromium, mercury, aluminum, uranium, chemical resources, and building materials ranging from granite and marble to limestone and fire clay. There are relatively large deposits of oil and natural gas in the Precarpathian and other regions. The Dnieper, Dniester, and the Danube rivers flow through Ukraine into the Black Sea. Neighboring seas that do not freeze have permitted the construction of trading routes; these routes were known to the Vikings, Greeks, Romans, and other peoples of Europe and Asia. During the last decades, however, human activities have harmed Ukrainian lands, causing the impoverishment of the environment, disruption of the ecological balance and, above all, the meltdown of the nuclear reactor at the Chernobyl power station.

Demography. Presently Ukrainians are dispersed evenly over the territory of the republic, which, with the exception of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and some industrial regions of the southeast, is noted for the high density of its population (85.6 people per square kilometer). In most regions Ukrainians constitute more than 70 percent of the urban population. The percentage of Ukrainians is even higher in rural areas: in almost all regions, it is over 90 percent.

The growth of cities was accompanied by a decrease in the rural population, especially since the second half of the 1920s. While the urban population of the Ukraine multiplied nearly sevenfold between 1920 and 1991, the rural population dropped from 21.3 million to 16.9 million people (i.e., from 80.7 to 32.7 percent of the population).

These changes were caused by migration and the reorganization of rural villages into urban ones or the merger of rural villages with cities. During the 1970s alone, the urban population of the Ukraine rose by 4.8 million people (2 million as result of natural growth in cities and 2.8 million as a result of reorganizing rural villages into urban ones and migration to cities).

The decrease in natural growth and the demographic losses of the 1930s had a negative impact on the size of the rural population of the Ukraine. At the end of the nineteenth century the birthrate in the Ukraine was one of the highest in Europe—7.5 children per woman; in 1989 it was only 1.9 child, which was the lowest of all the republics of the Soviet Union. The drop in the birthrate, which began in the 1920s, is still taking place. Since 1979, moreover, depopulation has also occurred in the rural areas, and thus now affects the entire republic.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Ukrainian language belongs to the East Slavic Branch of the Slavic Stock of the Indo-European Language Family. In the early period of the formation of the Ukrainian nation, the traditions of the literary language of Kievan Rus' were dominant. Alongside the language that grew from local dialects, there was a literary language common to the East Slavs and close to the modern language of South Slavs. Later, when a large portion of Ukrainian and Belarussian lands were part of the Lithuanian principality, a common Ukrainian-Belarussian language began to emerge based on Old Russian. It was used on many written monuments in both nations and played an important part in different spheres of their public life.

In 1989, 40 million people (78 percent of the population) in the Ukraine spoke Ukrainian fluently, 1.5 million more than in 1979. Thirty-two million Ukrainians consider their national language their mother tongue. Tens of thousands of Russians and Poles and a large number of Czechs, Slovaks, Moldavians, and Romanians who live in Ukraine also speak Ukrainian as their primary language. More than 4 million people consider Ukrainian their second language and speak it fluently. In mixed ethnic regions, multilingualism is common. Its extent is determined by the location of the ethnic groups and the duration of ethnocultural contacts. Such factors have also been taken into consideration during the formulation of the Law on Language and its implementation.

In the sixteenth through seventeenth centuries there were two literary languages in the Ukraine: Slavic Russian, resulting from the interaction of Old Church Slavonic and the Old Russian literary language (used mostly in church literature) and the so-called common one based on the Old Russian literary language, which has absorbed much from the Ukrainian language.

The Ukrainian language acquired specific Ukrainian features and retained an internal dialectical division (middle Dnieper, Polessk, Podolsk, Transcarpathian, etc.). These dialects are conventionally classified into three groups: northern, southwestern, and southeastern. The Middle-Pridnieper (Poltava-Kiev) dialects of the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries formed the basis of the modern Ukrainian literary language, which gradually absorbed elements of other regional Ukrainian dialects.

History and Cultural Relations

The ancient history of Ukraine is rich, as the many archaeological remains testify. Kurgans, ancient villages, ramparts, and ruins of castles and monastery walls abound. Here, in the territory of Ukrainian Transcarpathia in the village of Beregovo in the Korolev region, the oldest human settlements in Europe—over 6,000 years old—were found. In the Stone Age, one of the oldest agricultural centers was organized on the lands of Pridnieper.

During the disintegration of primitive society feudal relations began to occur, tribal unions appeared (Polyans, Severyans, Drevlyans, White Croatians, Dulebs, Ulichs,

Tivertses, etc.), and later, principalities (*knyazhestvas*) formed. Those of Kiev and Novgorod united as one state—Kievan Rus'—which became one of the most powerful in medieval Europe. In the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries Ukrainian territory expanded owing to the settling of the southwestern outskirts by peasant refugees and the founding of the Zaporozh Cossacks—the settlement of Slobozhanshina—in northeastern parts of the Ukraine and neighboring territories. The formation of Ukrainian Cossacks (Zaporozh Sech) stimulated the development of the lower Dnieper and the protection of the southeastern borders. The Sech was a military-administrative organization with broad democratic principles, self-government, and distinctive cultural features. It is likely that the Cossacks played a major role in the shaping of Ukrainian national identity.

The Ukrainian ethnic group consists of three components. The first is the main settlement of Ukrainians that generally coincides with the territory in which the Ukrainian ethnic group formed, the present administrative borders of the republic, and the regions of dense Ukrainian settlement beyond these borders. The second component encompasses Ukrainians who live outside the main ethnic settlement and who are territorially separated from it—both elsewhere in the former Soviet Union and abroad—as a result of increasing migration since the end of the nineteenth century. Recently, the word "diaspora" has been used in reference to these people. The subcultural groups—ethnic groups within the Ukrainian nation that have distinct cultural features (Gutsuls, Lemks, Boyks, Polyshuks, etc.)—comprise the third component.

The ratio of the size of the main settlement of the Ukrainians to the diaspora communities changes continually. From 1917 to 1989 the percentage of Ukrainians within the modern borders of the republic fell from 85.6 to 81 percent. Of the total number of Ukrainians, the percentage living in other countries of Europe rose from 6.6 to 11.1 percent. At the same time, the percentage of Ukrainians living in North America rose from 0.6 to 3.1 percent. The overall decrease in the number of Ukrainians in the world during this period—from 57,398,000 to 46,136,000 people—was caused by a number of factors, including the absence of a separate state and Ukrainian political disunity within different countries, great losses from wars that took place in the Ukraine, famine, and other demographic factors. Beyond the borders of the republic the total number of Ukrainians has decreased significantly as a result of the policy of national and territorial demarcation of Soviet republics in the beginning of the 1920s. At that point, large concentrations of Ukrainians, numbering in the millions, were left outside the borders of the Ukraine in the neighboring regions of Kuban, the northern Caucasus, Priazov, the central Chernozem region, and elsewhere.

The above-mentioned ethnic groups of Ukrainians differ in the level of their social and economic development and in other aspects. Under these circumstances, ethnic self-consciousness becomes very important—as long as it persists, the group continues to exist. A change in Ukrainian self-consciousness occurred in two spheres: the ethnogenetic one (i.e., starting from the onset of the Ukrainian nation they transformed their name from "Rusks" to "Ruthens" to "Ukrainians") and the spatial or territorial one, which developed as a consequence of their ethnic history.

The main formative centers of the Ukrainian nation were Middle Prednieper, the right bank of Kievshina, Periaslavshina, and Chernigov-Sivrshina. It was here that the name "the Ukraine" (meaning the "land" or "country") was established in the twelfth century, a term that afterward spread to incorporate the whole area of Ukrainian settlement and that became the cultural ethnonym. Almost until the seventeenth century (and in the western Ukrainian regions until the last decades), the older East Slavic names for the land and the people—"Rus'," "Ruska land," "Rusks," "Ruthens," and others—were still used.

The many interpretations of the origins of the Ukrainians can be coalesced into two general theories. The first, emerging from Russian historiography and promulgated in the former Soviet Union, postulates that Ukrainians—as well as the other Eastern Slavs–Russians and Belarussians—come from a single proto-Russian nation ("common cradle") that was part of the feudal state of Kievan Rus (ninth through twelfth centuries). Feudal relations, according to this theory, led to the breakup of this state and resulted in new economic, political, and cultural centers as early as the second half of the twelfth through the thirteenth centuries; specific conditions led to the formation of the three East Slavic groups—Russians, Ukrainians, and Belarussians. During the development of the Old Russian nation, the most important cultural characteristics evolved, common to all East Slavs; their common name ("Rusks") was preserved as well as a consciousness of their common origins and close ethnic ties. The Old Russian nation was a complex of local languages and cultural traditions, which later played a differentiating role in the formation of East Slavs. Unfavorable events abroad and destructive invasions temporarily slowed the economic and political development of ancient Russian lands and even exacerbated their feudal disunity. Within these ancient Russian lands, it was in the southwest that the early history of Ukraine began, in the territories of the Kiev, Peryaslav, Chernigov-Siversk, and Galician principalities. Adherents of the common cradle theory date the onset of the Ukrainian nation to the end of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century. At this time the ancient Russian state had already broken into separate feudal principalities; northwestern Russia (Rostov-Vladimir, Suzdal, and [later] Moscow) played a decisive role in the formation of another East Slavic nation—that of the Russians, which became more powerful.

An ethnogenic theory of Ukrainian ethnicity based on autochthonous origins has been put forward in the twentieth century and has been gaining support. The theory was proposed by M. Grushevsky, a historian of the twentieth century. He considers Ukrainians direct descendants of the most ancient population of the territory that is now Ukraine, from which Russians and Belarussians subsequently separated and formed distinct nations. The existence of a single Old Russian nation is denied, as is the disintegration of one common Slavic unity into three ethnically separate East Slavic countries. On the basis of this, Grushevsky dates the history of the Ukrainian nation back to the fourth, not the twelfth, century and links

Ukrainians with the East Slavic tribes, Ants. The anthropological, psychophysical, linguistic, and other features of Ukrainian culture are explained by this differentiation.

According to the ethnogenic theory, the earliest name for Ukrainians was "Ruthens," which in the tenth through twelfth centuries was used only for Ukrainians, and later by other East Slavs. The northeastern group, however, adopted the general name "Russians" in the original meaning of "governed by Rus'."

Subgroups of Ukrainians have formed over the centuries, and they retain certain distinctive cultural features. The best known among them are the Ukrainian highlanders (Gutsuls, Lemks, and Boyks); in western Ukraine, the Polishuks, Pinchuks, and Litvins; and in the Ukrainian marshland, the Polesye. Lemks live in the northwestern regions of Transcarpathia and some regions of neighboring Poland. They got their name from using the particle *lem* (only) in their speech. A theory of the origin of the names "Lemks" and the neighboring "Boyks" has recently been proposed that suggests that the names were taken from "Lemko" (hypothetically, the founder of a kindred or a tribal leader). Some researchers make a connection between the origins of the Lemks and the tribes of White Croatians, the majority of whom, in the sixth through seventh centuries, moved from the Carpathian region to the Balkans. There are questions about the origin of the name "Gutsuls"; the people of this subgroup are noted for the distinctive features of their life-style and are famous for their crafts—metalwork, pottery, and rug making. Some link it with the Romance term *guts* (bandit), which originated in connection with a mass upheaval of "national avengers" (*oprishky*) in the seventeenth through eighteenth centuries. Others trace the word back to *kochul* (shepherd), or tie it to the Old Russian tribe of Ulichs.

The "Litvins"—in the past an ethnonym of a group of Ukrainians widespread in the marshlands of the Ukraine—are associated with political and state relations of the twelfth through sixteenth centuries, when this part of the Ukraine belonged to the Lithuanian principality; the name "Polishuks," first noted in seventeenth-century documents and maps, denotes the Ukrainian and Belarussian population within the marshland Polesye.

Certain names of groups of people, unities, and collectives reflect complex ethnogenetic processes. These are *tuteyshie* (local) names of separate groups in Polesye and Volin that do not have a defined ethnic identity. "Cherkasy," a name popular in official Russian documents of the sixteenth through seventeenth centuries, was used for a large segment of the Ukrainian population of the middle Pridnieper, the Zaporozh Cossacks in particular. Some researchers associate it with the city of Cherkasy, around which there were many Cossack settlements, others with the northern Caucasian Adygs, Black Klobuks, and other Turkish-speaking peoples. At least as late as the second half of the seventeenth century the Sevruks—descendants of the ancient tribes of the Silver land, who inhabited the valleys of the Desna, Seim, and Sula rivers—maintained their own name and distinctive culture. It is believed that they played a role in the formation of the Eastern Slavs and that they are genetically related to the "severa" of the manuscripts.

As noted above, the old name for Ukrainians, "Ruthens," is still popular in western Ukraine. According to the latest Ukrainian laws in those regions, such as Transcarpathia, this name may be used in defining ethnic origins. Some names of Ukrainians are etymologically related to religious factors: "Latinniks" (Ukrainians who adhere to the Roman Catholic religion, classified with the Ukrainian-speaking Poles), "Kalakuts" (groups of Kholmshina and Podlashie who adopted Roman Catholicism and Polish self-awareness but retained Ukrainian as their language), "Volokhs" (the Orthodox population of Bukovina, both the Roman- and Ukrainian speaking).

In the past, there were smaller ethnographic groups among Ukrainians. In the last decades the number of such groups has decreased and their members have tended to assimilate into neighboring groups. The majority of them, such as the Opolyans, Nistrovyans, Sotaks, Pidgoryans, and others in the regions of the western Ukraine, were actually local groups with some unique cultural features rather than distinct ethnic groups. Nowadays regional peculiarities of culture more or less exist alongside a gradual spreading of common customs and beliefs brought about by the ethnic consolidation of the Ukrainians.

In the past, interethnic relations in the Ukraine were influenced by a variety of factors, especially the political disunity of the territory; Ukrainians lived in several countries (Poland, Austria-Hungary, Russia) and were thus dependent on the rulers of these nations (Russians, Poles, Austrians, Romanians, etc.). Often relations between nations were determined by the social statuses of groups in the population; thus, interactions between the enslaved Ukrainians and the ruling ethnic groups (Germans, Bulgarians, Greeks, Serbs, etc.) were difficult. At the same time, comembership in a social-status category led to much interethnic contact (between Ukrainians and Moldavians, for example). Mixed marriages were common among such groups, which were linked by common economic and political interests.

There are some tensions between the Orthodox and Greek Catholic churches in the western regions, and between the Moscow Patriarchy and the Orthodox church in Ukraine, although, officially, by the decision of the council of the Russian Orthodox Church of 25–27 October 1990, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church was granted independence.

Currently, a policy encouraging autonomy for all ethnic groups, regardless of their nationality, religion, or language, has been officially declared and is being implemented. All the parties and social groups support these ideas. The Law on National Minorities adopted in 1992 grants all citizens of Ukraine equal civil, political, social, and economic rights and freedoms, including national and cultural autonomy, education in the native language, the creation of national cultural societies, and so on. Any direct or indirect restrictions of the rights and freedoms of citizens based on ethnicity are prohibited and punishable. In the referendum held on 1 December 1991, more than 90 percent of the population, including the majority of representatives of all the ethnic groups living in Ukraine, supported the idea of national independence.

Settlements

The founding of most of the settlements in the Ukraine and their subsequent growth were influenced by agricultural and industrial requirements—including the relative potential of the land to be cultivated, the availability of transportation routes and water resources, the landscape, and the nature of the soil. Villages are located along rivers, lakes, or ravines or dried-up riverbeds.

The following types of village plans may be distinguished, depending on the type of construction and the arrangement of streets, squares, and houses: clusters, unplanned-dispersed, and by row and by street. The oldest settlements in the Ukraine were near rivers. A village that grew out of a single household might develop without any plan at all. Villages like this were the most common in the Ukraine. Later, buildings were constructed in a row along rivers or roads, eventually to be expanded with planned streets. Beginning with the end of the eighteenth century, state controls often stipulated that villages in the steppes be built with streets and blocks and that the streets be straight and the blocks rectangular.

The names of settlements in the Ukraine come from a variety of sources. The oldest names are of Iranian, Fracian, Illirian, Baltic, and Old Germanic origin. Most of the Old Russian and medieval names are connected with properties of the environment or the activities of an individual. The names that were introduced during the Soviet period were not indigenous. Usually they were part of Soviet propaganda and symbolism. As a result, such names as Zhovtneve, Pershotravneve, Proletarskoe, Pionerskoe, Lenino, and Lenino Pervoe appeared on the map; now they are being replaced.

Traditional Ukrainian life-styles and family structures were closely connected with the village territorial community, the *gromada,* which developed in ancient times. In the Middle Ages it was called *kop* and was the local unit of government. The spread of a commodity-money economy and serfdom contributed to the disintegration of this form of community organization, although at different rates in different regions of the Ukraine. With the gradual shift from collective to private forms of ownership and the replacement of feudalism with capitalism, the gromada's economic basis was completely undermined. By the beginning of the twentieth century most households in the Ukraine were privately owned. There were, however, residues of traditional communal patterns, which figured prominently in the organization and democratization of the peasantry and in its struggle for its rights. These included a system of legal traditions and norms, a tradition of communal use of land and mutual assistance in labor-intensive work (*toloka, supryaga*), recreation for youth connected to their labor (*vechornitsy, dosvitky*), and a system of ethics.

The most common types of dwelling consist of three parts and have four pitched roofs, either of straw or reed; these are typical in regions with well-developed agriculture. The interiors of Ukrainian household conform to a remarkably uniform plan: the stove (*pech*) faces the long wall, the table is diagonally opposite it in the corner where the icons are placed, and the flooring where the family sleeps is behind the stove. This uniformity is also found in the tradition of double-sided whitewashing of walls and bright decorative painting.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. Ukraine is one of the largest agricultural nations in the world. A favorable natural environment allowed the evolution of complex farming systems, which have existed there since the fourth through sixth centuries B.C. There were various methods of utilizing the soil, of growing crops, and of collecting and processing agricultural produce. Today the major crops are cereal grains, sugar beets, and potatoes. Ukraine also has a large industrial sector centered on steel, chemicals, machinery, vehicles, and cement.

Ukrainian agricultural tools and practices were original, in particular the heavy Ukrainian plow, different ways of growing and preserving crops, and the means of transportation (*mazha* of the Chumaks, *chovni* [the boats of Zaporozhie], Carpathian rafts).

Apart from agriculture and cattle breeding, great attention was traditionally given to subsidiary forms of production (fishing, hunting, and apiculture), as well as to household craftsmanship. Also prominent were the woodworking industry (making barrels, sleighs, and carts); building construction; fiber (flax, hemp); wool processing; pottery; glassmaking; stone-and metal forging; stone-, metal-, and leatherwork; and the salt industry. Traditional industries are today being restored.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, because of the industrial development of the Ukraine (especially in large cities and industrial centers of the south), powerful combinations and syndicates were coalescing, social stratification of the society sharpened, and mobility increased. Different types of property that appeared in the past years have radically changed the industrial and social relations and life-styles of Ukrainians.

Clothing. The traditional national Ukrainian costume has prominent features that vary from region to region. Embroidery displays wide local stylistic variation but everywhere exemplifies picturesque design and clear composition. The national outfit, consisting of a shirt, waist garments, and seasonally varying ornamentation for the shoulders, reflects highly sophisticated techniques of producing handwoven fabrics and extensive experience in creating and decorating clothes.

Food. The cuisine of Ukraine is well known beyond its own borders. The fare includes huge wheat breads, curd or fruit dumplings (*varenikis*), plain dumplings, (*galushki*), vegetable dishes (especially the famous Ukrainian borscht made with more than twenty ingredients), potato and bean dishes, dairy products (including various cheeses, especially Carpathian ones), and all kinds of fruit and berry liqueurs. Traditional features encompassing the structure of meals, mealtime, ceremonial and everyday food, traditional dishes, and customs connected with cooking and eating have been firmly retained in modern Ukrainian crusine.

Trade. Ukrainians have always been traders. Domestic trading gradually came to be concentrated in cities. The most important trading routes known since ancient times are the Salt, Chumak, and Iron, which stimulated foreign

trade. The river way "from the Vikings to the Greeks" played an extremely important role in this activity; it was formed in the ninth century and connected the Baltic and Black seas. In the early feudal period, shops and organizations of craftsmen and traders appeared in Ukrainian cities. At the end of the seventeenth century, guilds of craftsmen and traders were begun; these had a clearly hierarchic social structure (masters, apprentices, etc.), regulations, and unique symbols. In the regions of the western Ukraine that had belonged to Poland since the nineteenth century, there has been a process of strong social differentiation among the population, including both the Polish and Ukrainian populations.

Kinship, Marriage, and Family

Domestic Unit. The large extended family is the oldest family form in the Ukraine. It was composed of several generations and was characterized by a collective household and common property. Relations in the family were regulated by norms of common law, and the head of the family saw to it that they were observed. The relatively early formation of commodity-money relations (sixteenth to seventeenth centuries) and, subsequently, serfdom, caused Ukrainian families to disintegrate at a faster rate than in Belarus and Russia, although in some regions (Carpathia, Left Bank) traces of extended families were present in the nineteenth century. Most dispersed into separate households (*dims*). From the eighteenth century to the present, the small, nuclear family of parents and children has been the primary type.

Certain features of extended families were retained in the nuclear family: the bridegroom paid the wedding expenses, marriages were sanctioned by the traditional legal settlement, men controlled the family, the head of the family maintained his special role, and so on. The modern Ukrainian family has fewer children than did the traditional family. The number of ethnically mixed marriages has increased, especially in the cities.

Marriage. Many traditional customs are in evidence in family life and in the celebration of family holidays. These include the lavish wedding ceremony, its traditional foods, and the custom of uniting the bride with the bridegroom. There are no wedding ceremonies without the *trial* music (violin, tambourine, and dulcimer). The Ukrainian wedding ceremony retained features peculiar to it alone, both in the ceremony itself and in the overall character of the wedding, which reflected unique aspects of the Ukrainian family. Patriarchal traces were less pronounced in Ukrainian than, for example, in Russian weddings. The Ukrainian wedding did not have wedding lamentations of the bride; she neither covered her head with a scarf nor tearfully beseeched her father not to give her away into a strange family. In some regions, as noted by the sixteenth-century French author Beauplan, the woman took the initiative during the engagement. Before the nineteenth century there was a custom that, as a sign of rejection, the young woman gave the proposing party a pumpkin. This is the origin of the expression "to get a pumpkin" (i.e., to get rejected). In modern Ukrainian weddings, there are many regional differences regarding beliefs, magical gestures, traditional food, the degree to which archaic traits are retained, and the role of the parents in the wedding ceremony. In modern marriages the prewedding cycle and the wedding ceremony itself are shorter, although some traditional elements (e.g., the repertoire of songs) are retained. Especially in the cities, some forgotten traditions (folk symbols, elements of humor, the wedding bread) are reappearing. Customs connected with the birth of a child were more common in the Ukraine than in Russia or Belarussia, especially the rite of purification and customs symbolizing the acceptance of a child into the family.

Inheritance. In certain regions of the Ukraine (Left Bank, the south, Slobozhanshina), the father's property was traditionally distributed evenly among all the members of the family, including the daughters. In the Right Bank regions, where the traditions of the Lithuanian state were maintained, women's inheritance was restricted but even there a woman had the right to personal property and *materizna*—that part of the land that was inherited through the female line of the family. The latter is considered unique to family relations in the Ukraine.

Traditions, public morals, and norms of common law determined inheritance practices. For example, unmarried people inherited less. In the marriage contract the amount of the bride's dowry, which consisted of a trunk and cattle, was specified, as were the bridegroom's ransom and the parents' and relatives' donations. In most parts of the Ukraine a son-in-law who was accepted into a family with no sons was equal with other members of the family in his rights to property. With the advent of capitalism the role of parents in the management of family relations decreased.

Kinship Terminology. The extensive kinship terminology reflects the ramification of the kinship system: in addition to the usual East Slavic lineal terms for great-grandparent (e.g., *pradid* [grandfather]), there are terms for in-laws (e.g., machukha [mother-in-law]) and other affines, depending on the linking spouse (e.g., *svekor* [husband's father], *tesha* [wife's father]), including the husband's brother's wife (*yatrov*).

Religion and Expressive Culture

Rational knowledge acquired throughout centuries played an important part in the life of Ukrainians. Some of this knowledge, especially in the fields of medicine, veterinary medicine, pharmacology, agriculture, meteorology, and astronomy, has been recognized by modern science. In folk medicine, this includes the use of plants and medications of animal and mineral extraction as a preventive treatment, physiotherapy (compress, massage, bath), folk methods for back problems, and so on. The same is true about the system of common law—ancient legal traditions that determined relations between people and their behavior. Among the Carpathian highlanders, for example, methods of electing the head of the highland *gromada* (deputy), conditions of collective cattle breeding and distributing the produce, as well as paying the sheperds, were mainly indigenous.

Religious Beliefs. In the past, Ukrainians held cosmogonic concepts about the origins of the earth and the universe and personified natural phenomena. Nature was perceived as a living world inhabited by magic powers, and

humans were a fundamental part of it. There were also ancient totemistic and animistic concepts about the life of plants, animals, and the environment. Fire and its purifying power were very important in the beliefs and superstitions of the Carpathian highlanders in particular. Pagan cults were dominant before Christianity was adopted in Kiev Rus'. Along with the deification of natural phenomena and stars, ancient Slavs created a multitude of gods, the most powerful among which were the gods of the sky (Svarog), the sun (Dazhbog), the wind (Stribog), and fertility and cattle breeding (Veles).

Beliefs related to evil forces, demonic creatures of forests and water, and the power of people endowed with magical capabilities date to antiquity. Christianity has coexisted with different pre-Christian ideas (beliefs in magic, evil eye, etc.). Although these beliefs have mostly lost their original meaning, they retain a certain aesthetic appeal or serve as entertainment.

The most important folk morals have always been respect for and love of free labor, ideals of kindness, beauty, and knowledge of one's genealogy and civil duties; negative features such as drunkenness, laziness, insincerity, robbery, and stinginess were condemned. According to folk conceptions of the world, a human was an inalienable part of nature. Even age was associated with the seasons of the year (childhood with spring, youth with summer, etc.). From early childhood, a Ukrainian was taught to value singing, folk poetry, and his or her land.

At least by the second century B.C., Christianity was widespread in Ukrainian lands, although it was officially adopted only in 988 under Prince Vladimir to replace paganism as the official religion. The Kiev metropolis was under the canonical jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople, and since the 1680s, under the patriarch of Moscow. After the Brest Unia (1596) and the unification of the Orthodox church with the Vatican under the condition of preserving the Eastern ritual, the Ukrainian population of the western regions comprised the Uniats or the Greek Catholics. The Russian czars and later the Soviet regime banned the Greek Catholic religion and repressed others many times. In 1946 the Lwiw church council decided to abolish the Brest Unia and return to Orthodoxy. After independence and the declarations of freedom of conscience and religion, the Ukrainian Greek Catholic church and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox church (which was legalized within the period 1920 to 1930) were restored.

Alongside these religions the so-called Rodnaya Ukrainskaya Natsional'naya Vera has become widespread in Ukraine; it was born within the Ukrainian communities of the United States and Canada about thirty years ago and it worships nature and a single god of nature, Dazhbog.

Ceremonies. Ukrainians have created an original folk calendar—cycles of social agricultural festivities and traditions, symbolizing the beginning and end of industrial labor. The most popular holidays are Christmas, Shrovetide, and Easter. New Year and Christmas carols—*shedrivkas* and *kolyadkas*—were original. In the eastern Ukraine carols were sung with a star, in the western Ukraine with a *vertep*—a box in the form of a multistoried house with the help of which different puppet shows of a religious or secular character were shown. Ukrainians celebrated spring holidays more frequently than other East Slavs. There are picturesque festivals at the end of the harvest and, in the Carpathian Mountains, at the return from the alpine pastures.

The so-called Soviet holidays and traditions created after the October Revolution have not become very popular because of their artificiality. These were usually celebrated formally and almost never recognized, although some of them, based on traditional customs (the holiday of the first haystack), are still celebrated.

Arts. Ukrainian folk art is distinct and extensive. In choreography there are round dances and dances that mimicked everyday activities, the famous *gopak* among them. The best known musical instruments are the stringed *kobza* and *bandura*, and they accompany the singing of the *dumas* (folk epics glorifying heroic deeds of the people). Professional music in the Ukraine was formed mostly on the basis of folk music. High professionalism is seen in church music both in one-and two-part singing. The development of professional theater was influenced greatly by the concepts of the folk puppet theater (*vertep*). Various forms of folk art continue to evolve on the basis of centuries-old folk experience. In Dniepropetrovsk Province, for example, painting under glaze on ceramic tiles is as common as before, pre-Carpathian folk artists are successfully adapting the traditions of decorative carving and etching in wood, and those from Lwiw are making difficult kinds of glass. Ukrainian decorative art (fabric prints, bright rugs, wooden objects, ceramics, paintings, and murals) is popular in many countries, and the best works of Ukrainian artists have received international awards.

In the last few decades, many forms of western European culture have become popular among Ukrainians, and many folk traditions that fell into disuse during the Soviet era are being revitalized.

Death and Afterlife. The complexity of funeral customs relates to the cult of ancestors and the necessity of ensuring a successful transition of the dead "soul" into the world of ancestors. Death brought about a change in the behavior of people and the use of cultural markers (a white sheet was hung out, young women let their hair down, men did not wear any headgear). In the funerals of unmarried young men and women, wedding customs are observed. Since death is not considered the end of existence but a transition into a new state, it is not perceived as a tragedy, which explains why funerals are accompanied by various games. After the funeral, as well as on the ninth and fortieth day after death, commemorative feasts are held.

See also Ukranian Peasants

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VSEVOLOD IVANOVICH NAULKO
(Translated by Olga Beloded)

Uzbeks

ETHYNONYMS: none

Orientation

Identification. Uzbekistan ranks third in population of the former republics of the USSR and is the largest of the four republics (Uzbekistan, Tajikstan, Turkmenistan, and Kyrgyzstan) formerly referred to as Soviet Central Asia. The republic is comprised of twelve regions (oblasts) and one autonomous republic, the Karakalpak Republic. The vast majority of Uzbekistan's population belongs to Turkic-speaking Muslim groups, with a relatively small population of Slavs and other nationalities.

Location. Uzbekistan is a landlocked area nestled between the republics of Turkmenistan to the west, Kazakhstan to the north, Kyrgyzstan to the east, and Tajikistan to the east and south; it shares one relatively short international border with Afganistan to the south. With a territory of roughly 447,400 square kilometers, it is located between 37° and 45° N and 56° and 73° E. Few rivers feed the republic—only the Syr Darya, Amu Darya, and Zeravshan—and rainfall is slight. Uzbekistan's population, therefore, tends to be clustered along these rivers, concentrated in the oases of Tashkent, Samarkand, and Bukhara, and in the Fergana Valley. The vast majority of Uzbekistan's territory is steppe or desert. Toward the south and east Uzbekistan becomes more mountainous in the vicinity the Tianshan and Pamir ranges. Overall, Uzbekistan has a hot, dry climate, with temperatures ranging in some places up to about 51° C in the summer.

Demography. The population of Uzbekistan in 1989 was 19,810,000, of which 14,142,000, or roughly 71 percent, are Uzbek and almost 90 percent are of various Muslim nationalities. Uzbekistan's population is characterized by a very high rate of natural growth—at least three to four times that of the Russians—and very low migration. For that reason, the population of Uzbekistan has been growing ever more rapidly and has been becoming more ethnically homogeneous over the past several decades. Whereas Uzbekistan's population grew by 28 percent over the twenty-year period from 1939 to 1959, for example (from 6.3 to 8.1 million people), it grew by almost 90 percent over the next twenty-year period, to more than 15 million people, and then by another 29 percent between 1979 and 1989. Central Asian demographers project that by the year 2005, 30 million people will be living in Uzbekistan—roughly the population of the entire Soviet Central Asian region today—and that by 2010, Uzbekistan's population will reach 33 million people.

The proportion of indigenous Central Asians has been growing, whereas that of the Russians has been declining. Although from the 1920s until 1959 Russians had comprised a consistently growing share of Uzbekistan's population (rising from less than 2 percent of Uzbekistan's population in 1917 to 13.5 percent in 1959), by 1989 that proportion had fallen to 8.3 percent, or to 1,653,000 people.

Demographic pressures have become one of the most serious and controversial problems in Uzbekistan, as they are increasingly straining the system's ability to provide basic goods and social services. Some Soviet officials and scholars in Central Asia advocated expansion of family planning, but this was initiated on only a rudimentary level and was strongly resisted by the local populations. There is a great need for economic and social reform. The steady decline of Russians in the republic's population and the growth of an increasingly homogeneous Uzbek and Central Asian population fueled Uzbekistan's demands for greater autonomy and, finally, sovereignty from Moscow.

Linguistic Affiliation. Modern literary Uzbek is a Turkic language that is quite close to other Turkic languages of Central Asia, especially Uighur. In a sense, it is the successor to the Chagatay language, which was used for literary purposes (along with Persian) in the region prior to the Bolshevik Revolution. Modern literary Uzbek, however, is an artificial conglomerate of a variety of Turkic dialects. The origin of most of the Uzbek vocabulary is Turkic, but there are also many Arabic and Persian elements—and "in-

ternational" words, usually borrowed from Russian. During most of the period from 1930 to 1989, the Communist party (which held a monopoly on the mass media and educational institutions) attempted to increase the Russian stratum of vocabulary and decrease the others, as well as to promote greater use of the Russian language. The Soviet period has also witnessed extensive change in Uzbek writing systems. During the 1920s a new modified version of the Arabic alphabet was introduced to write Uzbek. Then, at the end of the decade, Arabic letters were replaced with Latin ones; in 1940 Uzbek writing shifted to a slightly modified form of the Russian alphabet. Many of the trends of the period 1930 to 1989 are now being changed or reversed. Many international words are being replaced by Turkic, Arabic, and Persian equivalents; lessons in the Arabic writing system are now being introduced in the schools; and in October 1989 Uzbek was officially declared the state language of Uzbekistan.

History and Cultural Relations

The Central Asian region, which includes what is today Uzbekistan, has a rich history. Lying at the heart of the Silk Road, the region was both a major commercial and spiritual center: trade flourished; agriculture was well advanced; in this area arose great centers of education, art, architecture, poetry, religion, and scientific thought.

Throughout its long history, however, the region has also been the object of repeated invasions and conquests. These include the conquests of Alexander the Great in the fourth century A.D.; the Arab invasions of the seventh to eighth centuries, which introduced Islam and the Arabic script, classical learning, and a new worldview to the region; the occupation of the Turks from the seventh to ninth centuries, from which the region took the name "Turkestan"; and the Mongol invasions of the thirteenth century under Chinggis (Genghis) Khan. The conquest by Timur, or Timur the Lame (Tamerlane), in the late fourteenth century began the last and perhaps finest period of a flowering of culture and learning in the region, which included the emergence of perhaps the greatest of Central Asia's poets, Alisher Navoi, the astronomer Ulugh Bek, and the construction of architectural masterpieces the remains of which are still visited today in such Uzbek cities as Samarkand and Bukhara.

Beginning in the sixteenth century, however—as oceans became a more important means for transporting goods and as European merchants began to turn their attention more toward the New World—Turkestan entered a long period of decline. The political order that had been established under such leaders as Timur at the height of the region's glory was supplanted by warring principalities. The Bukharan Emirate and the Khivan and Kokand khanates emerged as the major political units. They held sway until the Russian conquest that occurred from the mid-1860s through the mid-1880s.

The czarist conquest not only secured Russian rule of the territory, but also brought an influx of Russians. The total number of Russians living in Central Asia at the turn of the century, however, was small, comprising only about 2 percent of the population, and the lives of the Russians and Asians rarely overlapped. Loyalties of the indigenous nationalities rarely extended beyond the family, tribe, or clan. This changed dramatically with the Bolshevik Revolution when, despite a long period of resistance by Central Asians (highlighted by the armed opposition to the Soviet regime of the "Basmachi," which continued well into the 1930s), the new Bolshevik government consolidated its power and created the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic in 1925. Uzbekistan saw an increasing flow of Russians into the republic and the beginning of strong government efforts to eradicate religion, educate the population, make Russian the common language, and supplant local traditions with Soviet mores. The history of Soviet rule was marked by fluctuations between intensification and relaxation of these policies—through the decades coopting or attracting some Central Asians to promote these policies and making martyrs and enemies of many others.

Settlements

Traditionally, there were two kinds of groups in what is now Uzbekistan: the sedentary farmers and the nomadic herdsmen. The farmers and city dwellers were largely merchants and craftsmen, whereas the herdsmen lived largely by their flocks of sheep and herds of horses, cattle, camels, and goats. The basic social unit was the village, the nomadic village being called an *aul*, and the sedentary agricultural village being called a *kishlak*. Both were based on kinship ties: the auls were relatively small, moving from winter to spring camps on their way to summer pastures, whereas kishlaks were somewhat larger. The kishlak traditionally had a closely knit settlement pattern: houses were built within a small radius of each other. The houses were made of clay, and most had a courtyard in which family and social activities largely took place. The streets of the kishlak ran between the clay walls enclosing the courtyards.

The onset of Soviet power saw the construction of collective and state farms in the countryside, settlement of nomadic tribes, and mass efforts to urbanize the population. In the "European" sectors of cities—and in some entire cities and towns—the buildings resemble those found in the European parts of the former USSR. Many of the villages, smaller cities, towns, and sections of large cities, however, have retained the features of the kishlak. Today the Soviets boast that Uzbekistan has become over 40 percent urban, with Tashkent, Uzbekistan's capital, now the third-largest city of the former USSR, having a population of over two million. According to Soviet demographers, however, roughly 80 percent of all Uzbeks still live in rural areas.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. The economy of Uzbekistan is very much specialized on a single crop, cotton, and on the infrastructure to serve the cotton industry—such as irrigation networks, branches of the machine-building and chemical industries that support cotton growing and harvesting, and cotton-ginning and textile mills. Uzbekistan is also rich in other raw materials, including natural gas, some coal, and important nonferrous metals, including what was, at least until recently, the largest gold mine in the world. In the early 1980s some estimates indicated that Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan alone

accounted for as much as one-half of the former USSR's total gold output.

But Uzbekistan has not reaped the benefits of these rich resources. Instead, control of all resources has been in Moscow's hands, and most processing has been conducted outside of the republic. Thus, Uzbekistan today is one of the poorest republics of the former USSR, with an estimated 40 percent of its population living in poverty. The republic, moreover, has become riddled with the often devastating environmental and health consequences of cotton production. For example, the misuse of water resources, largely for irrigation, has led to the drying up of the Aral Sea, once the world's sixth-largest inland sea; in the past twenty years, it has shrunk by roughly 40 percent. The drying up of the Aral and resulting salinization has ruined fertile soil in the surrounding areas and has had severe health repercussions for the local populations. Likewise, the population's extensive exposure to pesticides, fertilizers, and defoliants used in the cotton fields and the contamination of drinking water with these chemicals has led to a severe increase in death and disease. As but one indication, over the past fifteen years infant-mortality rates in Uzbekistan have risen by over 50 percent to among the highest in the world: in some areas over 100 out of every 1,000 babies born die before reaching the age of 1.

Industrial Arts. Uzbek artisans still ply the handicrafts passed down from generation to generation. These include ceramics, copper embossing, carpet weaving, silkcraft (including silk tapestry), embroidery of headgear, wood carving, and the like.

Trade. By custom Uzbeks are merchants and traders. Although a network of Soviet stores and cooperatives has opened, the traditional open-air markets, with an array of foodstuffs, textiles, and other goods, still tend to remain the center of much commerce. Since the beginnings of *perestroika* in the USSR, Uzbeks have increasingly attempted to enter world markets, attract Western partners for joint ventures within Uzbekistan, and sell more goods abroad.

Division of Labor. Traditionally in Uzbekistan, there has been a broad division of labor between Uzbeks and Russians, just as there has been between men and women. Uzbeks have tended to be concentrated in the agricultural, service, and light-industrial sectors, whereas Russians have tended to dominate heavy industry and key government and party posts. Uzbek women have tended to predominate in household work and in the lower-skilled and manual jobs, often segregated from men.

But this began to change in the late Soviet era as Uzbeks demanded more economic autonomy from Moscow and developed broader skills, while unemployment, particularly among Central Asians, soared. According to one estimate from Central Asia, between 1.5 and 2 million people are currently unemployed; according to another, roughly one in ten able-bodied people in Uzbekistan are now without jobs, with almost one-quarter of a million young people entering the labor market every year. High unemployment is considered to be one of the key reasons for the many outbreaks of ethnic violence over the past several years, including the bloody violence that erupted in 1989 and 1990 between Uzbeks and Meshketian Turks and between Uzbeks and Kyrgyz.

Land Tenure. Under the Soviet system, there was no private ownership of land anywhere in the USSR. Instead, most agricultural land was held as part of collective and state farms. Farmers were allowed to cultivate small private plots, and these accounted for a disproportionate share of total agricultural production—by some estimates, as high as almost 30 percent of Uzbekistan's total agricultural output. The development of perestroika and efforts toward economic reform over the past few years have brought with them increasing debates over questions of ownership of land and resources. These efforts, coupled with independence, may greatly change the system of land tenure in Uzbekistan in the future.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Uzbek society was traditionally organized patrilineally, with members of individual families carefully graded according to order of birth and precedence. Descent lines for Uzbeks were traditionally traced along patrilineal lines to the founding ancestor of the clan. Although each clan possessed its own territory, single leader, and center of authority, clan genealogy was often amended. Thus, with the combination of two clans in an economic or military alliance, the leader of one might recognize the leader of the other as a brother. Although to a lesser extent than among the Kazakhs or Kyrgyz, many Uzbeks today are still conscious of clan identities, and, to some extent, these still maintain political importance.

Kinship Terminology. The Uzbek language has a very complex kinship terminology. It differentiates, for example, between older and younger brothers, older and younger sisters, patrilineal and matrilineal uncles, and patrilineal and matrilineal aunts.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Marriage of children was traditionally contracted between the bride's and groom's family through a third party. At the time of marriage, the bride-price (*kalym*) was transferred and the bride left to join the groom's family. Marriages were marked with feasting, competitions, the actual wedding ceremony, and other rituals. Although for many years the Communist party actively discouraged the kalym, religious weddings, and extravagant banquets, all of these practices survive in some form. It is common for young couples to recite religious wedding vows as well as to comply with the obligatory civil registration.

Domestic Unit. Most Uzbeks, especially those in rural areas, live under one roof with several generations. Likewise, in rural areas, families still tend to be very large. Over 40 percent of all Uzbek families have seven or more children. Upon marriage, women leave their parents' home to live with their husband's family. This means that the households of families with several married sons can be quite large. Although housing constraints have affected this practice, even sons who move out of their parents' homes tend to live nearby. The traditional Uzbek family was polygynous, at least in theory. In fact, however, few

families could afford the bride-wealth for more than one wife per son.

Inheritance. The physical property of a family was traditionally divided among the sons in roughly equal proportions. Each son normally received part of his share when he married and part upon the death of the father.

Socialization. Despite the Soviet government's promotion of nurseries and kindergartens, most small Uzbek children are raised by their mothers and grandmothers. This is one of the major reasons for the conservation of cultural and religious traditions in Uzbekistan.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. The same Soviet social organizations that were created throughout the USSR—for example, Octobrists and Pioneers (for children), women's organizations, and labor unions—have all existed in Uzbekistan. The neighborhood (*mahalla*) committees, however, were much stronger in Uzbekistan than any analogous institution in Russia. Another very important social institution is the *chaykhana* (teahouse), where Uzbek men still gather.

Political Organization. Until very recently the Communist party was the sole political party in modern Uzbekistan. As elsewhere in the USSR, this party had almost total control over the legislative soviet (council) institutions and executive organs. In elections, voters were offered only one candidate, whose choice was approved by the party. As a result of reforms under Gorbachev, many elections now have more than one candidate per office and other political parties are being organized. The first such party, Erk (Freedom), appeared in the spring of 1990; it emerged from the "informal" organization Erk, which had split from the Birlik (Unity) organization just months before.

Social Control. Public opinion, especially the views of local elders, has been a powerful means for social control. In Soviet times, such formal organizations as the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD), Committee on State Security (KGB), the Communist party, and the social organizations (See "Social Organization") played central "control" functions. Although the Communist party treated the traditional forms of control with distrust throughout most of Soviet history, in recent years it turned to these for help in fighting such maladies as crime, alcoholism, and drugs.

Conflict. Numerous states have conquered the territory that comprises modern-day Uzbekistan (see "History and Cultural Relations"). The most important conquests by foreign invaders were those of the Mongols in the thirteenth century and the Russians in the twentieth. Until the twentieth century there were frequent wars among smaller states established in the region. The nineteenth-century internecine wars among these entities facilitated Russian conquest of the territory. Under Soviet rule there have been no open wars among the republics or regions of Central Asia. Beginning in the spring of 1989, however, there have been a number of violent mass disturbances involving Uzbeks clashing with members of other ethnic groups.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Uzbeks are Sunni Muslims. Because of the region's complex history, however, some beliefs and practices date back to the pre-Islamic past, in particular to Zoroastrianism. A belief in demons and other spirits was widespread in traditional Uzbek society.

Religious Practitioners. The Muslim Religious Board of Central Asia (located in Tashkent) supervises the "official" religious life and institutions in Uzbekistan and trains the "official" clergy. However, because the official institutions have been popularly viewed as coopted by the Communist party and because of limitations on training clergy, a large number of unofficial mullahs perform services. Since 1988, as relations between the party and official religious institutions have improved, many new mosques have opened and antireligious propaganda has drastically decreased. Historically, many Uzbeks belonged to Sufi *tariqat* (mystic orders). It is very difficult to judge how many adherents these organizations have today.

Ceremonies. Uzbeks, even those who do not consider themselves "believers," participate in a number of Muslim religious ceremonies. The most important are a few life-cycle rituals, in particular, weddings, male circumcisions, and funerals. In addition, many Uzbeks observe other Islamic practices, such as fasting during Ramadan. Only a handful have had the opportunity to perform the hajj to Mecca. The cult of tombs (*mazar*) of holy men is widespread in Central Asia. Commonly observed pre-Islamic rituals (e.g., those performed during the New Year, Navroz) are popularly considered Islamic. Because of the Communist party's antireligious policy, however, many Uzbeks were reluctant to participate openly in Islamic rituals until 1988.

Arts. Uzbekistan has a rich variety of art forms, reflecting the cultural influences of the many groups that have crossed Central Asia. During much of Soviet history, especially during the Stalin years, many of these were labeled "feudal." Moreover, the Soviet government encouraged artificial "mixing" of Uzbek and other cultures, usually as a cover for Russification. Nevertheless, in the late twentieth century the Uzbeks are paying renewed attention to study and development of traditional literature (especially poetry), music, and applied arts such as ceramics, calligraphy, metal crafting, and embroidery.

Medicine. Although some modern medicine was introduced into Uzbekistan during the Soviet period, the standard of health care—especially for the predominantly rural Uzbek population—is far below that in most European parts of the former USSR. Many of the serious health problems (e.g., a soaring cancer rate, a high infant-mortality rate, and hepatitis) are direct or indirect results of the reckless pursuit of cotton cultivation (including depletion of water supplies and use of large doses of toxic chemicals). Uzbeks have a rich tradition of folk medicine, but until late in the Communist era the party did not encourage its use.

See also Uzbeks in Part Two, China

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NANCY LUBIN AND WILLIAM FIERMAN

Volga Tatars

ETHNONYMS: Bulghar, Kazanlï, Mishär, Mösälman, Tatar

Orientation

Identification. The Volga Tatars are the westernmost of all Turkic ethnic groups living in the former Soviet Union. Among them, there are two major groups, the Kazan Tatars and the Mishars, who share a common literary language and culture despite ethnogenetic and linguistic particularities. The Volga Tatars live mainly in Tatarstan and Bashkirstan in Russia, but they can also be found in large numbers in other areas of Russia as well as in the republics of Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan in particular. As late as the second half of the nineteenth century, Volga Tatars preferred to identify themselves and to be identified by others as "Mösälman" (Muslims), in addition to using ethnonyms such as "Kazanlï," "Bulghar," and "Mishär." The Russians and other peoples identified them simply as "Tatars," a practice which often led to confusion, since Russians used the ethnonym to designate any Muslim of Turkic ethnic background living in European Russia and the Caucasus. The ethnonym "Tatar" was less than universally embraced because the popular as well as official identification of the Volga Tatars with the Mongol Tatars of the thirteenth century was at the root of the stigma attached to it. The ethnonym "Tatar" was controversial then, a quality it retained into the 1990s, when *glasnost* and *perestroika* made possible the renewal of the ethnonymic debates. The name of their homeland has changed since the tenth century from "Bulghar" to "Kazan," "Idel-Ural," and "Tatarstan" or "Tataria." In the Soviet system, their titular republic was called Tatarstan Avtonomiyale Sovet Sotsialistik Respublikase. Tatarstan is presently part of the Russian Federation formed in 1992.

Location. Most Volga Tatars live in the middle Volga's forest and forest-steppe zone (Tatarstan) and in the southern Ural Mountains (Bashkirstan), an area encompassing 211,600 square kilometers. The ecology, economy, culture, and history of the region have been shaped to a great extent by the rivers that cross it: Volga, Kama, Viatka, Sura, Sviaga, Belaia, and Samara.

Demography. According to the 1989 census data, there were some 6,645,588 Volga Tatars in the Soviet Union, a 7.4 percent increase compared to their numerical strength in 1979. Of these, less than 50 percent live in their historic homeland, the middle Volga-Ural region. The average population density per square kilometer is approximately 50.5 in the middle Volga region and 26.8 in the southern Ural area. Volga Tatars are one of the most urbanized ethnic groups of the former Soviet Union: 62.1 of those Volga Tatars who live in Tatarstan proper live in cities, compared to 50.3 of those Volga Tatars who live in other parts of Russia. Those who live in the republics of Central Asia enjoy levels of urbanization below 30 percent.

Linguistic Affiliation. Volga Tatars speak a language belonging to the West Turkic, Kïpchak, or Kïpchak-Bulghar Group. Volga Tatars have a single literary language, based on the Kazan dialect, but there are three main dialectal divisions based on lexical, phonetic, and morphological differences: Central (around Kazan), Western or Mishar (spoken by Tatars outside Tatarstan), and Eastern or Siberian. Regardless of dialect, Volga Tatar retains a Persian and Arabic influence in its vocabulary, in addition to the strong influence of Russian. The Arabic script, which the ancestors of the Volga Tatars adopted when they chose Islam as their religion in 922, was for more than a millennium the vehicle for the development of a rich literature, and indeed, the backbone of Tatar culture and civilization. In 1927, in the aftermath of the decision of the 1926 Turcological Congress held in Baku, it was replaced with a Latin script, which was, in turn, replaced with a Cyrillic script in 1939. Today Volga Tatars still use the Cyrillic script, but recent debates in the press have challenged the wisdom of the two previous alphabet changes.

History and Cultural Relations

The Volga Tatars are the descendants of the Kïpchak Turkic peoples who inhabited the western wing of the Mongol Empire, the *ulus* of Dzhuchi. Despite the fact that the issue of their ethnogenesis is still being hotly debated among scholars, Soviet and Western alike, there is agreement that by the sixteenth century, Volga Tatars were living in the area of the middle Volga River, which included the northern lands of the former Muslim state of the Turkic people called "Bulghar." Displaced from the Azov steppes by frequent Arab campaigns, the Bulghars had penetrated the middle Volga and lower Kama river regions in the first half of the eighth century. When their territory was conquered and devastated by the Mongol army of Batu

Khan in 1236, most of the survivors moved north, to the land beyond the Kama River. The Mongol conquerors, who organized their possessions north of the Black and Azov seas into a state that came to be known as the Golden Horde, never aimed at transforming the conquered lands in accordance with a Mongol weltanschauung. As a result, the area became a veritable melting pot and the ancestors of the Volga Tatars, the Bulghars and the Kipchak Turkic tribes inhabiting the lands of the Horde, participated in the ethnic and cultural syntheses that emerged.

The people of the khanate of Kazan that emerged in 1445 after the disintegration of the Golden Horde, were the product of these syntheses, and they wrote an important chapter in the history of the Volga Tatars. Despite the brevity of its life as a free political entity, (1445–1552) the khanate of Kazan exhibited socioeconomic dynamism and cultural vitality. It was during this period that the process of the ethnogenesis of the people we identify today as the Volga Tatars entered its final stages, and their language took shape as a distinct branch of the Turkic languages.

Ivan's conquest of Kazan in 1552 brought about the demise of the khanate as an independent political entity. The assimilationist policies imposed by the Russian state on the population of the khanate between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries ranged from forced conversion to economic coercion and cultural assimilation through education. The Tatars responded by fueling the social unrest of their homeland with their discontent, joining peasant rebellions such as those of S. Razin (1667–1771) and E. Pugachev (1773–1775).

By the end of the nineteenth century, the Volga Tatars were articulating new responses to the Russification policies of their government: they embarked upon a multifaceted movement of cultural reform and renewal called *jadidism* (from *usul-u-jadid*, "the new method of teaching"). The main goal of the movement was to achieve a harmonious balance between secularism and religion and between isolation and integration in their search for solutions and correctives to the socioeconomic, political, and cultural problems that preoccupied their communities. This movement received an added impetus during the years of political pluralism that followed the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905. It was further aided by the emergence of a dynamic Tatar-language press and book-publishing businesses. Journals such as *Shura* and newspapers such as *Vagt* were known among the Muslims of the Russian Empire and beyond. Religious reformers such as Sh. Merjani, M. J. Bigi, R. Fahreddin, A. Bubi, and others sought to bring about a renewal from within by returning to the pristine purity of the dogma, whereas poets such as A. Tukay—the national poet of the Volga Tatars—and intellectuals and politicians such as Y. Akchura and S. Maksudi addressed issues concerning Volga Tatar identity and political life. In the brief intermezzo between 1905 and 1917 the Volga Tatars actively participated in the political life of the empire, providing the bulk of the Muslim deputies for the four Russian dumas, becoming the main force behind the emergence of a Muslim political caucus (Ittifak-al-Muslimin), and joining parties that belonged to the entire breadth of the Russian political spectrum.

The revolutions of 1917 brought about hopes of establishing a Volga Tatar state. Their attempt to set up an independent Idel-Ural (Volga-Ural) state as a federation of the Turkic peoples living in that region failed, however. Instead, on 27 May 1920, the territory at the confluence of the Volga and the Kama—where only approximately 40 percent (1,169,342) of the Volga-Ural Tatars lived—was organized as the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, one of the constituent units of the Russian Federation. The bulk of the remaining Volga Tatars were placed under the jurisdiction of the Bashkir Republic, organized on 23 March 1919, and others under those of the adjoining territories of western Siberia, beyond the Urals and Central Asia.

The demise of the plans for a Volga-Ural federation, as well as the renewal of Russification policies under the guise of proletarian internationalism, contributed to the emergence of national communism in the 1920s. The theoretician of national communism was M. Sulvan Galiev (purged in 1928); one of its most remarkable cultural manifestations was the defense of Tatar national culture (language, Arabic script, religion, traditions).

The purges of the 1930s eliminated national communism as a political issue among the Volga Tatars, but in the post-World War II years its cultural manifestations endured in scholarship, as well as literature and the arts.

Today, the Volga Tatars participate actively in the economic life of their region, which is rich in gas and oil resources and a leader in the heavy machinery and chemical industries. Since 1985 they have been actively using the openness of the Gorbachev era in an attempt to both reclaim their past and participate in the decision-making process that will affect their future. Some of the most spectacular developments since 1985 are an upsurge of interest in Islam, coinciding in 1989 with the celebration of 1,100 years since the adoption of Islam by their ancestors; rehabilitation of major cultural and political figures such as M. J. Bigi, A. Ishaki, and M. Sulvan Galiev; defense of the national language, which unfolded in the campaign to make Tatar the official language of Tatarstan; and sovereignty for Tatarstan.

Settlements

The rural Tatar population of the Volga-Ural region resides mostly in the 1,659 villages of Tatarstan and Bashkirstan (807 and 852 respectively). Today there are no villages with an exclusively Tatar population. Even as only one of the components of the physiognomy of multiethnic villages (usually of the strip-and-cluster type), Tatar houses are easily identifiable, however, because of their architecture and decoration. The main construction material, for rich and poor alike, is wood. Stone gained popularity with the well-to-do peasants only in the nineteenth century. The houses of the Volga Tatars are built according to two main floor plans: simple one-room dwellings with an attached planked porch (average size: 6 by 8 meters, including the porch); two-room, hexagonal-shaped dwellings, actually constructed by linking with a corridor two traditional one-room houses. The room used by the family every day faces the street and is called *kara yak* (the black side), whereas the room reserved for guests is called *ak yak* (the white side). Houses were surrounded by high fences and gates.

Well-to-do peasants built two- and even three-story

houses, observing the same floor plan. The houses of the rich were distinguished not only by their size, building material (sometimes stone), and the lavish decorations, but also by the fact that they were laid across the property, rather than being parallel to the street. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the distance between the houses (of rich and poor peasants alike) and the streets began diminishing, and today there are many houses whose walls stand on the property line facing the street.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. Agriculture, crafts, cattle breeding, hunting, fishing, and trade represented the backbone of the economic life of the Volga Tatars for centuries. Beginning with the second half of the nineteenth century, and most dramatically after 1917, the traditional economic patterns changed: collectivized agriculture and industrialization were responsible for changes in rural areas and cities alike. As Tatars acquired industrial skills, entered the professions in larger numbers, and took white-collar jobs, the ratio of the urban population grew.

The Volga region has rich soil, suitable for agriculture, and rich oil and gas resources. Modern agricultural technology penetrated the area only in the twentieth century. Until then, the basic implements were the heavy metal plow with a single blade (*saban*), effective for the chernozem, and the light wooden plow used for podzol. For centuries, the traditional crops of the area were barley, wheat, and millet, and these continue to be the main crops today. Domestic animals include chickens, geese, sheep, and large cattle.

Industrial development accelerated in the Volga-Ural region, particularly after World War II; in addition to the oil and gas industries, and related to them, strong petrochemical and auto industries emerged. The Volga Tatars were known throughout their history for their active involvement in trade. Besides trading regionally, they acted as intermediaries between the Muslim states on the eastern and southern frontiers of the Russian state and the Russian merchants. Tatar merchants sold leatherwork, furs, fish, honey, and, until the sixteenth century, slaves. In the nineteenth century they became involved in the book trade, in addition to participating in the grain, soap, and candle trades.

Industrial Arts. The ancestors of the Volga Tatars (the Bulghars) were experts in processing the hides and pelts that were abundant in a hunting/agricultural economy. A certain type of leather even came to be known as "Bulghari." Leather craftsmen, along with potters, blacksmiths, coppersmiths, carpenters, stonemasons, jewelers, tanners, and tailors, remained a fixture of Tatar rural and urban communities into the twentieth century. Most of these crafts survive today.

Trade. All types of commercial enterprises were represented among the Volga Tatars. There were merchants of the first guild and large firms such as those of Saidashev, midsize and small enterprises, itinerant traders in rural areas, and peddlers of used clothing and food in large cities.

Division of Labor. The traditional division of labor assigned home tasks to women. They cooked and were in charge of producing the cloth to cover the personal and household needs of the entire family. They also tended vegetable gardens and were involved in preserving and preparing meats and dough products for winter consumption. Tending babies and raising the female children of the family until marriage was exclusively the domain of women. Men usually plowed, harrowed, engaged in trade and industry, and took charge of the education of male children. The division of labor is no longer rigidly observed, but most traditional approaches still endure.

Land Tenure. Land was collectively owned in the former Soviet Union. Agricultural land was either organized in kolkhozy or sovkhozy. Peasants working in these units were either members of a collective enterprise or state employees. Today, private ownership of land, industrial and commercial enterprises, and natural resources is one of the major issues in Tatarstan.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Volga Tatars traditionally lived in extended-family, multihousehold units. In these hexagonal-type dwellings, parents and their sons, or at least one of their sons, shared work responsibilities, as well as wealth. Today, even in villages, the nuclear family is becoming more prevalent.

Kinship Terminology. The kinship terms of the Volga Tatars resemble those of other Turkic peoples in at least two ways: the emphases on age and on the male/paternal line of the family. Thus, there are separate terms for older and younger sisters—*apa* and *senel* respectively—and special terms to distinguish patrilineal and matrilineal kin.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Tatar culture and society have been shaped by the imperatives of Islamic laws and traditions. Hence, Sharia, which sanctions polygamy, has governed the sphere of marriage and family life. Despite the fact that a man was permitted to marry up to four wives, until the end of the nineteenth century most men had no more than two wives. At the onset of the twentieth century, monogamous marriages were gaining ground, but religious endogamy was strictly observed until 1917. Today, monogamous marriage is the norm and arranged marriages are rare, but ethnically mixed marriages are no longer an exception, although their number has been decreasing in the last decade. Housing shortages in the cities are responsible for the fact that more and more often young couples reside with one or the other of their two families for an extended number of years.

Domestic Unit. All those who share the same ancestry, usually including the members of three generations, are considered a family, regardless of their place of residence. A family unit is usually comprised of those individuals belonging to either a nuclear or extended (including grandparents) family who reside together, share responsibilities, and pool their resources.

Inheritance. Male children traditionally received a larger share of their parents' property, and the responsibility of caring for the parents usually fell to one of them. Girls received a dowry, which, according to Islamic law, they con-

tinued to control fully, even after entering the families of their husbands. Although the laws of the former Soviet state applied to all citizens and provided for equal division of property, the force of tradition endured in many Tatar communities.

Socialization. Children are raised by mothers and female siblings. During the Soviet period, government-owned nurseries and kindergartens were available. In the family, emphasis is placed on respect for and deference to the opinion of the elders, whereas in the nurseries and kindergartens emphasis was on the importance of the collective and deference to its needs.

Sociopolitical Organization

Tatarstan and Bashkirstan—the lands where most of the Volga Tatars live—were autonomous republics (they received this status in 1919 and 1920) of the Russian Republic, which in turn, was one of the fifteen republics that comprised the Soviet Union. Today, following the demise of the USSR, the Russian Federation is comprised of eighteen of the twenty former autonomous republics. Tatarstan has chosen to remain independent.

Political Organization. In the Soviet era the major political-administrative units of the Volga-Ural area within the autonomous republics were districts (*raions*), cities, urban settlements, and villages. The local branches of the Soviet government and institutions were in charge of all aspects of life, from law enforcement to education and health services. What characterized them all was the still-strong level of centralization, despite promises of increased local autonomy.

Social Control. There were two levels of social control: official (through a set of Soviet institutions that promoted the socialist value system) and unofficial (through the family unit, which emphasized the traditional values of Tatar society).

Conflict. Family conflicts are usually arbitrated by the elders. Marriage conflicts that could not be solved within the family had to be submitted to the arbitration of Soviet organs, however.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Islam, which the ancestors of the Volga Tatars adopted in 922, has been the religion that shaped their lives and culture for more than a millennium. Volga Tatars belong to the Sunni branch of Islam, and within it, to the Hanefite legal school. In the Soviet era they were under the jurisdiction of the Religious Board for the Muslims of European USSR and Siberia. The seat of the Board (Muftiat) was in Bashkiria, in the city of Ufa. The head of the Muftiat, Talgat Tadzhuddinov, was appointed to this post in 1980 and was actively involved in using the opportunities offered by the era of openness to secure more freedom of worship for the Volga Tatars. The celebrations of 1,100 years of Islam in the middle Volga that took place in the summer of 1989 mark the high point of this new era. Other developments include opening new mosques, returning to the use of the believers old mosques that had been given secular uses, teaching the Arabic script and the fundamentals of religion, and printing new editions of the Quran and prayer books, as well as rehabilitating some of the leading religious figures of years past, such as M. J. Bigi. At the parish level, the most prominent figures are the mullahs and imams who are responsible for the performance of rituals and the religious education of their parishioners. Women cannot occupy these positions, but as in years past, wives of mullahs and imams or older women conversant in the ritual and dogma lead prayers for women and instruct them in the dogma and ritual. They are called *abïstays*.

Strict adherence to monotheism is required of every Muslim, and this fundamental obligation is expressed in the Shahadah (the profession of the creed): there is no God but God, and Mohammed is His Prophet. While adhering to this creed, Volga Tatars also honor saints and holy places, tombs associated with people whose lives were marked by special deeds and religious devotion. Some beliefs in supernatural forces still endure as remnants of the pre-Islamic history of the Volga Tatars, but overall, their influence on everyday life is minimal. One of these pre-Islamic traces is belief in the evil eye and the power of various amulets worn to annihilate its effect.

Ceremonies. The religious calendar of the Volga Tatars includes several major events: the month of Uraza (fasting [one of the most important ceremonial obligations of all Muslims]); the feast that follows it, Uraza Bäyram (the feast of sacrifice); and Gait Kurban; as well as the celebration of the birth of the Prophet, marked by prayers called Mäwliud. In addition, Volga Tatars celebrate two other festivgals, both echoes of their pre-Islamic culture: Navruz (New Year), the celebration of the arrival of spring on March 21, and Sabantui, the Festival of the Plow. This festival is held before the beginning of the spring agricultural cycle and consists of a week-long ritual that culminates with a day of athletic competitions, song, and dance.

Arts. Religious prohibitions were responsible for the absence of representative art among the Volga Tatars. Until the end of the nineteenth century, calligraphy and applied arts were the only forms that Volga Tatars embraced and developed. Of the calligraphers who specialized in the production of a religious art form—*shämail* (ornamented verses from the Quran)—the most famous in the nineteenth century was Ali Makhmudov.

Representational art had its beginnings at the beginning of the twentieth century when Volga Tatars were engaged in the jadidist reform movement. The main thrust of this movement was to forge a symbiosis between tradition and modernity without altering the essence of the religious creed. The Volga Tatars emerged from this search with a restored sense of their identity and dedicated their efforts toward renewal of their educational system, art, and literature. Hence, their first representational artists emerged at the beginning of the twentieth century. They were M. Galeev and G. Gumerov. With every decade, new names were added: S. S. Akhun, N. K. Valiullin, B. M. Al'menov, F. Sh. Tagirov, I. V. Rafikov, G. A. Rakhmankulova, L. A. Fattakhov, I. M. Khalilullov, Kh. A. Iakupov, and B. I. Urmanche—painter and sculptor, the doyen of Tatar art, who was active into the ninth decade of his life.

Volga Tatar music differs drastically from the music of other Turkic peoples because of its monophonic structure

that traditionally lacked instrumental accompaniment. Its modal basis is the pentatonic scale. Several genres of folk songs exist: *ozïn koi* (lyric-epic), *qïsqa koi* (dance songs), *avïl koe* (village song), *shekher koe* (city song), and *bäit* (narrative epic). Twentieth-century singers, however, have opted for musical accompaniment. The instrument of choice is the accordion (*garmun'* or *baian*); some Volga Tatars also play the mandolin.

Before the appearance of professional music at the beginning of the twentieth century, folk music dominated the musical life of the Volga Tatars. Tatar folk songs were first written down by Tatars such as G. Kh. Enikeev and G. G. Saifullin and Russians such as S. G. Rybakov in the nineteenth century. They have been collected and published since the 1930s, although some of the best collections, such as that of M. N. Nigmetzianov, were published in the 1970s.

The first Tatar opera (*saniya*) was staged in 1925, but the operatic art has blossomed only since the 1930s. Ballet and symphonic music also developed, particularly after World War II. Among the most prominent Tatar composers are M. Z. Iarullin, A. G. Valiullin, F. A. Akhmetov, and D. I. Iakupov.

Tatar literature developed along two lines, oral folk literature and a written literature. Islam influenced both, but the Arabic script was the vehicle for the development of written literature, whether religious or secular, until the end of the 1920s.

Some of the earliest monuments of Tatar written literature are Kol Gali's narrative love poem *Yusuf and Zuläikha* (thirteenth century) and Mukhammediar's didactic poems (sixteenth century). The literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was dominated by the religious (Sufi) poetry of Mävliya Kulï, Utïz Imäni, and Shamsetdin Zäki. In the nineteenth century, writers such as A. Kargalï and G. Kandalïy introduced themes of everyday life but also continued the tradition of religious odes.

The Tatar learned men of the nineteenth century were responsible for triggering the movement of reform and renewal that came to be known as jadidism. They were critics of scholasticism and some advanced anticlerical ideas, but all had an appreciation for enlightenment. Of these, A. Kursavi (1776–1818), Sh. Märjani (1813–1889), and Kayyum Nasiri (1825–1902) can be called the founders of modern Tatar culture. In the first decades of the twentieth century the Tatar national poet G. Tukay (1886–1913), romantic poets such as S. Ramiev (1880–1926) and Z. Ramiev (1859–1921), and revolutionary poets and writers such as G. Kulakhmetov (1881–1918), G. Ibragimov (1887–1937), and others flourished.

The literature of Socialist Realism, which dominated the Soviet literary scene from the 1930s to the 1980s, did produce, despite the confining imperatives of ideology, some enduring names in Tatar letters: G. Bashirov, Sh. Mannur, F. Khusni, and I. Gazi.

Musa Jalil, whose World War II experiences were recorded in his *Moabit Notebook*, may be the best-known writer of the war period but there are many others such as S. Khakim, Isanbet, Sh. Mudarris, and N. Fattakh.

The most notable developments of the post-World War II literature were the emergence of the "thaw" literature of the 1960s, represented by poets and writers such as I. Iuzeev, R. Kharisov, I. Aminov, T. Minnullin, and Zölfat, and the cultural explosion of the perestroika period, characterized by an effort to revitalize and retrieve the cultural values of the past and by a determination to save from extinction the main vehicle for the transmission of Tatar culture—the Tatar language.

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AZADE-AVSE RORLICH

Yakut

ETHNONYMS: Sakha, Urangkhai Sakha, Yakutians

Orientation

Identification. The Yakut, who prefer to call themselves "Sakha," live in Yakutia, the Sovereign Sakha Republic of the Russian Federation formed in 1992. The Yakut are the farthest-north Turkic people, with a consciousness of having once lived farther south kept alive by legends and confirmed by historical and archaeological research. The Yakut, spread through Yakutia yet concentrated in its center, have become a minority in their own republic. The majority is of Slavic background. Other minorities include the dwindling Yukagir of northern Yakutia, the Even, the Evenk, and the Dolgan, a mixed Yakut-Evenk group.

Location. Yakutia is a 3,100,000-square-kilometer territory (over four times the size of Texas) in eastern Siberia (the Soviet Far East). Located at approximately 56 to 71° N and 107 to 152° E, it is bounded by Chukotka to the northeast, Buriatia in the south, and the Evenk region to the west. Its northern coast stretches far above the Arctic Circle, along the East Siberian Sea, and its southern rim includes the Stanovoi Mountains and the Aldan plateau. Its most majestic river, the Lena, flows north along cavernous cliffs, into a long valley, and past the capital, Yakutsk. Other key river systems where major towns have developed include the Aldan, Viliui, and Kolyma. About 700,000 named rivers and streams cross Yakutia, which has some agricultural land but is primarily nonagricultural taiga with vast resources of gold, other minerals, gas, and oil. Tundra rims the north, except for forests along the rivers. Notorious for extremes of cold, long winters, and hot, dry summers, Yakutia has two locations that residents claim to be the "coldest on earth": Verkhoiansk and Oimiakon, where temperatures have dipped to −79° C. More typical are winters of 0° to −40° C and summers of 10° to 30° C.

Demography. The 1989 Soviet census recorded a population of 147,386,000 for the Russian Republic, and 1,081,000 for the Yakut Autonomous Republic. The Yakut numbered 382,000, an increase from 328,000 in 1979. In the 1920s they constituted about 82 percent of their republic's population; by 1989 they were only 35 percent. The Yakut have become increasingly urban in the past twenty years, although at a slower rate than the majority (Slavic) population. Whole villages in central and northern Yakutia remain solidly Yakut, whereas the major cities of Yakutia are heavily Russian. The population of Yakutia was 65 percent urban in 1989. As many as 10 percent of marriages were between Yakut and other nationalities in the 1970s and 1980s, although this percentage was declining by 1990.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Yakut speak Yakut, a Northeast Turkic language of the Altaic Language Family. It is one of the most divergent of the Turkic languages, closely related to Dolgan (a mixture of Evenk and Yakut sometimes described as a Yakut dialect). The Yakut, over 90 percent of whom speak Yakut as their mother tongue, call their language "Sakha-tyla." Their current written language, developed in the 1930s, is a modified Cyrillic script. Before this, they had several written forms, including a Latin script developed in the 1920s and a Cyrillic script introduced by missionaries in the nineteenth century. Yakut lore includes legends of a written language lost after they traveled north to the Lena Valley.

History and Cultural Relations

Yakut oral histories begin well before first contact with Russians in the seventeenth century. For example, *olonkho* (epics) date at least to the tenth century, a period of interethnic mixing, tensions, and upheaval that may have been a formative period in defining Yakut tribal affiliations. Ethnographic and archaeological data suggest that the ancestors of the Yakut, identified in some theories with the Kuriakon people, lived in an area near Lake Baikal and may have been part of the Uighur state bordering China. By the fourteenth century, Yakut ancestors migrated north, perhaps in small refugee groups, with herds of horses and cattle. After arrival in the Lena Valley, they fought and intermarried with the native Evenk and Yukagir nomads. Thus, both peaceful and belligerent relations with northern Siberians, Chinese, Mongols, and Turkic peoples preceded Russian hegemony.

When the first parties of Cossacks arrived at the Lena River in the 1620s, Yakut received them with hospitality and wariness. Several skirmishes and revolts followed, led at first by the legendary Yakut hero Tygyn. By 1642 the Lena Valley was under tribute to the czar; peace was won only after a long siege of a formidable Yakut fortress. By 1700 the fort settlement of Yakutsk (founded in 1632) was a bustling Russian administrative, commercial, and religious center and a launching point for further exploration into Kamchatka and Chukotka. Some Yakut moved northeast into territories they previously had not dominated, further assimilating Evenk and Yukagir. Most Yakut, however, remained in the central meadowlands, sometimes assimilating Russians. Yakut leaders cooperated with Russian commanders and governors, becoming active in trade, furtax collection, transport, and the postal system. Fighting among Yakut communities decreased, although horse rustling and occasional anti-Russian violence continued. For example, a Yakut Robin Hood named Manchari led a band that stole from the rich (usually Russians) to give to the poor (usually Yakut) in the nineteenth century. Russian Orthodox priests spread through Yakutia, but their followers were mainly in the major towns.

By 1900 a literate Yakut intelligentsia, influenced both by Russian merchants and political exiles, formed a party called the Yakut Union. Yakut revolutionaries such as Oiunskii and Ammosov led the Revolution and civil war in Yakutia, along with Bolsheviks such as the Georgian Ordzhonikidze. The consolidation of the 1917 Revolution was protracted until 1920, in part because of extensive opposition to Red forces by Whites under Kolchak. The Yakut Republic was not secure until 1923. After relative calm during Lenin's New Economic Policy, a harsh collectivization and antinationalist campaign ensued. Intellectuals such as Oiunskii, founder of the Institute of Languages, Literature, and History, and Kulakovskii, an ethnographer,

were persecuted in the 1920s and 1930s. The turmoil of Stalinist policies and World War II left many Yakut without their traditional homesteads and unaccustomed to salaried industrial or urban work. Education both improved their chances of adaptation and stimulated interest in the Yakut past.

Settlements

As horse and cattle breeders, the Yakut had a transhumant pattern of summer and winter settlements. Winter settlements comprised as few as twenty people, involving several closely related families who shared pastureland and lived in nearby yurts (*balagan*) with surrounding storehouses and corrals. The yurts were oblong huts with slanted earthen walls, low ceilings, sod roofs, and dirt floors. Most had an adjoining room for cattle. They had substantial hearths, and fur-covered benches lining the walls demarcated sleeping arrangements according to social protocol. Yurts faced east, toward benevolent deities. In summer families and their animals moved to larger encampments. The most ancient summer homes, *urasy*, were elegant birch-bark conical tents. Some could hold 100 people. Their ceilings soared at the center point, above a circular hearth. Around the sides were wide benches placed in compartments that served as ranked seating and sleeping areas. Every pole or eave was carved with symbolic designs, the motifs of which included animals, fertility, and lineage identities. By 1900 urasy were rare; summer homes were yurts or combination yurt-log cabins. By 1950 yurts were also obsolete, found only in a few museums. Yet collectives still send workers to summer sites to graze cattle away from large villages. Housing is Russian style, often rough-hewn log huts with broad, raised stoves. Many families, even in large towns, rely on outhouses and outdoor water pumps. Some collectives, however, are gradually letting workers build more substantial individual family homes with modern amenities. Another style is the "village of the urban type," with low, concrete apartment buildings and indoor plumbing. The largest city is Yakutsk (with a population of 187,000 people in 1989). The towns of Viliusk, Olekminsk, Neriungri, and Mirny grew rapidly in the 1980s.

Economy

Subsistence Activities and Trade. Traditional pastoralism in central Yakutia required homestead self-reliance, with intense dependence on calves and foals in a harsh climate. Stables, corrals, and haying developed in conjunction with hardy breeds of cattle and short, fat, furry horses. Richer families owned hundreds of horses and cattle; poorer ones raised a few cattle or herded for others. A huge variety of dairy products, including fermented mare's milk (Russian: *kumys*), was the staple food; meat was reserved for special occasions. The diet was augmented by hunting (bears, elk, squirrels, hare, ferrets, fowl), fishing (salmon, carp, *muksun, mundu*), and, under Russian influence, agriculture (cereals). Wealthy Yakut hunted on horseback, using dogs. The poorest Yakut, those without cattle, relied on fishing with horsehair nets and, in the north, herded reindeer like their Evenk and Yukagir neighbors. Yakut also engaged in the fur trade; by the twentieth century hunters for luxury furs had depleted the ermines, sables, and foxes, and they were relying on squirrels. Yakut merchants and transporters spread throughout the entire northeast, easing communications and trade for natives and Russians. They sold luxuries like silver and gold jewelry and carved bone, ivory, and wood crafts in addition to staples such as butter, meat, and hay. Barter, Russian money, and furs formed the media of exchange. Guns were imported, as was iron for local blacksmiths.

Industrial Arts. Before iron was imported, ironworkers used ore from local marshes. Similarly, ceramics made from local clay preceded Russian pottery. Most homemade crafts were for household use: decorated birch-bark containers, leather bags, dairy-processing equipment, horsehair blankets, fur clothing, benches, hitching posts, and elaborately carved wooden containers (including *chorons* for kumys).

Division of Labor. Although occupations within a household were divided by gender and status, the atmosphere was usually one of productive group activity. All participated in hay making, cattle herding, and milking, but, in general, horses were a male preserve and cattle a female responsibility. Women tended children and fires, prepared food, carried water, and made clothing and pottery. Men handled more strenuous firewood preparation, house building, sled making, hunting, fishing, and mowing. Ivory carving and wood-and metalworking were male tasks. These divisions have held through the twentieth century in households of rural collectives, although possibilities have also expanded. Women now hunt, fish, and engage in crafts once associated with men. They have become doctors, nurses, teachers, engineers, bookkeepers, and politicians. Some women work in the growing industrial sector. Men are engineers, tractor drivers, geologists, teachers, doctors, managers, and workers in the lucrative energy, metallurgy, gold, diamond, and building industries. In the 1980s a Yakut man was director of the Yakutia gold ministry and a Yakut woman was head of the republic legislature. The intelligentsia of Yakutia is dominated by Yakut men and women in prestigeous cultural, scientific, and political jobs.

Kinship

Key kin relations are based on a patrilineage (*aqa-usa*) that traces membership back nine generations. Within this, children born to a specific mother are distinguished as a group (*ye-usa*), and may form the basis for different households (*korgon*). Historically, more distant kin were recognized on two levels, the *aimak* (or territorial *nasleg*), with one to thirty lineages, and the *dzhon* (or territorial *ulus*), composed of several aimak. These larger units were united by alliances, including for common defense, and by economic relations; these links were renewed at councils and festivals. Kin terms reflect gender and age distinctions and distinguish senior from junior paternal lines. Any relation, affinal or consanguinal, is called *uru*, which is the word for "wedding."

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Traditionally, for wealthy Yakut, marriage could be polygamous. More common, however, was monogamy, with occasional remarriage after the death of a

spouse. Arranged marriages were sometimes politically motivated. Patrilineage exogamy was reckoned strictly; those one could marry were called *sygan*. Until the 1920s many marriage arrangements were complicated and protracted, involving financial, emotional, and symbolic resources of the bride's and groom's extended families. This included the matchmaking ritual; several formal payments of animals, furs, and meat to the bride's family; informal gifts; and extensive dowries. Some families permitted poor grooms to work in their households as a replacement for the bride-price. Occasionally bride-capture occurred (it may have been more common in pre-Russian times). Wedding ceremonies and their attendant feasts, prayers, and dancing, were held first at the household of the bride's parents, then at that of the groom's. The couple usually lived with the groom's parents or settled in a nearby yurt. Since the 1970s interest in limited aspects of ritual and gift exchange has revived, although few couples are paired through matchmakers. In the 1980s one young man was chagrined to find that a woman he had fallen in love with on a train was a distant cousin, a forbidden marriage partner according to kin rules still observed.

Inheritance. By customary law, land, cattle, and horses, although used by households, were controlled by the patriline. Animal or land sale and inheritance were approved by elders. But by the twentieth century smaller families were keeping resources, in part because of the decline of large horse droves. Men owned most of the wealth and passed it to their sons, especially elder sons, although the youngest son often inherited the family yurt. Mothers could pass on dowries to daughters, but the dowry could be forfeited by bad behavior. In theory, dowries included land, as well as goods, jewelry, and animals, although in practice elders rarely gave land to another lineage. Soviet law limited inheritance to goods, and nonstate housing could be bequeathed at individual discretion. Most apartments and summer houses were kept in families.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social and Political Organization. Kinship and politics were mixed in the hierarchical council system that guided aqa-usa, aimak, and dzhon. Yakut explanations of dzhon in the nineteenth century included concepts like "people," "community," or "tribe," territorially defined. Councils were composed of ranked circles of elders, usually men, whose leaders, *toyons*, were called nobles by Russians. A lineage head was *bis-usa-toyon*; respected warriors and hunters were *batyr*. Lineage councils decided major economic issues, interfamily disputes, and questions of blood revenge for violence committed against the group. Aimak and dzhon councils were infrequent, dealing with issues of security, revenge, alliance, and, before Russian control, war. Through war, slaves were captured for service in the wealthiest toyon households. Kin-based councils were rare by the nineteenth century and had little influence on twentieth-century politics. Yet in the Soviet period Yakut remained aware of regional and kin ties and helped kin obtain jobs and political positions. In this period the Yakut elite, some of whom were Communist party members, revived certain traditions, participating in wedding ceremonies and annual festivals once associated with council meetings. To avoid doing so would have been impolitic. Yakut have demanded greater economic and political autonomy from Moscow, and some Yakut politicians, including the elected president, are reformers implementing the new republic constitution. A major ecological movement and democratically elected councils are trying to redress local grievances.

Social Conflict and Control. In the Soviet period the Communist party controlled the courts and congresses of the Yakut, most of whom felt removed from policy making until the Gorbachev period. Demonstrations erupted on Yakutsk streets several times in the 1980s, mostly by young Yakut protesting police inaction over violent incidents involving Russians and Yakut. Tensions exist between newcomers and natives, developers and ecological activists, and "internationalists" and "nationalists." In addition, minorities, such as the Evenk, Even, and Yukagir, have demanded greater cultural and political rights. In response, a precedent-setting national district within Yakutia, the Even-Bytantaisk Raion, was established in 1989.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Yakut religion derives from Turkic, Mongolic, Tungusic, and Russian ideas. Labels like "animist," "shamanist," or "Russian Orthodox" do not suffice. Ideas of sin are syncretized with concepts of contamination and taboo. Saints and bears are seen as shamanic spirit helpers. Christ is identified with the Yakut Bright Creator Elder God, Aiyy-toyon. A pantheon of gods, believed to live in nine hierarchical eastern heavens, was only one aspect of a complex traditional cosmology that still has meaning for some Yakut. Another crucial dimension was the spirit-soul (*ichchi*) of living beings, rocks, trees, natural forces, and objects crafted by humans. Most honored was the hearth spirit (*yot ichchite*), still fed morsels of food and drink by pious Yakut. Giant trees (*al lukh mas*), deep in the forest, were especially sacred: their ichchi are still given small offerings of coins, scarves, and ribbons. Belief in ichchi is related to ancient ideas of harmony and equilibrium with nature, and to shamanism. Yakut shamanism is a Turkic, Mongolic, and Tungusic blend of belief in the supernatural, with emphasis on the ability of "white," or benign, shamans to intercede, through prayers and séances, with eastern spirits for the sake of humans. "Black" shamans, communing with evil spirits, could both benefit and harm humans.

Religious Practitioners. As with other Siberian peoples, Yakut shamans (*oiun* if male, *udagan* if female) combine medical and spiritual practice. Despite centuries of Russian Orthodox and Soviet discrediting of shamans as greedy charlatans, some Yakut maintain belief in shamans and supernatural powers. Others, struggling to recover spirituality after rejecting Marxist-Leninist materialism, accept aspects of shamanic philosophy. Still others, influenced by Soviet education and science, reject all religion as superstition. In the nineteenth century a few Yakut leaders financed the building of Russian Orthodox churches, and many Yakut declared themselves Christian, but this did not mean that they saw Christianity and shamanism as mutually exclusive. The Yakut also believed in the spiritual power of blacksmiths. By the 1980s shamans in Yakutia were rare and more likely to be Evenk than Yakut. Yet rituals once

associated with spirit belief were being revived by urban as well as rural Yakut.

Ceremonies. The most important ceremony, associated with a founding Yakut ancestor named Ellei, is the annual summer *yhyak* festival, a celebration of seasonal change, of kumys (fermented mare's milk), and of kin solidarity. Once a religious celebration led by a shaman, the ceremony has been adapted since World War I into a secular commemoration of Yakut traditions. Practiced in villages and towns, it features opening prayers (*algys*) and libations of kumys to the earth. Although some Yakut debate its "authenticity," the festival still includes feasting, horse racing, wrestling, and all-night line dancing to improvised chants. It lasts three joyous days in Suntar, where it is especially famed. Wedding rituals, pared down from previous eras, center around memorial hitching posts (*serqe*), carved for the occasion, with couples honored by prayers, special food, and dancing. New rituals marking wedding anniversaries and graduations at all educational levels include the placement of serge, on which the names of those honored are carved. But traditional rituals of birth, supplicating the goddess of fertility, Aiyyhyt, have become less popular, with some Yakut women even mocking the restrictions that were once associated with beliefs about female impurity. Russian Orthodox holidays are rarely celebrated.

Arts. Yakut art takes many forms, sometimes rooted in ritual life, but, in the Soviet period, often secular and commercial. Silver and gold jewelry, once considered talismanic, is enjoyed for its aesthetic value. Famed for ivory-and woodcarving, Yakut artists have branched into graphic art, painting, and sculpture. Filmmakers, theater groups, and opera and dance companies enrich cultural life in Yakutia and beyond. Continuity of folk art is strongest in exuberant improvisational poetry that accompanies line dancing (*ohuokhai*) and in a revival of mouth-harp (*khomus*) playing. But few young people memorize the olonkho that once took days to tell. Instead, olonkho heroes are memorialized in other art forms.

Medicine. With the decline of shamanism, most Yakut rely on Western medicine administered in hospitals and clinics. Yet rumors persist of faith healing, described as spiritual or hypnotic. A few Yakut with shamanic family backgrounds attend medical school, supporting the belief among Yakut that healing talent can be inherited. Traditional healers (who had long periods of apprenticeship) were specialized, with herbal experts, bonesetters, shaman's assistants, and various grades of shamanic power. Sources vary as to whether male or female shamans were more powerful. Drumming and the music of the khomus enhanced a shaman's trance during séances to ascertain the cause of illness. Each person was believed to have three souls, which were necessary to maintain health.

Death and Afterlife. At the demise of all three souls, especially *tyn* or "breath," a person was declared dead. On the deathbed, the family sometimes dressed the dying in funeral attire. Before burial, the deceased's spirit visited every place he or she had traveled in life. On the third day, bearers took the body to the graveyard, where a grave was prepared deep enough to touch permafrost and shallow enough to be seen by escort spirits. A horse, steer, or reindeer was sacrificed, to help the deceased travel to the land of the dead and to provide food for family and grave preparers. One of the deceased's souls, *kut*, was believed to travel skyward to a lush greenery-filled heaven. People feared that souls could stay on earth, becoming *yor* capable of haunting kin. Fears of yor, especially yor of shamans, lingered in the 1980s. Burials were mixtures of pre-Soviet and Soviet ritual, with traditional symbolism observed more in villages than in cities.

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Yezidis

ETHNONYMS: Self-designation: Duasen (pl., Dâseni); Iz(e) di, Yazîdî. The origin of the term "Yezidi" is uncertain;

many scholars believe it to be cognate with the Persian *iized*, "deity, angel." The Yezidis are often referred to as "devil worshipers" by their Muslim and Christian neighbors.

Orientation

Identification. The Yezidis are a Kurdish-speaking people practicing a distinctive religion, neither Christian nor Muslim. They physically resemble the Muslim Kurds and the Armenians of the Lake Van region, although they consider themselves a separate people. (Some Yezidis, indeed, take umbrage at being referred to as "Kurds.") Some scholars believe that they may represent the remnants of the ancient Iraqi population.

Location. Most of the Yezidis dwell in five districts: (1) Sheihan, the most important, to the northeast of Mosul in northern Iraq; (2) Jabal Sinjar, near the Syrian border, 100 kilometers due west of Mosul; (3) Halitiyeh, in the province of Diyarbakïr (southeastern Turkey); (4) Malliyah, to the west of the Euphrates, including Aleppo; (5) Sarahdar, the Yezidi settlements in the Caucasus region. The vast majority of Yezidis in the former USSR live in Armenia and Georgia. Urban centers with significant Yezidi populations include Leninakan, Etchmiadzin, and Tbilisi. There are also communities in Aparan and Talin (Armenia) and Lachin and Kelbajar (western Azerbaijan). There are a few small communities in Turkmenistan, which arrived with Kurds from Iran in the twentieth century.

Demography. According to the 1926 census, the total population of Yezidi Kurds in the USSR was 14,523, of which 12,237 lived in Armenia. The Yezidis then comprised 80 percent of the Kurdish-speaking population of Armenia and 22 percent of that of Georgia. The subsequent Soviet censuses did not distinguish between the Yezidis and the Kurds. A census conducted in 1989 counted a Yezidi population of 51,900 in Armenia. There are as of yet no comparable figures for other republics of the former USSR. The Yezidi population in the former USSR was estimated at around 25,000 in 1980.

Linguistic Affiliation. Almost all of the Yezidis speak Kurdish dialects similar to the Kurmandz dialect of most Soviet Kurds. The Kurdish language belongs to the Northwestern Subgroup of the Iranian Group of the Indo-European Family.

History and Cultural Relations

According to tradition, the Yezidis originated in Syria, in the vicinity of Basra, and later migrated into the Sindjar region of Iraqi Kurdistan, where they adopted the Kurdish language. Some Kurdish scholars hold that Yezidism was the national religion of the Kurds in the Middle Ages. The religion is believed to have been founded by Shaahid ibn Djarraah, the true son of Adam, and later restored by the caliph Yazîd ibn Mu'âwaiya (although there is no evidence that this latter individual was ever associated with the sect claimed by some to bear his name). Another semilegendary figure revered by the Yezidis is the Sufi Sheikh 'Adî ibn Musâfir (died c. 1162), who they believe was sent by the Peacock Angel (see "Religious Beliefs") to educate and guide the Yezidis. His tomb near Mosul in northern Iraq is the most important site of pilgrimage in the Yezidi religion.

Throughout their history the Yezidis have been subject to persecution by their Muslim and Christian neighbors. The Muslims do not regard the Yezidis as a "People of the Book," and some have even considered them to be a heretic Muslim sect. This belief, along with their refusal to enter the military service, has at times been used by hostile governments to justify attempts at forced conversion and even extermination of the Yezidis. Several waves of religious persecution in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries drove Yezidi populations into Transcaucasia. In general, the Yezidis have enjoyed more amicable relations with Christians than with Muslims (including Muslim Kurds). A particularly close tie has evolved between the Yezidis and the Armenians, their fellow sufferers in many persecutions on Ottoman territory. By the 1830s many Yezidi tribespeople were being allowed to settle in the province of Yerevan. The largest waves of migration were subsequent to the Russo-Turkish conflicts of 1853–1856, 1877–1878, and 1914–1918. Most of these Yezidi newcomers settled in Armenia; a smaller proportion of them continued on into Georgia. The 1877 census counted 8,000 Yezidis in the province of Yerevan, and over twice that many were recorded in 1912. By 1916 nearly 5,000 Yezidis were living in Tbilisi, the Georgian capital. Subsequent to the rectification of the frontier between the USSR and Turkey in 1921, the Yezidis in the Surmaly District were resettled in villages near Mt. Aragats (northwest of Yerevan), which had been abandoned by Muslim Kurds and Turks.

Literacy. In the past most of the Kurds of Transcaucasia were illiterate. In the case of the Yezidis, according to some accounts, the laity was forbidden, or in any event discouraged, from learning to read and write. Even most of the clergy was functionally illiterate until the twentieth century, when the Soviet government established a system of universal education.

Cultural Relations. The Yezidis have a relatively good reputation within Armenia. In urban areas, their socioeconomic status is a bit lower than that of Armenians, although assimilated Yezidis are accepted as the equals of members of the majority population. The social world of rural Yezidis is somewhat separate from their Armenian neighbors, however, because of the strict Yezidi caste system. In general, the economic role of the Yezidis is respected, and there is no interethnic conflict or hostility.

Settlements

The Yezidis have traditionally divided themselves into two groups, according to their life-styles: the sedentary "people of the villages" (Ahl al-hadr) and the nomadic "people of the tents" (Ahl al-wabar). The sedentary Yezidis live in villages of about sixty houses. The houses are made of clay, stone, or raw brick; covered with white plaster; and divided into three main rooms. The roof is supported by wooden pillars. The nomadic Yezidis live in low tents, firmly lashed to the ground to resist the wind—each housing about five people. After the annexation of Armenia by the former USSR, the nomads were encouraged to settle in villages, and the majority of Transcaucasian Yezidis have by now abandoned the nomadic way of life. Some, however, con-

tinue to migrate between summer and winter villages. The first Yezidi collective farm in Soviet Armenia was established in 1928; nevertheless, in 1936 most of the farms near Mt. Aragats were still cultivated by individuals.

Economy

The traditional occupations of the Yezidis have been agriculture and livestock raising. The Yezidis of the Sinjar District of Iraq raise figs, grapes, almonds, and nuts, among other crops. Transcaucasian Yezidis in rural areas continue to depend on raising sheep and cattle. Yezidi women living in cities often work as street sweepers, and the men are employed in a wide range of jobs.

Clothing. Yezidi men were traditionally distinguished by their shirts worn closed up to the neck, which are prescribed by their religion. They wore white trousers and cloaks, and their hair was tied up underneath a turban, the color of which marked the various orders of the clergy. Women wore white skirts and trousers and adorned themselves with kerchiefs, bracelets, coins, and rings. Married women were dressed in white and wore shirts similar to those of the men.

As recently as the 1970s, Transcaucasian Yezidis wore distinctive costumes in rural areas, and to the present day they avoid blue clothing (a color tabooed by their religion). Women, especially older ones, still wear bright-colored skirts and wrap scarves about their heads. The apparel of the men is now little different from that of their Armenian neighbors.

Trade. The Yezidis have a reputation for avoiding business activity, which they believe is conducive to cheating. Nonetheless, since the Soviet period some Transcaucasian Yezidis involved in animal husbandry have become extremely wealthy from the sale of meat and dairy products.

Division of Labor. Although considered inferior to men, Yezidi women do much of the same work and even engage in fighting against enemies. They converse freely with men and do not veil their faces from them as some Muslim women do.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. The Yezidi tribal structure consists of at least two levels: the *bav*, comprising all the descendants of a single ancestor, subdivided into groups (*bra*) of immediate relatives. In general, family bonds are of greater importance than those pertaining to the tribe.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. The Yezidis marry young, at around 15 years of age for boys and 13 for girls. One must marry within the Yezidi community; there are also restrictions on marriages between the clerical and lay classes and between relatives. In Armenia, Yezidis generally do not marry outside their class—and never marry Kurds. Some assimilated urban Yezidis have married Armenians.

Monogamy is the rule, except for wealthy or high-ranking individuals (e.g., the emir, who may take six or more wives). In general marital partners choose each other on the basis of mutual attraction, although the consent of their respective family heads is considered necessary. The prospective husband must pay a bride-price (*kalam*) of about thirty sheep or goats to the woman's father or brother. Elopements are sometimes secretly arranged by the couple to avoid this major expense.

The marriage ceremony begins with the escorting of the bride from her father's house to that of the groom. Along the way she prays at each shrine she encounters, including Christian churches. Upon her arrival at the groom's home, the latter greets her with a blow from a small stone, to indicate her submission to him from then on. The bride remains in the groom's house for three days, concealed behind a curtain in a darkened room, during which time the groom cannot see her. On the evening of the third day the sheikh solemnizes the marriage in a brief ceremony, marked by the bride and groom each taking the end of a stick and breaking it, to symbolize the intactness of their relationship until death breaks it asunder.

Divorce can be obtained, although the testimony of witnesses to infidelity is sometimes deemed necessary. Should a Yezidi man leave the community and remain abroad for more than a year, his marriage can be annulled, and he may be forbidden to marry another Yezidi woman as well.

Domestic Unit. The Yezidis live in nuclear-family groups. The father is head of the household and exercises full authority over his wife and children. The eldest son is second in authority after the father.

Inheritance. Wills are made orally, before three witnesses. Property is divided equally among a deceased man's sons or, if he has left no sons, among his brothers or cousins. Daughters do not receive a share of the inheritance, and even the money paid for their purchase as brides is divided among their brothers and uncles.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. The major feature of Yezidi social structure is a three-tiered caste system.

Myur (pl., *Mrit*) belong to the lay caste, regardless of the wealth or position of the individual members. Each Yezidi is the disciple of a specific sheikh or *pyir*, who performs certain important rituals for the disciple. Lay Yezidis must kiss the hand of their spiritual master each day. A subgroup within the Myur caste, the Jab-Nabba, had to wear woolen shirts and defend the sacred beliefs of the Yezidis.

The clergy are drawn from the remaining two castes, pyir and sheikh. They enjoy special prestige in Yezidi society. Many of the clerical ranks are inherited. The priests are typically men, but should a woman inherit a priestly office, she is treated with the same respect as that due a man. The principal ranks (which are not to be confused with the identical caste names) are the sheikhs, the pyirs, the *kawwâls*, and the *fakîrs*.

The sheikhs derive from only five families, which trace their ancestry to the pupils or brothers of the deified Sheikh 'Adî. Their houses serve as places of worship. The chief sheikh is chosen from among the descendants of the previous chief, with personal qualification as well as directness of descent factoring into the decision. He is regarded as the chief authority on spiritual matters and the interpre-

tation of the Yezidi scriptures. In Transcaucasia, a woman can never function as sheikh, regardless of her caste.

The pyirs are priests of lesser rank who preside at religious festivals, weddings, circumcisions, etc., for which services fees are paid to them.

The kawwâls are singers and musicians—their instruments are the flute, tambourine, and drum—who perform at festivals and processions. There are also dancers (*kochak*) who serve at the tomb of Sheikh 'Adî and perform, at Yezidi festivals, a frenzied dance with their long hair untied and waving about.

The fakîrs (also known as *kara-bash*—"black-heads"—because of the black turbans signifying their rank) are the lowest order of clergy. They perform menial tasks at the tomb of Sheikh 'Adî, such as hewing wood, drawing water, and collecting contributions for the upkeep of the shrine.

Political Organization. The Iraqi Yezidis recognize two leaders: the chief sheikh (see "Social Organization") and the Emîr al-umarâ (also known as Mîrzâ Beg), who is their chief temporal authority and representative in external affairs. The spiritual and secular leaders of the Transcaucasian Yezidis are drawn from the sheikh caste.

Social Control. Many foreign visitors have noted the dignified and orderly comportment of the Yezidis, said to contrast favorably with that of their neighbors. Respect for parents and the elderly is considered an important virtue.

Conflict. The severest punishment recognized by the Yezidis is excommunication, which only the chief sheikh, with the approval of the tribal chief, can decree. Blood feuds occur among the Yezidis, as among the Muslim Kurds.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. The Yezidis have a distinctive religious system, the origins of which remain unclear. Scholars have discerned elements resembling those of the Manichaean, Zoroastrian, Mandaean Gnostic, Jewish, Christian (especially Nestorian), and Muslim (especially Sufi) traditions, but there is no evidence that the Yezidi religion represents an offshoot of any one of them. Only those born into the Yezidi community can belong to the religion; the Yezidis do not appear to accept converts.

The branding of the Yezidis as "devil worshipers" has, in fact, a basis in their religious practices, although they are nothing at all like the satanic cults one associates with this label. Yezidi theology recognizes a fundamental distinction between two principles: the good principle is represented by God (Khude), a *deus otiosus* who created the world but does not participate in its daily affairs. It is to the evil principle that takes an active role in worldly matters that prayers and offerings are made. This second deity, associated with the Devil, is Malak-Tā'ûs or Malek-Tauz, the "Peacock Angel"—a fallen angel punished by God for rebellion against divine authority. One of the core elements of Yezidi religious practice is the propitiation of the evil principle through worship and offerings in order to insure good fortune and happiness in the world. (According to some Yezidi informants, God is so good that he has no need of worship, whereas the Peacock Angel is so evil as to require constant appeasement [Badger 1852, 126].)

Malek-Tauz is depicted in the form of seven bronze and iron peacock statues (*sanjaq*), associated with the seven angels who participated in the creation of the world and the seven principal divisions of the Yezidi community (the five districts—see "Location"—plus the nomadic Yezidis and the tomb of Sheikh 'Adî). Yezidis insist that these peacock statues are not idols, merely symbols of their faith. Every few months the sanjaqs are carried in procession in their respective districts and displayed in the homes of prominent families. The faithful bow before the statue and make offerings of money or valuables. Probably associated with the cult of Malek-Tauz is the strict taboo on pronouncing certain words associated with the Devil, as well as words of similar sound. For example, a Yezidi must not say the words "Sheitan" (Satan) and *laan* (curse), nor the near homophones *shat* (river) and *naal* (horseshoe).

Other important religious observances include: (1) the daily prayer (in the Kurdish language) at sunrise, addressed to Malek-Tauz and the seven angels; (2) certain practices and abstentions (e.g., from sexual intercourse) on Wednesday, the holy day of the week; (3) the New Year's festival, on the first Wednesday of April, celebrated at the tomb of Sheikh 'Adî; (4) an annual pilgrimage to that same tomb in mid-September, accompanied by music and dancing, ritual bathing, processions, and the lighting of oil lamps at the graves of Yezidi saints. (The Transcaucasian Yezidis were unable to make this pilgrimage during the Soviet period, and there were no substitute pilgrimages within Soviet territory.)

The Yezidis also practice the baptism of infants, circumcision (optional), and a eucharistlike breaking of bread and drinking of wine celebrated with a sheikh. There is no belief in eternal damnation, but rather in a transmigration of souls and gradual purification through the cycle of rebirths. The souls of righteous people can render aid and revelations to those still living on earth. The souls of sinners may be reborn into animals, but after an expiatory period they may pass again into human form.

One of the more noteworthy beliefs of the Yezidis concerns their origins. According to the Yezidis, unlike all other peoples on earth, who are descended from both Adam and Eve, they themselves are descended from Adam alone. In one version of their creation legend, there were seventy-two Adams, each of whom lived ten thousand years, and each of whom was more perfect than the previous Adam. The seventy-second Adam married Eve. The angel Jabra'il put drops of blood from the foreheads of Adam and Eve into four jars (two each), which were sealed for nine months. When the jars were opened, those containing Eve's blood were empty, whereas Adam's blood had produced a girl and a boy (Shahîd ibn Jayâr "the Son of the Jar"). These two children of Adam became the ancestors of the Yezidis, whereas all other nations are descended from Adam through Eve.

Sacred Literature. The Yezidis recognize two sacred books, said to have been written in the twelfth through fourteenth centuries. *The Kitab al-Jilwa* (Book of Enlightenment), written in an archaic Kurdish dialect, is believed to have been dictated by Sheikh 'Adî. Most of the text is concerned with the Peacock Angel, who speaks in the first person, vaunting his power and promising rewards to his

devotees. Some parts of the book have been encrypted through substitution of letters. The *Masxafe Resh* (Black Book) discusses the creation of humanity, how the power of evil tempts one to disobey God's commands, and certain taboos (against wearing the color blue; against eating lettuce, pumpkin, fish, chicken, gazelle, or marrow; and so on).

Medicine. Soil and water from around the tomb of Sheikh 'Adî in Iraq is sometimes used for healing illnesses. The sheikhs and pyirs perform healing rituals as one of their regular functions.

Death and Afterlife. After death the body is washed, and clay or water from Sheikh 'Adî is placed in the mouth of the deceased. The body is buried immediately thereafter, the head pointing east and the face turned toward the north star. The procession to the cemetery is accompanied by singing (and some accounts mention a dance performed by the mother or wife of a deceased man). The graves in Transcaucasian Yezidi cemeteries are marked by headstones in the form of sheep and other animals.

See also Kurds

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MARCELLO CHERCHI, STEPHANIE PLATZ, AND KEVIN TUITE

Yukagir

ETHNONYMS: Jukaghir Odul, Wadul, Yukaghir

Orientation

Identification. The Yukagir are one of the smallest minorities in the former USSR. Territorially, the Yukagir are subdivided into two groups: the Taiga group lives in the Upper Kolyma District of the Yakut Republic and in the Saimanchanskoi District of Magadan Province along the tributaries of the Kolyma River. The Tundra Yukagir reside in the Lower Kolyma District of the Yakut Republic between the Kolyma and the Indigirka rivers. Both groups live among numerically predominant neighbors: Yakuts, Chukchee, Even, and Russians.

Location. The region in which the Yukagir are settled is one of mountains, low ridges, and plateaus divided by valleys and covered by swamps and lakes. The mountains are covered by hardy northern trees: pine, larch, birch, and alder (good shelter for black bears, musk deer, squirrels, and mountain sheep). Aside from some dwarf birches and arctic willows, however, the northern plains and flatlands of Yukagir country support only sedge grasses, mosses, lichens, and berry-bearing bushes. Both territorial groups inhabit arctic or subarctic zones, the main feature of which is the permafrost. A cold winter with blizzards and winds gusting up to gale strength lasts about eight months. In January the mean temperature ranges from −40° F to −70°, and −90° has been recorded. Polar night (with midnight sun) reigns in the Kolyma lowlands and the northern part of the Chukhotsk Peninsula. During the late spring and early summer, on the other hand, many plants bloom, enormous flocks of ducks and geese appear, the salmon run, and the lowlands become one great marsh. Summers are short and cool.

Demography. During the nineteenth century the population dropped drastically, from 2,350 in 1859 to 1,500 in 1897, eventually falling to below 500. Since then, according to Soviet statistics, it has changed as follows: 1926–1927: 443; 1959: 442; 1970: 613; 1979: 835; 1989: 1,112. This growth is mostly due to the high incidence of ethnically mixed marriages, the offspring of which commonly categorize themselves as Yukagir.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Yukagir language, occupying a special, isolated position among the languages of northeastern Asia, has been provisionally classified as Paleoasiatic. Recent analyses have shown that many elements of Yukagir are related to elements in the Uralic languages. The question of the genetic affiliation of the language, however, remains open. There are at least two mutually unintelligible dialects: Upper Kolyma Yukagir and Tundra Yukagir. Formerly the Yukagir practiced pictographic writing on birch bark (men recorded hunting routes and young women indulged in romantic representations). In the vocabulary are loanwords from Yakut, Even, and Russian. According to the Soviet census of 1970, the Yukagir language was spoken by 288 people. An alphabet was devised in Soviet times. Because of widespread contact with neighbors,

the older generations have been multilingual for a long time. In addition to the native language, an individual would command two or more of the following: Chukchee, Even, Yakut, or Russian. In recent decades, however, such multilingualism has begun gradually to disappear. Young people today are typically monolingual or bilingual, in Yakut and/or in Russian.

History and Cultural Relations

The Yukagir, descendants of the aboriginal population of northeastern Siberia, evolved, in terms of culture, from a variant of the eastern Siberian Neolithic hunters and lake and river fishermen who used dugout canoes and ceramic utensils. Until the arrival of the Russians they were scattered (subdivided by tribe and clan) across a huge territory from west of the lower Lena River in the west to the Anadyr Basin in the east. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in the Yana River Basin, lived the Yandagir, the Omolok, and the Khromov, and, on the Kolyma River, the Alay, the Omok, and the Kogyme. The basin of the Anadyr was subsequently taken over by the Chuvan, Khodyn, and Anaul. Some of the Tundra groups called themselves "Odyl" (brave) and "Dektili" (strong). Until the arrival of the Russians there were still Yukagir west of the Lena River and in the southern regions of contemporary Yakutia, but they were forced out or assimilated by the forebears of the contemporary Tungus, Even, and Yakut. The Yukagir were first contacted by Siberian Cossacks: the Yakut Cossack Ivan Rebrov in 1633 and the Yenisei Cossack Ielisei Buza in 1639, both of whom reported fabulous wealth in game and fish. The Yukagir generally helped or guided the Russians during the colonization of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and they suffered terribly from reprisals by the Even and Chukchee, from epidemics of smallpox and measles (1669 and 1691–1694), from reindeer plagues, and from the partial cessation of the migrations of wild reindeer. By the early twentieth century conditions were terribly harsh, and, Soviet authorities claim, there was considerable exploitation by a Yukagir "upper class."

In the Soviet period the Yukagir progressed in many ways. Famines disappeared and wholesale buying of fur, which had exploited the hunters, was discontinued. In 1929, in response to the cessation of reindeer migrations, the government helped the Yukagir reorganize for reindeer breeding and fur hunting. In 1931 Yukagir attended school for the first time; adult illiteracy was eliminated by World War II. Paramedical stations and small hospitals have been established in Taiga and Tundra Yukagir settlements. Clubs have emerged in the encampments, and films are shown regularly. Traveling clubs now entertain reindeer breeders. Today most Yukagir live on collective farms in Russian-style log houses with attached vegetable gardens. Most Tundra Yukagir, together with Chukchee, Even, and Russians, belong to one of two "millionaire collectives" devoted to reindeer breeding, hunting, and fishing.

Economy

In the traditional economies of the Upper Kolyma and Tundra Yukagir, a great number of extremely archaic traits were preserved. In essence, the Yukagir had a well-adapted economy. Their techniques of hunting and fishing date to the Neolithic period.

The yearly productive cycle of the Upper Kolyma Yukagir was divided into several seasons. During the cold winter months the Yukagir were sedentary, living off their reindeer and summer stores of fish and meat. Winter camps were usually situated near winter fishing holes. In their winter quarters they repaired their sledges and fashioned boats and canoes for sale to the Yakut and Siberiaki (Russian Old Settlers). At the end of February or early March they abandoned their winter camps. The nomadic period lasted from February until July. This interim period between winter and spring was the most difficult.

If no food was obtained during migration, the situation became critical and the Yukagir were forced to turn to the Yakut or the Even. But they also often lived half-hungry, and in the nineteenth century many cases of starvation were registered. There are many Yukagir tales of small, isolated nomadic groups that meet a tragic end when the hearth fire goes out. During migrations, every family had to provide itself with several sleds; they harnessed four or five dogs to each. As women and children helped the dogs convey the heavily loaded sleds, men broke trail on skis. Behind these men but ahead of the women went a man who was harnessed to a strap that, in turn, was attached to the bow of the sled. He directed its course with the help of a long pole that was attached by a belt to the first bar of the sledge. These bars were small half-hoops of bent birch wood that connected the runners to the chassis and were fixed in a vertical position, three or four to a sledge. In the late winter and early spring, women and children also used skis.

During their migrations the men tracked reindeer and elk, primarily along the Iasachna, Korkolon, Rossakh, and Shamanikh rivers. Having discovered the track of a reindeer or of an elk, the men broke up into groups that took turns pursuing the animal so as not to allow it to rest. The most productive hunting was on snow that had been crusted over. The hunters strove to drive the animals out over sections covered by deep snow with such a crust. The weight of the reindeer would cause them to fall through the crust, injure their legs on its sharp edges, and exhaust themselves. The thin crust hindered any rapid running by deer or elk, and they fell prey to the hunters. Pursuing elk and reindeer on skis called for great endurance and skill. It was usually young men who engaged in this kind of hunt, which was one of the basic sources of livelihood. In a successful year, one family would take up to 100 reindeer and elk, ensuring a supply of meat that would last for many months.

In August and September the Yukagir hunted reindeer by driving them into lakes through corridors of scarecrows. Hunters in boats on the lakes stabbed the deer to death. In case of failure at the crossings, they would pursue the wild reindeer while riding on tame ones, but in winter they used sleds drawn by reindeer or dogs. Next to reindeer paths, not far from their campsites, they would set up crossbows rigged to discharge when reindeer came by. The main season for catching wild reindeer was autumn, when the herds were returning from their summer haunts and trying to overcome the obstacles presented by bodies of water. Pitching camp nearby, the hunters went to meet

these "swimming reindeer" in dugout canoes and stabbed them with iron spears and pikes, thus providing meat for the entire winter. Usually each hunter was able to catch several dozen reindeer this way. Siberiaki and sedentary Yukagir also took part in these hunts.

Gathering was supplementary. In summer wild currants and raspberries, bulbs, the inner bark of the larch, and the juice of the red poplar were collected, whereas in winter it was larch sapwood, cedar nuts, and berries. The Yukagir gathered mushrooms (under Russian influence) and used them to garnish soups. The seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Yukagir used fly agaric mushrooms as a narcotic (probably as part of shamanic rituals), but after the arrival of the Russians, this was replaced by tea and tobacco.

During winter the Yukagir lived in conical tipis covered with reindeer hides. The frame, of birch poles, was selected at each stopping place. The covering for a tipi consisted of five or six skins on the lower part and four or five on the upper part, that many skins being needed as insulation against the cold. In summer, during the rainy period, tipis were covered with the bark of larch trees. In the center of the tipi the Yukagir laid out the fire, and cloth bed curtains were set up over the sleeping places. Near old camp grounds were supplies on one or two poles with a gabled roof and a ladder made of a notched pole.

The Upper Kolyma Yukagir began to fish in the spring. To get to the fishing sites they used rafts, dugouts, and floats made of boards. In summer they set nets along the lakes and small rivers. The catches during this time were customarily for everyday consumption. Only the autumnal catch was large enough to allow the storage of fish for the future. To this end the Yukagir surrounded the schools of fish with seines, got them to shore, and landed them. The places to collect fish in this way were well known to the population, and several of these operations would provide oneself and one's dogs with fish. In past times the Yukagir used to fish with dragnets made out of willow withies.

The traditional economy was marked by certain peculiarities. Although the basis of livelihood was the wild reindeer hunted at fords, the Yukagir in the Forest Tundra also hunted elks, arctic foxes, hare, and ptarmigan. Foxes and arctic foxes were chased with sleds and killed with cudgels. In summer the Yukagir dug up arctic fox dens and collected the cubs. Also important was bird hunting, especially during the autumn moulting season when the birds, unable to fly, could be driven into nets. As late as the nineteenth century birds were hunted with a bola. Trapping for fur was on a large scale: "Every industrious Yukagir set up up to 500 traps annually in various places after the first snow" (Stepanova et al. 1964). Pelts were exchanged for hunters supplies and horse hair used for fishing nets. In March, just like the Even, the Yukagir crossed over the tundra after the wild reindeer, using decoys resembling wild reindeer. In the summer season the women and children settled near lakes and fished using nets set in the streams or a bone gorge on a sinew line. Fish were preferred slightly putrified.

Kinship and Sociopolitical Organization

The basic social unit is the slightly extended nuclear family, which, until the nineteenth century, may have been grouped into largely exogamous patrilineal clans—essentially a small group of patrilineally related families never exceeding 100 persons in number. Among the Upper Kolyma Yukagir, marriage was matrilocal (after considerable premarital freedom), whereas among the Tundra Yukagir it was patrilocal. Both groups inherited through the male line, however. "The old man," the ablest adult male in the group, selected fishing sites, dispatched hunters, directed the distribution of food, and organized the group for defense.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religion. The Yukagir were Christianized in the eighteenth century, but some traditional beliefs have been preserved. Shamans were revered even after their death, when their corpses were dismembered, dried, and divided among related families; these relics were used as amulets in divination. The shaman's costume, tambourine, and other paraphernalia resembled those of the Tungus.

There was a cult of exchange or cooperation. Animals obtained through hunting were considered guests. One assumed that if they were honored they would return to this world and come again as guests.

Yukagir legends preserve their ancient world. Giant elk hunters, their true image hidden behind fantastic features, subdue the elk and fasten them to their coats, but eventually are conquered by the more clever Yukagir. In animal tales a major role is played by Raven, not as world maker, but invested with satiric traits. The real culture hero, the cunning hare, kills "the Ancient Old Man," the foe of the Yukagir. (Related to these myths was the so-called sun shield, a silver or bronze disk attached to the clothing over the shaman's chest and bearing a representation of a winged centaur against a background of conventional plant motifs).

Arts. Notwithstanding their small numbers, the Yukagir have given the world talented writers, such as the author and public figure Nikolay Spiridonov, who uses the pseudonym Teki Odulak. In 1935 he published his tale, *The Life of the Older Imturfinga*, in which he related the hard life, activities, and customs of his neighbors and fellow countrymen. To another generation belongs Semyon Kurilov, who published the novel *Khaniso and Khaperkha*. Two parts of this novel were issued in 1970 under the title *New People*. His younger brother, Gabriel Kurilov, is a linguist, a doctoral candidate in philology, and a researcher at the Institute of Language and History of the Yakut branch of the Siberian Department of the Academy of Sciences of the former USSR. He has written *Complex Nouns in the Yukagir Language* (1977). He is also a novelist, and his poetry has been published in Russian, Yakut, and Yukagir. The Yukagir have started to tell about themselves, to inform the world of their fate, and to express their national consciousness more forcefully.

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(Translated by Paul Friedrich)

Part Two
Cultures of China

Edited by Norma Diamond

Achang

ETHNONYMS: Daisa, Hansa, Mengsa, Mengsa-shan

Orientation

Identification. With a population of only 27,708 (1990 census), the Achang are a small ethnic group. They reside mainly in a multinational region of western Yunnan Province in China; a few live in the region's frontier with northeast Myanmar (Burma). Since the area contains other ethnic groups, primarily the neighboring Dai, Han (Chinese), and Jingpo, many aspects of their culture, such as language, dress, architecture, and religion, among others, are to a large extent not distinct.

Location. About 90 percent of Achang are concentrated in three communes (now townships) in Yunnan in the counties of Longchuan, Lianghe, and Luxi. The other 10 percent are spread across neighboring counties. The region is affected by the monsoon from the Indian Ocean. The subtropical areas where the Achang live are warm, rainy, and humid.

Linguistic Affiliation. The language of the Achang is a branch of Tibeto-Burman in the Sino-Tibetan Family. The Achang language has two dialects: Fusa, which is influenced by Dai, Burmese, and Jingpo; and Lianghe, which mixes Chinese, Jingpo, and Lisu. Many Achang also speak the languages of the neighboring peoples (e.g., Dai, Chinese, Jingpo, and Burmese).

History and Cultural Relations

According to Chinese records, the ancestors of Achang were called "Xunchuan" in the Tang dynasty, 1,000 years ago. At that time, they had moved from the north and east into the western areas of Yunnan. The movement continued southward and westward in the following centuries. By the thirteenth century, they had migrated into and settled in the areas where the present-day Achang live, now the Dehong Dai-Jingpo Autonomous Prefecture.

Settlements

The Achang live on small plains surrounded by mountains. The typical Achang village is located at the periphery of a plain or at the foot of a mountain. Generally a village consists of households representing several patrilines. Some Achang villages also include a number of households of other peoples, such as the Han, the Dai, and the Hui.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. The Achang are agriculturalists, with wet-rice cultivation the principal agricultural activity. The traditional cropping system of wet rice has been formed in the course of adjusting to the local climatic conditions. When atmospheric temperature is proper for sprouting seeds and the monsoon brings enough rain to the fields, the season for sowing begins. When the rainy season is over, the rice ear will be mature enough to harvest. After harvest, the rice is sorted into two portions: one set aside for use by the household in the following year, and one for payment of hired labor or land rent in the past or, since 1956, mandatorily sold to the government at a price set by the state. Besides rice, the Achang also cultivate some cash crops, such as sugarcane and oil crops in Lianghe and Luxi and tobacco in the Fusa plain area.

Industrial Arts. The Achang blacksmiths in the regions of Fusa and Lasa are very famous, particularly for making various types of knives and swords. Some say that the forging technique used by the Achang came from the weapon smiths of Chinese troops stationed in the Fusa region in the fourteenth century. Since then, the manufacturing of ironware has been a prosperous activity. A workshop is usually owned by several households. Often a village's workshops specialize in producing one type of product—dagger, sickle, plowshare, chopper, horseshoe, or hoe. The manufacturing of ironware is seasonal, with the number of ironworkers often swelling to over half of the entire population of male laborers during the leisure season. During recent decades, some workshops based on cooperation and using modern equipment have grown into factories for the manufacture of ironware. Textile production, silversmithing, and carving and decoration for temples and other buildings are also well developed.

Trade. Purchasing pig iron and selling the end products constitutes the most important trade ventures in Fusa and Lasa. The pig iron comes from the Han traders, and the Achang sell the products to neighboring peoples and the Burmese. A few Achang people have become professional traders.

Land Tenure. A few centuries ago, all of the land in the Achang region belonged to Dai feudal lords and hereditary

Achang chiefs. However, the ownership of most lands had already been transferred from the feudal owners to individual peasant families before the Agrarian Reform of 1956, although until 1956 everyone who owned land still had to pay tax to them, as a token recognition of the feudal lords' continuing ownership of all lands. As a result of the private ownership of land, tenancy and buying and selling of land between peasants became frequent. The government established the collective ownership of land in 1956 but transferred landownership to the People's Commune in 1969. In 1982, the authorities redivided the lands among the resident households.

Kinship, Marriage, and Family

Kin Groups and Descent. Descent is patrilineal. The members of a patrilineal descent group can be distributed over either a village or several villages, but all of the members trace their relationship through males to a common ancestor. In Lianghe County, there is a patriarchal organization that prevails in local Achang communities. The organization has its own rules and a patriarch who is elected from among the senior males. General disputes between the members can be settled by the organization. As for marrying with Han people, some patriarchal organizations also include some Han under a common surname.

Kinship Terminology. Achang kin terms basically follow the Eskimo system. One exception is that there is only one kin term for each of the following pairs: brother and male cousin; sister and female cousin; son and nephew; and daughter and niece.

Marriage. There are no restrictions on marriage except that an individual must marry outside his or her patrilineage. Although the Achang allow boys and girls to be "in love," marriages are mostly arranged by parents for somewhat of a mercenary purpose. In the past, a young man could contract a marriage by snatching his chosen bride away. Decades ago, the Achang often practiced levirate.

Domestic Unit and Inheritance. The patriarchal family that includes two or three generations is the basic family unit. A young man, if not the youngest son of his parents, usually establishes a place of residence apart from his parents when he marries. The youngest son lives with the parents and inherits either the parents' house and property or the responsibility of taking care of the parents. Women receive a dowry but do not inherit unless they have no brothers.

Sociopolitical Organization

The Achang are politically subordinate to the Han and Dai. Before 1949, Achang society was still at the chiefdom level of political development. The Achang, along with other ethnic peoples (the Dai, Han, Jingpo, and Lisu), formed separate multiethnic political units, each governed by a Dai feudal lord or a localized Han feudal lord. The hereditary feudal lord possessed paramount power of administration, adjudication, and supervision of military affairs in the area under his jurisdiction. The village was the basic unit of administration, governed by a village head who was usually elected by villagers and approved by the feudal lord. Several villages were governed by an officer who was appointed by the feudal lord. After the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, the Communist central government has carried out the system of the regional autonomy of minority nationalities in the Achang areas.

Religion and Expressive Culture

In the regions of Fusa and Lasa almost all Achang are adherents of Theravada Buddhism, which the Achang people adopted from the Dai. Both the Achang and the Dai are similar in many aspects of their practice of Buddhism. In the regions of Lianghe, Luxi, and elsewhere, the Achang people are not Buddhists but worship ancestor spirits and various objects. The Achang generally label the spirits or gods as good or evil. There is an altar for making sacrifices to the spirits of ancestors in most households. In addition, many villages have a public temple, in which the people enshrine certain gods and hold sacrificial rites.

Arts. Of Achang folk arts, their carving may leave the deepest impression on outsiders. The lifelike animals and plants carved on woodwork or metalwork manifest the consummate skill of Achang carvers.

See also Dai; Jingpo

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TAN LESHAN

Bai

ETHNONYMS: Baihuo, Bai Man, Baini, Baizi, Baizu, Bo, Bozi, Cuan, Minjia, Sou

Orientation

Identification. The name "Bai," meaning "white" in Chinese, seems to have been first used to refer to inhabitants of the southwest border region of China, the Baiman, as distinguished from the Wuman (*wu* meaning "black") by the white sheepskins they wore. The Bai refer to themselves as "Bozi," "Baini," "Baihuo," or "Baizi." The Chinese used the term "Minjia" from the fourteenth to twentieth centuries. The Chinese government now refers to the Bai as the "Baizu."

Location. Traditionally the Bai inhabited the region of present-day China's Sichuan and Yunnan provinces. The majority of Bai now live in the Dali Baizu Autonomous Region of Yunnan. Smaller Bai groups are found in the Bijie District of Guizhou Province, Liangshan in Sichuan, and Sangzhi County in Hunan Province.

Demography. In 1982 the total Bai population numbered 1,131,124, of whom 857,410 lived in the Dali region. The 1990 census gives a total count of 1,594,827.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Bai language belongs to the Tibeto-Burmese Branch of Sino-Tibetan. The Bai have no written language, so Chinese characters have been used with Bai pronunciation. Today many Bai speak Chinese.

History and Cultural Relations

According to Chinese historical material, when the Qin armies unified China in 221 B.C. they captured the southwestern kingdom of the Bo, taking the Bo as slaves. Starting in 182 B.C. Chinese migration into the Bo lands of the present-day Sichuan-Yunnan border area caused most of the Bo to move south into Yunnan. In Chinese records, during the third century A.D. the name "Sou" replaced the name "Bo." The Sou are said to have rebelled against the Chinese state of Shu, and the famous Chinese strategist Zhuge Liang was called in to mediate. At this time, the Sou-occupied area was the political, economic, and cultural center of the southwest. In later historical records, the name "Sou" also disappeared, to be replaced by "Cuan." After A.D. 339 this group became the most powerful one in the region and developed what is now known as the Dian culture. In the eighth century the southern (*nan*) *zhao* (*zhaoji* in Chinese means "to convene," "to summon a council") gathered the region's six other zhao to unify the Erhai District of Yunnan and establish the Nanzhao Kingdom. There is some historical debate over whether the leaders of the Nanzhao State were Bai or Yi people. In A.D. 902, weakened by continuing battles and slave rebellions, the kingdom collapsed. Following a brief period of chaos, in A.D. 937 a Bai of Dali named Duan Siping united the Eastern Dian region's thirty-seven tribes and established the Dali Kingdom. For nearly 300 years the kingdom maintained close political and economic relations with the Chinese Song dynasty. In A.D. 1253 the Mongols invaded, bringing Muslim soldiers who settled in the region. The armies of the Chinese Ming dynasty (1368–1644) eliminated Mongol power in 1381, bringing many Chinese military settlers who eventually intermarried with the Bai. In 1874, a Hui Muslim named Du Wenxiu united the Bai, Naxi, Yi, Dai, Jingpo, and Chinese in a rebellion against the Qing dynasty. The rebellion was brutally suppressed eighteen years later. The construction of the Burma Road (1937–1938) brought missionaries and increased foreign trade to the region. In 1949 the Chinese Communist party defeated the Nationalists who had occupied the area, and in November 1956 it established the Dali Baizu Autonomous Region, which is part of the People's Republic of China.

Settlements

The Bai have traditionally lived clustered in villages on the Dali plain and along the shores of Erhai Lake. Some Bai also live in mountain areas. On the plains, homes tend to be two-story, U-shaped structures surrounding a courtyard, built of mud bricks with tile roofs. A family might live on the second floor and use the ground floor as a stable, or they might live on the first floor and use the upper floor for storage. Mountain homes are usually constructed of wood or bamboo with thatched roofs.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. Traditionally, the Bai economy depended on plow agriculture, with rice and wheat as the main crops on the plains and with maize and buckwheat as the mountain cultigens. Until it was outlawed, opium was an important cash crop from the first half of the nineteenth century to the late 1930s. Present cash crops include tea, sugarcane, rape, tobacco, cotton, peanuts, flax, walnuts, Chinese chestnuts, pears, oranges, and tangerines. Pigs are raised for consumption, and domesticated animals include oxen, water buffalo, horses, mules, sheep, and donkeys. Since 1949, the Dali area has been developed for light industry and now boasts 565 local industries, including electrical, mechanical, chemical, paper, textile, leather, salt, vegetable-oil processing, and mining concerns. Tourism is a growing industry in the area.

Industrial Arts. Lacquerware from Dali was famous up through the time of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644). The Bai were renowned for carved wooden furniture, and in the eleventh and twelfth centuries all Chinese palace carpenters were Bai. Today fine marble work and blue and white tie-dyed cloth persist as crafts for sale to tourists.

Trade. The Dali area is the meeting point for the roads leading south to Myanmar (Burma) and northwest to Tibet. Previously muleteers and porters conducted trade by carting goods over the mountains. The completion of the Burma Road in 1938 facilitated transport, but as vehicles were scarce, human and animal labor were still widely used. Prior to 1949, the Bai imported foreign products and exported marble, pig bristles, leather goods, minerals, and herbal medicines. Trade declined in the first three decades and immediately following 1949, but it has increased again since the implementation of Chinese economic reforms in 1979. Recent years have seen the revival of trade fairs, the

largest of these being the Third Month Market (linked with the Guanyin Festival) and the Fish Pool Fair. The former is held in Dali during the week of the fifteenth day of the third lunar month and attracts merchants and traders from all over the southwest, most notably Tibetan medicine merchants and horse traders. The Fish Pool Fair usually occurs in the first week of the eighth lunar month on the northern shore of Erhai Lake. Unlike the Third Month Market, this fair is geared to local Bai trade in carved wooden furniture, silver jewelry, marble, and embroidery.

Division of Labor. Traditionally, men and women did the same work in the fields, except that men did the heavy plowing. Both married and single women were responsible for marketing. Bai women were noted for their strength and ability to carry heavy loads long distances. Women and girls mostly worshiped publicly at temple festivals and fairs, while men engaged in private ancestor worship at home.

Land Tenure. Prior to 1949, 10 percent of the population, namely landlords and wealthy peasants, held 60–80 percent of the land. The remaining 90 percent of the population held only 20–40 percent of the land, and 70 percent of these people were either poor peasants or hired laborers. After 1949, all land became state property, and the area followed the shifting guidelines of Chinese agricultural policy, which emphasized collectivization. Since 1979 policy has moved away from collective labor to individual and family labor.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Traditionally, the nuclear, small extended family and the village, not the lineage, were the most important kin groups for the Bai. People living in the same village, no matter what their family name, all worshiped a common ancestor said to be the founder of the village.

Kinship Terminology. Surnames and the term for lineage, as well as the system of patrilineal descent, seem to have been imposed on the Bai through Chinese influence.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. In the seventeenth to nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, probably through Chinese influence, the practice of arranged marriage by parents became common. Children were betrothed at infancy and wed in their late teens. The exchange of bride-price and dowry depended on the class and locality of the bride and groom's families. The Bai did not practice surname exogamy, and both paternal and maternal cousins were allowed to marry. Marriage was monogamous except for a few wealthy landowners. Postmarital residence might be neolocal or patrilocal depending on how many sons a family had. Sons could choose to establish a new household upon marriage, or they could live together in a small extended family until the parents died. If a couple had no sons, they could adopt a baby boy from a relative or stranger, or they could have an adult son-in-law move in to look after them. The ease of obtaining a divorce seemed to depend on the locality. In towns greatly influenced by Chinese codes and values, divorce was difficult to obtain, and a widow who remarried was considered disgraceful. In more remote areas, divorce was more easily obtained, and a widow could remarry freely.

Domestic Unit. Nuclear or small extended families were the norm. Elderly parents generally lived with the youngest son.

Inheritance. There was no primogeniture or ultimogeniture. Inheritance was divided among the sons, adopted sons, or sons-in-law, although the latter two would have to change their family names in order to be eligible.

Socialization. Bai parents were traditionally very affectionate toward their children, and they made them many toys. Girls and boys played together and worked in the fields together. Prior to 1949 parents tried to send all their children to school to study Chinese reading and writing; however, educated boys were more numerous than girls. Since 1949 elementary education has been compulsory for all children.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. During the time of the Nanzhao Kingdom, the society was composed of a king, nobles, free people, commoners, tribespeople, and slaves. Before 1949, the society was stratified into landless peasants, peasants, artisans, wealthy peasants who lived in the city, merchants, and landlords. Village elders were highly respected. Women had a relatively equal status with men. After the revolution, the poorer classes were glorified, and the wealthy were attacked. With the 1979 economic reforms, there has been a reemergence of more stratified socioeconomic classes.

Political Organization. After the fall of the Dali Kingdom in the mid-thirteenth century, the Bai came under the traditional Chinese civil-service system of counties headed by a magistrate who was responsible for the collection of taxes and the administration of justice. Two decades before the Communist Revolution, the Nationalist government introduced a modified *bao jia*, or "family guarantee," system, under which sections called *ju* were composed of three to four villages, which in turn were composed of five family units. Each section headman would be an elder of one of the villages and had extensive authority based on the cooperation of the villagers. After 1949 the Bai came under the new forms of Chinese government administration.

Social Control. Despite the existence of a Chinese judicial system, the Bai traditionally preferred to solve problems among themselves or by going to a village elder. Both civil and criminal cases were most often settled out of court. Punishment varied depending on the relationship of the persons involved. For example, the murderer of a relative would face execution, whereas the murderer of a stranger would face imprisonment. Rape and adultery were severely punished.

Conflict. In the past, generational conflict was common if grown children refused to marry their prearranged partner. The parties involved solved such a problem through a face-saving system whereby the young couple would elope and be chased by the girl's father and other male relatives, who never intended to catch them. After the couple's escape, there would be a prolonged period of negotiations

between the young people's parents. Usually the matter would be settled peaceably. Disputes over water rights were also common and were generally settled by a village elder.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Traditionally, the Bai believed in abstract heavenly spirits and natural spirits. Later, these beliefs came to be mixed with beliefs in tutelary spirits, Buddhism, and Daoism. Buddhism appeared in the Dali area during the ninth century and remained a strong force up until 1949. The three famous white pagodas that still stand in Dali were once part of a large Buddhist temple. Christian missionaries made some inroads in the twentieth century, but converts were generally regarded with suspicion and sometimes ostracized by their families. During the Chinese Cultural Revolution (1966–1976) most temples were destroyed and religious practices forbidden. Since the early 1980s, the Chinese government has taken a more lenient view of religion, and the people have rebuilt many of the temples and revived many Daoist associations. However, religious practice is now confined mainly to the older generations.

Religious Practitioners. The mix of religious beliefs spawned a mélange of part-time specialists trained in dancing and singing for religious ceremonies, semiprofessional Buddhist masters, and formal Buddhist monks and nuns. Associations for worshipers of Daoist deities also existed. The influence of all of these practitioners has declined under Communist rule.

Ceremonies. The largest religious event was the Guanyin Festival (linked with the Third Month Market). The festival commemorated the legendary seventh-century visitation of the Bodhisattva Guanyin to Mount Cangshan and drew many worshipers as well as traders and merchants from afar. In addition, every village, at least once a year, held a ceremony and sacrifices for the feast day of the local gods. Other festivals included the Butterfly Festival, Rao San Ling, and the Torch Festival.

Arts. Singing and dancing have been an important part of Bai religious ceremonies and festivals. The people often produced dramas influenced by Buddhist themes on temple stages. Some temples still hold performances today, although religious themes are no longer prevalent.

Medicine. The Bai generally thought that sickness was tied to having offended a tutelary spirit or to having been possessed by a malevolent spirit. Religious semispecialists or shamans, using medicinal herbs, songs, and chants, worked as doctors and exorcists and received food and money as payment.

Death and Afterlife. The Bai believed that worship of ancestors protected the living by linking them to dead spirits. Buddhism engendered a belief in the afterlife and reincarnation. The Bai also believed strongly in poltergeists. Originally the Bai cremated their dead, but under Chinese influence they came to bury the dead in quite elaborate marble tombs. At present the government encourages cremation in order to conserve land.

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BETH E. NOTAR

Blang

ETHNONYMS: none

The Blang live primarily in Menghai County in the southwestern part of Yunnan Province, though some also live in Blang communities in nearby Lincang and Simao prefectures. They numbered 82,280 in 1990 and speak a language that belongs to the Mon-Khmer Branch of the South Asian Language Family. The Blang language is not written. Many also speak Dai and Va (the languages of neighboring groups) and Han. One distinguishing feature of the Blang is the men's practice of tattooing their limbs and torsos.

The Blang live in the mountains, typically between 1,500 and 2,000 meters in elevation. They raise dry rice, maize, and beans for their own consumption and cotton, sugarcane, and tea as cash crops. The tea is Pu'er tea, which was grown and processed and then traded to northern Yunnan and Tibet. Some Blang were involved in the marketing effort and it remains a valuable trade product today. They also raise livestock, which they keep on the ground floor of their two-story bamboo houses. The second story is the living quarters and features a fireplace in the middle of the main room. The Blang are able to erect new houses in three days or fewer because the whole community joins in. One of the effects of the Communist Revolution was the introduction of wet-rice farming.

The Blang are organized into exogamous clans. Some villages were traditionally composed of approximately 100 households representing up to a dozen clans. The land used by villagers belonged to the villagers in common, but each clan had permanent possession of a portion of that land. Each household held its own land by virtue of membership in a clan. Clan leaders orchestrated clan members in clearing forests, and they were responsible for allocating lands to individual households. If a clan left the village, its land would revert to village ownership. In some areas, there were other forms of village organization that commonly included private ownership of land and landlordism. In other

areas, the Dai or other overlords controlled the land as fiefs well into the twentieth century. Village size ranged from as few as 20 households to the 100 more typical of the clan structure described earlier.

Blang religious belief is primarily Theravada Buddhism, which the Dai probably introduced to the Blang. A few Blang are Christian.

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Bonan

ETHNONYMS: none

The Bonan numbered 12,212 in 1990, and they live primarily in four villages in Gansu Province. Their population has been growing rapidly; there were only about 5,600 in 1959. The Bonan language belongs to the Mongolian Branch of the Altaic Family and is most closely related to Tu and Dongxiang; it has two dialects. Although the Bonan language is not written, the Bonan people know Han and use it in their written communications.

It appears that the Bonan are descendants of Mongol soldiers who occupied the Tongren area during Genghis Khan's rule. When the Mongol Empire fell, they chose to remain rather than retreat to Mongolia. The Bonan are distinguished from many of their neighbors in that they are Muslim; they converted in the early nineteenth century. Facing persecution from their Buddhist neighbors, they moved down the Yellow River to their present location.

The Bonan live in a fairly arid region, though one that is covered with forest and grassland. They breed livestock and raise wheat and rye. In addition, they engage in lumbering, silversmithing, and charcoal making. It is their ability as knife makers, however, for which they are best known; the Bonan knife is prized in most of Gansu and Qinghai provinces. Otherwise, manufacturing is poorly developed.

The Bonan are divided into two different Muslim sects: Sunni, sometimes called the "Old Teaching"; and Shiite, sometimes called the "New Teaching."

The main effects of the Communist Revolution on Bonan culture have been the following: an increase in the numbers of schools and health-care facilities; the introduction of irrigation; a cooperative project with the Sala to plant economically valuable trees (elm, willow, Chinese prickly ash, apple, and walnut) on mountainsides; and the prohibition of the practice of polygyny.

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Bouyei

ETHNONYMS: none

The 2,545,059 Bouyei (1990 estimate) live in Guizhou Province, and they speak a language that belongs to the Zhuang-Dong Branch of the Sino-Tibetan Family. Although there is now a writing system for the Bouyei language, Han is often used in written communications.

The closeness of the Bouyei language to that of the Zhuang indicates a common ancestry. During the Qing dynasty, the Chinese government replaced indigenous headmen with appointed officials. Before 1949 the Bouyei were called the "Chungchia" ("Zhongjia" in the new romanization).

The Bouyei live on the Yunnan-Guizhou Plateau, which rises from 400 meters in elevation in the south to 1,000 meters in the north. Their climate is almost tropical, with an average annual temperature of 16° C and an annual rainfall of between 100 and 140 centimeters. The Bouyei also benefit from the fertile soil. For their own consumption they raise wet and dry rice, wheat, maize, millet, sorghum, buckwheat, potatoes, and beans. They also grow cotton, ramie, tobacco, sugarcane, tung trees, tea, coffee, bananas, silk, hemp, and cocoa as cash crops. They produce batik, embroidery, sleeping mats, and bamboo hats for sale. The Bouyei forests supply pine and fir lumber. Prior to 1949 the Bouyei were also known as peddlers and traders throughout the area and played a middleman role between the Han and the minority peoples.

The Bouyei live in villages, each of which contains several clans. These villages may be located on the plains or in river valleys. Houses are either two-story buildings (with livestock living on the ground floor) or bungalows.

Traditionally, a woman signaled her desire for a particular man by throwing him a silk ball that she had embroidered. If he returned her interest, then the couple dated and later become engaged to marry. Today, the Bouyei are

heavily intermarried with the Han in some areas. They adopted the parentally arranged "feudal" marriage form at the same time other features of their culture underwent Sinicization.

Several religions are represented among the Bouyei. Some are Christian and some are Daoist, but the majority are polytheistic animists who practice ancestor worship.

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Dai

ETHNONYMS: Baiyi, Beiyi, Boyi; Bitso, La Sam, Mitro, Siam, Tai; Daija, Dailü (Taily), Daina; Han Baiyi, Han Dai, Shui Baiyi, Shui Dai

Orientation

Identification. The Dai (one of China's fifty-five ethnic minorities) are valley-dwelling rice cultivators of China's southwest frontier. The name "Dai" has been used officially since 1953 to replace "Tai" or "Thai." There are three major subgroups: Dailü (who used to be called "Shui Baiyi" and "Shui Dai" by the Han, meaning "the Baiyi or Dai living near the water"); Daina (Han Baiyi or Han Dai, Chinese Baiyi or Dai); and Daija (Huayao Dai, "the Dai wearing bright-colored blouses"). Within each subgroup there are regional units such as Daide, Daipeng, Daila, Dailian, and Pudai. Neighboring groups—Lahu, Hani, Jingpo, Benglong, Wa, Bulang, and Achang—call the Dai "Bitso," "Siam," or "La Sam."

Location. The Dai live exclusively in Yunnan Province, mostly along the Yunnan-Myanmar (Burma) border. Over 55 percent of the population lives in the Dehong Dai and Jingpo Autonomous Prefecture (21°10′ to 23°40′ N and 99°55′ to 101°50′ E) and the Xishuangbanna Dai Autonomous Prefecture (23°50′ to 25°20′ N and 97°31′ to 98°43′ E); about 7 percent live in the border areas of the Lincang Prefecture. The rest are spread throughout south and southwestern Yunnan, with a very small number living in the north of the province. Most of the Dai regions are river valleys and pocket flatlands between the mountains covered with tropical or semitropical monsoon forests. With very few exceptions the people live at elevations of 500 to 1,200 meters above sea level. With the tropical and semitropical climate, the average rainfall is between 101 and 170 centimeters, the average annual temperature is 19° C, and the annual frost-free period is about 300 days. Each year in these regions is usually divided into two seasons, a dry season from November to May and a wet season from May to October; the latter receives most of a year's precipitation.

Demography. In 1990 the Dai population was 1,025,128. The Dailü and Daina are the major groups, making up 56 percent and 40 percent respectively of the total Dai population. The Daina, Daide, and Daipeng mainly live in Dehong and Lincang; the Dailü live mostly in Xishuangbanna, while the Daija are distributed in Yuanjiang and Xinping counties and the Red River valley. The Dai also have kin known as "Shan," "Tai," or "Thai" in Myanmar, Thailand, Laos, and Vietnam.

Linguistic Affiliation. Chinese scholars commonly hold that the Dai language with its dialects is a Subbranch of the Zhuang-Dong (Kam-Tai) Branch of the Sino-Tibetan Family. Some Western linguists classify it in the Thai-Austronesian Language Family. Five Dai written languages were in use before 1949: Dailü, Daina Daipeng, Jinping Dai, and Xinping Dai scripts. Those based on ancient Pali, Dailü, and Daina scripts were more popular and later formed the basis of present-day Xishuangbanna Dai and Dehong Dai writing.

History and Cultural Relations

Because the Dai are an important group in the ethnohistory of southwest China, their origin has long been a subject of debate. Chinese ethnohistorians link the ancestors of the Dai to the "Dianyue," the name both of a kingdom and of diversified local groups. It was part of Yue or Bai Yue (meaning "hundreds of Yue"), an ancient macrogroup of south China. Over the past 2,000 years, the name "Dianyue" has changed often: "Dianyue" and "Shan" (Siam) in the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 220); "Pu," "Yue," or "Liao" in the Wei and Jin dynasties (A.D. 220–419); and "Heichi Man," "Jinchi Man," "Yingchi," "Man Qichi Man," "Xiujiao Man," "Mang Man," and "Baiyi" in the Tang dynasty (A.D. 618–905). In Heichi, Jinchi, Yingchi, and Qichi, the word *chi* means "teeth," while the words *jin*, *ying*, *hei*, and *qi* refer to the colors gold, silver, and black. These names seem to reflect a particular custom of the Dai, who inlay their teeth with gold or silver or blacken them by chewing betel nuts. "Baiyi" means "white clothing"; the name is likely inspired by the Dai's favorite clothing color. The names "Baiyi" or "Jinchi Beiyi" were used to refer to the people before 1949.

The Dai and related groups were distributed throughout southern and southwestern China and Southeast Asia. They established powerful local kingdoms such as the Mong Mao and Kocambi (tenth to eleventh centuries) in Dehong, the Yonaga or Xienrun (twelfth century) in Xishuangbanna, and the Lanna or Babai Xifu (thirteenth to eighteenth centuries) in northern Thailand. They conquered local groups such as the Benglong (De'ang), Blang, Hani, and Lahu and later the Achang and Jingpo, and the Dai thus became the most powerful group in the area. In the fourteenth century, under Han control, China's impe-

rial court set up the *tusi* system (see "Political Organization") with Dai kings and nobles as court-appointed tusi lords. Thereafter, the dynasties officially recognized Dai lordship over the other groups. The earliest contact of central China with Yunnan was recorded in the first century B.C., but mass movement of Han into the Yunnan frontiers took place several times after that: in the eighth century, during the war between the Tang dynasty and the Nanzhao Kingdom; in the thirteenth century, when the Mongols conquered the Dali State; and later, in the Yuan dynasty's wars with Burma and Babai Xifu. The largest flow of Han migrants into Yunnan occurred in the early fourteenth century, when an army of over 300,000 soldiers were sent by the Ming emperor to fight the Yuan. After the war the troops stayed on the frontiers as military colonists. As the Han marched in, the traditional Dai feudal system first became part of the tusi system and later faced constant challenge; eventually the political system of interior China replaced it. Coalition and compromise as well as contention and conflict—between the Chinese governments and the Dai tusi and between the different groups of the areas—formed the main themes of the local history as well as a legacy of the area's ethnic relations.

Settlements

A typical Dai village has 40 households, but those with 80 to 100 households are not uncommon. The settlements are permanent. They are mostly located by rivers or streams. Huge banyan trees and a delicate Buddhist temple or pagoda are the signs of a Dai village all across the Yunnan frontier. Dai houses vary regionally in type of construction and settlement pattern. In Xishuangbanna, each household builds its own bamboo house in the center of a fenced garden. The house (average floor area about 10 by 10 meters) is built 2 to 3 meters above the ground, on twenty-one wooden posts in three rows. People live upstairs, leaving the downstairs without walls for domestic animals and farm tools. The purlins (rafters) are made of bamboo poles, the walls and floors of bamboo mats. The steep pitched roof is thatched. Inside, seven posts with mat walls in the center row divide the house in half lengthwise: the inner part serves as a bedroom while the outer part is a living room. A fireplace in the living room near the entrance serves as the kitchen. As a rule, the room next to the stairs is for an adolescent daughter, so that she can meet her lover conveniently, while the room on the other side is for the parents and serves as grain barn as well. Clear-cut class differences in terms of size, structure, materials, and decoration were strictly observed before 1949. Now rich families build their houses with planked floors and walls and tile roofs. In Dehong the Dai in Ruili build their houses in basically the same style as the Dailü in Xishuangbanna, while the Daina's houses are of a quite different style. Under Han influence, most Daina build their houses in quadrangles: three one-story houses (one central and two side) are on 1-meter-high raised ground around a small courtyard. The houses have wooden frames, mud-brick walls, and thatch or tile roofs; the animal pens are usually by the gate, opposite the central house. The Dai in Yuanjiang, Xinping, and other areas live in two-story mud-brick houses, in the same style as their Yi and Han neighbors.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. The Dai were among the earliest rice cultivators in Yunnan. As early as the seventh century, the Dai used elephants in paddy-field plowing, according to Chinese historical records. More advanced farm tools and techniques brought later by Han immigrants greatly promoted the wet-rice cultivation in Dai regions. Today the wet-rice fields account for 70 percent of the total farmland of all Dai regions. The tropical and semitropical climate, rivers, and fertile alluvial valleys form an ideal environment for wet-rice growing. Vast land resources with a small population make Dai cultivation quite extensive. Most fields produce only one crop (rice) a year, and the farmers plow their paddy fields once and harrow twice, whereas their Han neighbors grow at least two crops (rice and wheat or rapeseed) a year and have three plowings and three harrowings. Dai farmers seldom weed and never apply night soil (dung) in the fields (except some green manure in seedbeds). The output is therefore low (3,386 pounds per acre in 1984). Farmers plant wet rice first in a specially prepared seedbed where it grows for about 30 days. Meanwhile, they prepare regular fields through plowing, soaking, and harrowing. In May or June, they transplant rice seedlings to the prepared fields. After transplanting, the farmers maintain the dikes and regulate the flow of water. Harvest is in November or December; the fields remain fallow until the next spring. Water buffalo, wood plows with iron shares, wood harrows, steel knives, hoe, sickles, and wood flails have been the main tools used in farming for centuries. In recent years improved seeds, chemical fertilizer, and pesticides have been introduced. Farmers also grow dry rice in the hills with slash-and-burn methods. In addition, they often grow tea, cotton, tobacco, camphor, sisal, and coffee, as well as bananas, pineapples, shaddock, mangoes, and other tropical fruits. Sugarcane has a long history in Dai areas, and in the past decade its cultivation has rapidly increased because of government incentives. Rubber trees were introduced in the 1950s. Today tea, sugarcane, rubber, and tropical fruits are major cash crops. Fishing with poison, traps, and explosives is common, but the catch is mainly for domestic consumption.

Industrial Arts. Cotton and kapok spinning and weaving are every household's handicraft. Beautiful silk or cotton brocades made by women on the wood loom are well known all over the province. Dai silver work is equally famous. In the past, Dai kings and nobles commonly used the locally made silverware. Today, silver ornaments remain very popular among the women but all come from state-run shops. The Dai reportedly developed blacksmithing in earlier times, but now the Han and Achang make most metal tools. Rattan and bamboo works and pottery are also well-known Dai handicrafts. Rattan and bamboo furniture of Burmese style and classically elegant water jars are popular articles in the local markets.

Trade. Although Dai women are regarded as able local marketers, the Dai, as a whole, are self-sufficient farmers.

There are few Dai businesspeople except those part-time peddlers and a few recently emerged small grocery owners. Most trading is between the lowlanders and highlanders through the local market, which is held every three or four days and deals in farm produce and household handicrafts. The mountain people trade firewood, timber, mushrooms, wild fruits, and so on while the Dai trade rice, rice liquor, vegetables, and bamboo and rattan utensils. The biggest trading party from the 1950s to the early 1980s was the state, through state-run shops and the cooperatives. The Dai sell their rice, rapeseed, and other farm products to these stores and buy most of the manufactured goods they need there. This is changing with the rise of the free market. The role of long-distance traders/merchants was filled by Han, Hui, and to a lesser extent Bai and Naxi. These culture groups were key in the tea trade out of Xishuangbanna.

Division of Labor. Traditionally, women do all the farming work, except plowing and harrowing, as well as household chores. Women are in full charge of marketing any household surplus.

Land Tenure. Traditionally, all land belonged to the tusi. An adult farmer could receive a piece of paddy field for cultivation from his tusi lord. In practice, all farmland fell into five categories: (1) salary fields, which the tusi assigned to his relatives as fiefs and which were tax-free but few in number; (2) official fields, which farmers received from their lords in exchange for taxes and corvée and which constituted the largest proportion of land; (3) private land, which farmers opened from wasteland with the consent of the tusi and which they usually could privately "own" for one or two years without paying tax, before the fields reverted to the tusi and were taxed; (4) public land, a very small, tax-free percentage of the land, which the lords appropriated to their villages for religious or other public use; and (5) manor land, which fell within the tusi manors and which the tusi families directly controlled and the villagers cultivated in corvée and later rented to the peasants. In the last century some changes occurred in land tenure. Official records indicate that several tusi sold paddy fields to Han landlords; mortgaging and renting of land became more common in the areas connected with the Han or near commercial centers. Nevertheless, the Dai land system remained feudal in nature until 1957, when a political campaign of "peaceful land reform" turned the tusi's land into socialist collective property, owned first by the agricultural mutual-aid groups, later by the agricultural co-op, and then by the people's commune. Since 1981, the government has adopted a new type of land tenure, the household contract-responsibility system; paddy fields are allocated by contract to each household, while dry land remains communal. Each contracted household is obliged to pay an agricultural tax (in grain) and to sell its quota of grain to the state at the state-set lower price; each household makes its own decision about resource allocation while considering the suggested plan of the local government about the types and the amount of crops to grow.

Kinship

Kin Group and Descent. The Dai identify more with community than with kin group. The Dai always identify themselves with their homeland, the place where they were born, even when they live elsewhere. Except for the tusi and nobles, people historically had no lineage patronymics. In fact, the imperial court bestowed tusi surnames. As a given surname might have been granted to several tusi who had no kinship relations, it cannot be used to identify their lineages. Some common people (mostly in Dehong and other interior areas) got their surnames from schools or government workers after the 1949 Revolution. Nevertheless, the Dai distinguish mother's, father's, and wife's groups, with mother's group listed before the father's. In spite of this, however, the Dai trace descent patrilineally. Individuals now inherit their surnames from the father.

Kinship Terminology. Dai kin terms are of the Eskimo type with some regional variation. In Xishuangbanna, grandfather, maternal grandfather, and their brothers share the same term (*ipu*); grandmother, maternal grandmother, and their sisters share the same term (*ija*). Parents' brothers share the same term with parents' brothers-in-law (*polong*), whereas mother's brother's wife shares the same term with father's brother's wife (*mielong*). Brother's and sister's children share the same term (*lan*) with the children of brother-in-law and sister-in-law regardless of generation.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Before the 1949 Revolution, class endogamy and ethnic endogamy (with the exception of some marriages with Han) were the rules. Polygyny among tusi and nobles was common. A man was supposed to take his wife from his own village community, while a girl was usually reluctant to marry out of her community. There is no restriction on marriage between cousins, nor on the marriage of persons with the same surname. Therefore, a local community is often an endogamous group. Freedom of Dai adolescents in flirtation, dating, and courtship—whose rituals include antiphonal singing of love songs and love-bag throwing—are well known and recorded in anthropological writings. Premarital sex is common; parents rarely interfere, and they encourage their daughters to have boyfriends. Marriage, however, must be arranged through a matchmaker, usually the boy's mother's brother and sister. Bride-price, the length of the bridegroom's service for the bride's family, and the grand wedding dinner are always the major issues negotiated by the matchmaker. Bride-price is high and has inflated in recent years; bride-service is at least three years, and in some cases it is as long as ten years or more.

"Wife snatching" or "wife seizing" by elopement occasionally occurs because of a high bride-price or the failure of the matchmaker's negotiation. The parents and village community will recognize such a marriage after the matchmaking and bride-price are made up. Matrilocal residence of at least three years is the norm. In Xishuangbanna, three-year matrilocal residence and at least three-year patrilocal residence are taken alternately until the couple inherits property from either side. Only then can they establish their neolocal household. Divorce is easy, and either side can initiate it. Remarriage is quite common and socially acceptable. When a wife demands a divorce, she simply goes back to her parents if the couple already have

their own household, or she gives the husband a candle and sends him to the gate of the house if the couple live with the wife's parents. When the husband demands the divorce in the matrilocal residence, he may have to pay some compensation for the unfulfilled bride-service. In any case, the divorced husband has the right to ask for partial restoration of bride-price from the divorced wife's next husband.

Domestic Unit. The nuclear family made up of parents and unmarried children (and sometimes a daughter with her husband in bride-service) is the basic family form. In the areas connected to Han regions, some extended families exist. Average family size is four to five people.

Inheritance. Tusi and noble families strictly followed patrilineal primogeniture. The eldest son inherited the titles, offices, and the majority of property (mainly the land) of the tusi, while the other sons shared the remaining properties. For the common people, the family's legacy is usually divided by all sons with the eldest son inheriting the house; the unmarried daughters and matrilocal sons-in-law also have the right to inherit part of the property.

Socialization. Both the Buddhist temple and family play roles in children's socialization and enculturation. The Dai are gentle and mild in disposition; parents seldom beat their children, and the young respect their elders. A boy at the age of 8 or 9 used to spend at least two to three years, usually ten or more years, in a Buddhist temple as a monk. After receiving a Buddhist name and after having learned Dai scripts and Buddhist scriptures, the boy became an adult, resumed a secular life, and married. This custom was abolished in the Cultural Revolution but has recently reappeared. Secular public schools are set up in all Dai regions. Some tension exists between the public school system and the temple, as children prefer to go to temples to learn Dai writing.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Traditional Dai society was split into two classes, the aristocracy and the commoners, based on their blood origins. In each class were several strata. In Xishuangbanna, the aristocracy had three levels: the *mong* or *sadu* (the *chaopianling*—"the lord of the land"—and his relatives of lineal consanguinity); the *wung* (the chaopianling's collateral relatives); and the *lulangdaopa* and the *chaochuang* (the distant relatives of the mong and wung). Commoners were of three kinds: *daimong* (natives or the earliest settlers of a place); *gunghengchao* (people born in aristocrats' servants' families); and *kachao* (aristocrats' domestic slaves). Only the aristocrats were entitled to hold fiefs and/or offices, whereas the commoners were all serfs, engaging in different occupations in accordance with their status. After the 1949 Revolution, these class differences were abolished.

Political Organization. The tusi was the basic political system in the Dai regions before 1956. The term refers to the central authority's system of appointing native chieftains as local hereditary officials. The tusi polity was autonomous. The tusi had complete power over legislation, administration, and the military within his domain under the condition of obeying the orders and commands of the imperial court and providing tributes, taxes, and corvée to the court. Combined with the original feudal structure of the Dai, the tusi became not only the official government administrator in the area but also an officially recognized lord over the other local minorities. The tusi regions varied in rank and size. Before 1956, while all the tusi in Xishuangbanna were ruled by one big tusi, Dehong was divided into seven tusi regions independent from each other. Rigid hierarchy existed within the tusi organization. In Xishuangbanna, the *cheli xuanweishisi*, the highest tusi office in Yunnan, was the "central" government there. Headed by the chaopianling (lord of the land), the government had four major departments: the *chaojinha* (senate); the *huailangmanwa* (administration); the *huailangchangwan* (department of finance and taxation); and the *huailangmanhong* (department of census registration and justice). The region was divided into thirty-odd fiefs (mong). Headed by an enfeoffed aristocrat, *chaomong*, each mong had its own administration and senate. Under the mong office were—hierarchically—*long*, *huoxi*, and *huoheng*, the grass-roots units of the structure. In Dehong, every tusi office was headed by the *zhengying* tusi (the tusi with the emperor-granted seal). Below him there were tusi officials of different levels: the *daiban* (deputy); the *huying* (keeper of the tusi seal); and the *zuguan* (adult male relatives of the tusi, which were further divided into three levels: mong, *zhuen*, and *yin*). Most mong and zhuen had the posts of chaomong, the ruler of 10,000 commoners. The tusi had his administration to conduct daily affairs. For the control of the mountain peoples in his domain, the tusi had special headmen, *guan* or *liantou*, in charge of collecting taxes. In this way, the tusi built a pyramid-type structure, a true monarchical system; every tusi region was virtually an independent kingdom. The Dai tusi system lasted for over 500 years; it was the oldest tusi in China.

In 1956, the local polity was reorganized into a unified structure with the following levels: state; province or autonomous region; prefecture or autonomous *zhou;* xian (county); and *xiang* (district). The xiang (the people's commune from 1958 to 1985) is the lowest level of state authority and the basic administrative unit. A xiang includes several administrative villages, which consist of a number of natural villages. The xiang government is appointed by the xiang people's congress, which is elected from candidates recommended by the Communist party and functions under the leadership of the xiang party committee. The head of the administrative village is appointed by the xiang government, while the head of the natural village is elected by the villagers.

Social Control and Conflict. As Buddhism once dominated both the religious and the political life of the Dai, the Middle Way philosophy, the Four Noble Truths (see "Religious Beliefs"), and other Buddhist commandments have played an important role in both formal and informal social control. Teachings of the Buddha and words of the monks and elders as well as the party's instructions and government regulations are commonly cited in judgments of right and wrong and in arbitration of disputes. Village heads adjudicate most disputes with the help of the elders, and keep most cases at the local level. Only serious cases

are brought to the xiang's people's court, the lowest level of the governmental justice system.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Buddhism—the Theravada (Way of the Elders) or Hinayana (Lesser Vehicle) school—was the official religion of the Dai. Although Buddhism was said to have been introduced to the Dai of Yunnan as early as the seventh century, it only gained great popularity after 1569, when Dao Yin Mong, the nineteenth chaopianling of Xishuangbanna, married a daughter of the king of Burma. Since then, Buddhism was accepted by the tusi as the official religion and spread widely to all classes. With four sects (Ruen, Baizhuang, Dolie, and Zodi), Buddhism in both Xishuangbanna and Dehong argues for reaching enlightenment by following the Middle Way (avoiding the extremes of life) and the Four Noble Truths (all existence is suffering; suffering arises from desire; cessation of desire means the end of suffering; cessation of desire is achieved by controlling one's conduct, thought, and belief), and it emphasizes gaining wisdom and working out one's own salvation by renouncing the world and living the life of a monk, devoting oneself to meditation and study in a temple. Therefore, it is customary for men to spend at least some part of their lives in a temple. For the lay believers, making offerings to the Buddha, supporting the monks, and sending their sons into a temple are the ways to become enlightened and achieve salvation. In addition to Buddhism, traditional spirit belief also has its place in Dai society. The Dai believe that human beings become spirits (*diula* or *pi*) after death and that the spirits exist everywhere; some are benevolent and helpful, while others are wicked and harmful. Rituals of worship and sacrifice provide protection and assurance to people and community.

Religious Practitioners. Formal ecclesiastical systems exist in Xishuangbanna and Dehong. In Xishuangbanna, monks are grouped into ten classes in the hierarchy: (1) the *pano* (small monk, the elementary class of the system); (2) the *pa* (common monk); (3) the *dugang* (deputy abbot of a temple); (4) the *dulong* (abbot of a temple); (5) the *kuba* (elder of the first grade); (6) the *shami* (elder of the second grade); (7) the *samghaloshe* (elder of the third grade); (8) the *pachaoku* (elder of the fourth grade); (9) the *songdi* (elder of the fifth grade); and (10) the *songdi aghamoni* (the highest elder). Dehong has a similar system with variation in grading and terminology. Those with the title of kuba or above are master monks and, as a rule, cannot resume secular life. Before 1956, the highest title holders of a tusi region were approved and granted authority over all the temples in the region by the tusi. Today the temples and monks that survived the Cultural Revolution are under the supervision of official Buddhist Associations of the county and prefecture.

Ceremonies. The main Buddhist ceremonies are Haowasa and Aowasa, Shaobaichai, Sangha, and Dan or Bai. Haowasa and Aowasa, meaning "in" and "out" of the fast period, are yearly ceremonies popular in both Xishuangbanna and Dehong. The Dai make series of Buddha offerings between the ninth and twelfth days of the month from June to October. During this period, the believers go to local temples every seventh day to offer food and flowers to the Buddha and to listen to the monks reciting scriptures; male adults have to stay three nights a week at the temples, experiencing a monk's life. On the first day and last day of the period grand celebrations are held. Through the whole period, all farm work is suspended, and no courtship, wedding, long journey, house building, promotion, or resumption of secular life by monks is allowed. Formerly, this was also the time for the tusi to appoint the village heads. Shaobaichai, meaning "Burning of White Firewood," popular only in Dehong, is held at the beginning of every spring. At this time, adolescents go into the mountains to collect firewood and then burn it by the village temple to expel the coldness and thus show the people's goodwill to Buddha. Sangha, the Water-Sprinkling Festival, is celebrated in all Dai regions at Buddhist New Year (about mid-April). On the day, people gather at the temple with fresh flowers, food, and other offerings, build small Buddhist pagodas in the yard of the temple with clean sand from the rivers, and then sit around the pagodas and listen to the monks reciting the scriptures to expiate the sins of the dead. Meanwhile, a figure of Buddha is carried into the yard. People wash the Buddha and sprinkle each other with clear water as a blessing. Now the day is officially declared a Dai national holiday and celebrated with a big rally, dragon-boat races, and fireworks. It draws large numbers of tourists. Dan (in Xishuangbanna) or Bai (in Dehong) is the Buddha-offering ceremony. The most common and pious way for the lay believers to gain salvation, the ceremony is performed on every important occasion such as a birth, marriage, death, harvest, the building of a Buddhist pagoda or a house, the upgrading of monks, etc. The ceremonies can be held either by an individual household or a community. People offer flowers, food, candles, money, and so on before the figures of Buddha, listen to the monks reciting the scriptures, and appeal to the Buddha for blessing. In Dehong, a Bai sponsor first has to go to Myanmar to buy one or more figures of the Buddha, make elegant streamers and umbrellas, hire monks to make a copy of Buddhist scripture, and put all these in a temporarily built hall at his house. Then the family invites the local abbot and monks to officiate at the ceremony, feasting all relatives and villagers. After the ceremony, all the items are sent to the local temple as offerings. All those who have made a Bai become an honorable *paka*, a disciple of the Buddha, and will be able to enter the Western Paradise after death. In addition to Buddhist ceremonies, there are spirit-offering rituals (*linpimong*) in all Dai regions, communally held for the village's protection and well-being.

Arts. Dai literature is especially rich in poetry and folktales. In Dai, poetry (*kahma*) means talking and singing. With relatively loose rhyme, rules, and forms, Dai poetry leaves much room for the *zamha* or *haluanhong*, the balladists, in their impromptu recital. Epics are an important part of Dai poetry, among which *Langaxihuo*, *Chaoshutun and Nanmanuola* (or *The Peacock Princess*), and *Wuopin and Losang* are most famous. The first is about the Dai ancestors' conquest of flood; the second and third are love stories of ancient princes and princesses. The story of the peacock princess seems to be a Dai version of an ancient Hindu drama, *Manva*. The Dai are well known for their

graceful peacock folk dance, which vividly imitates and displays the elegance of the peacock, the symbol of luck and happiness for the Dai. Mural painting, wood and stone carving, and sculpture are closely tied to Buddhism. Woven and embroidered wool, cotton, and silk bags and other works are famous Dai handicrafts, and they sell well in the markets.

Medicine. Medical knowledge and expertise are mainly passed on orally by the *moya* (medical man) from generation to generation. Traditional medicine comes from herbs, minerals, or materials from animals—ginger, chili, anise, shaddock and pine leaves, opium paste, camphor, borax, tiger bone, pilose antler (of a young stag), the gallbladder of a bear or a snake, and so on. Local epidemics and frequently occurring disorders are malaria, dysentery, cholera (now rare), and convulsions. Massage, oral or surface application of medicines, bloodletting, and heat application are common methods used in treatment and cure. The Dai have accepted modern medicine since the Revolution, but they still use traditional medicine and treatment—as well as the Buddha or spirit offerings—as supplemental cures.

Death and Afterlife. Dai belief about death is a combination of Buddhism and traditional spiritism. The people believe in samsara (all human beings are wandering from life to life through countless rebirths) and karma (people are suffering the consequences of past and present lives). Also, they believe that all humans become spirits after death. The traditional idea is actually more popular among ordinary people, whose fear and reverence of the spirits are reflected vividly at funerals. Burial (for commoners) and cremation (for Buddhist monks and tusi) are common ways to dispose of the body. The funeral ceremonies are for normal deaths only. When a person is dying, the relatives get a small bamboo tablet with two pieces of yellow cloth on it from the temple and put it on the body as a verification of belief in the Buddha so that the deceased can enter paradise. The elder of the family has to recite several verses of Buddhist scriptures to the dying person. All the villagers should stop their work and come to help, for the spirit dislikes any noise of working. All water at home should be tipped away lest the spirit come back to wash. The abbot and the monks are invited to perform rites for one day or more to release the soul from purgatory and expiate the sins of the dead. When the coffin is carried out, all family members come upstairs to drive the spirit out of the house. The spouse of the dead cuts up a pair of candles at this moment to manifest eternal separation from the dead. On the way to the cemetery, the abbot and monk go in front, holding a string tied to the coffin, as guides; behind, the relatives of the dead carry packages of cooked rice and occasionally allow the eldest son of the deceased to take some rice from the packages for the deceased. Each village has its own cemetery nearby in the woods. Adults are buried at a location separate from the sites for those who died young and those who died by accident or violence. Dead children cannot become spirits, whereas those who died through violence become evil spirits. Back from the cemetery, people burn a special kind of nut, exposing themselves to the smoke, and wash their hair with stale rice water to cleanse themselves.

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WANG ZHUSHENG

Daur

ETHNONYMS: Daguer, Dahuer, Dawoer

The Daur are one of China's northern minorities. They numbered 121,627 in 1990. About 60 percent live in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region in the Molidawa Daur Autonomous Banner District. Established in 1958, the district covers some 31,200 square kilometers. Another 30 percent live in neighboring Heilongjiang Province and most of the remainder are settled near Qiqihar (Xinjiang Uigur Autonomous Region), descendants of those relocated there in the mid-eighteenth century. There are four distinct dialects of Daur, a Mongolian language. Because of population spread and long association with other ethnic groups, many Daur are bilingual, using Chinese, Uigur, Mongolian, Hezhen, or Kazak. Manchu words appear within the Daur dialects, and during the Qing dynasty

(1644–1911) the Daur used the Manchu writing system. At that time they played an important role in the commerce between interior China and the grasslands beyond the Great Wall, trading furs and skins and medicinal materials in return for gold and items for daily use. Lumbering and some commercial river fishing were also an important part of the economy. Chinese sources claim different times for their transformation from a relatively egalitarian, lineage-organized society—based on hunting, pastoralism, and simple agriculture—to a more complex one.

Since the 1950s, the local economy has been a mix of agriculture and pastoralism (horses, sheep, and cattle) with hunting on a limited scale. Millet, oats, and buckwheat are the main food crops, eaten as a porridge to which milk, butter, and/or sugar are added. Under socialist planning, the authorities have encouraged the Daur to plant large fields of soybeans, maize, and *gaoliang* (sorghum). Venison, wild fowl, and fish continue as part of the diet while leather and furs are used for clothing. Big-wheeled oxcarts were in common use for transport until fairly recently, when they were supplanted by railway lines and motor transport.

Daur society is divided into localized patrilineages (*mokan*) whose members share a common surname and live in one village. The next highest grouping is the *hala*, a shared-surname group found in several villages. Spouses must come from outside one's hala. Marriages are parentally arranged with the aid of a go-between, with a preference for matrilateral cross-cousin marriage. Such arrangements in the past were usually made when the prospective spouses were children, or even before birth. The bride was sometimes raised in her future husband's household. Marriage to a mature girl required a bride-price of horses, cattle, wine, and luxury foods. The mother's brother has a lifelong continued interest in his sister's children and assists them economically and socially.

The Daur have not accepted the religions of their neighbors, save for a small percentage who follow Lamaist Buddhism. Religious worship focuses on a number of gods, most importantly a grouping of sky gods (*tenger*) to whom annual sacrifices are made. Numerous other gods, represented by paintings or idols, are the spirits inherent in different kinds of natural forces, animals, and objects, and a few gods are borrowed from the Han. An ancestral god, identified as a particular ancestor (often female) is worshiped by each hala and mokan. Shamanism is an important component of religious activities at the household, lineage, and community levels. Every mokan has its own shaman (more frequently female) for dealing with sickness, birth, and domestic problems. The Daur believe that each living creature has a soul that leaves the body at death and can be reincarnated. Exemplary persons might become gods, while the worst remain in hell.

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NORMA DIAMOND

De'ang

ETHNONYMS: Ang, Benlong, Black Benglong, Liang, Niang, Red Benglong

Orientation

Identification. De'ang is one of fifty-six ethnic groups in China officially recognized by the Chinese government. The earlier official ethnic name was "Benglong" but was changed to "De'ang" in 1985 at their request. The De'ang are discontinuously spread across the border areas between the southwestern frontier of the Chinese province of Yunnan and northeastern Myanmar (Burma). They are one of the smallest minority peoples in China; they numbered 15,462 in 1990. They are considered to have a long history.

Location. In Yunnan, the De'ang live mainly in the Dehong Dai and Jingpo Autonomous Prefecture, with others scattered in the Lincang Administration Area and the Baoshan Administration Area. The regions of Santaishan in Luxi County and Junnong in Zhenkang County are the largest communities of De'ang. The climate in De'ang areas is subtropical with dry and rainy seasons each year.

Demography. Population growth had been very slow because the high birthrate was offset by a high rate of infant mortality. Since the 1950s the population has been steadily increasing with the improvement of medical care and health conditions. The population of De'ang was estimated at about 6,000 in 1949 and had increased to 12,275 by the time of the national census in 1982.

Linguistic Affiliation. The De'ang are Mon-Khmer speakers. They speak three dialects. Having lived in close contact with the Dai, Jingpo, and Han (Chinese) for a long time, many De'ang also speak the languages of those peoples at trade fairs and in social intercourse.

History and Cultural Relations

The legend from either the De'ang's neighbors or the De'ang themselves recounts that the De'ang were the first settlers in the Dehong region of Yunnan. Remains of old tea plantations, roads, towns, and so on have been found in local areas and scholars believe they were left by the ancestors of the De'ang. The "Pu" people, whose presence is

recorded in Chinese historical documents from 2,000 years ago, are thought to be the ancestors of the De'ang and the other Mon-Khmer speakers in ancient China. However, the exact name of the De'ang first appeared in Chinese records as "Benglong" in the Qing dynasty. The De'ang have had close contact with Tai-speaking peoples at least since the Yuan dynasty, 700 years ago. There are some cases still remembered by local people of De'ang villages being assimilated into those of the Dai.

Settlements

The village is the basic unit of settlement. Most villages are located in mountainous and semimountainous areas, near those of the Jingpo, Lisu, and Han peoples. A few villages are found on the plain among Dai villages. Usually a few dozen households constitute an isolated village.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. The De'ang have traditionally practiced extensive agriculture with simple techniques. In the Dehong region, wet-rice cultivation is the most important economic activity, while in the Lincang region, important products are dry rice, maize, and starchy tubers. The De'ang depend for subsistence not only on grain crops, but also on tea production. Tea cultivation has been practiced since ancient times, and tea has been the main cash crop since the last century. In addition, the De'ang engage in handicraft production, including bamboo weaving, gunny weaving, gunnysack sewing, and making of silverware. There are no markets in De'ang villages. They sell their own products and buy metal tools, salt, cloth, and other manufactured goods at neighboring Dai or Han markets. Since the late nineteenth century, some De'ang who live close to towns and communication lines have engaged in trade during the leisure season, but trade is insignificant in their economy.

Division of Labor. Labor is divided by age and sex. The elderly engage in weaving and taking care of household chores. Men perform heavy work in the fields, such as plowing and harrowing, while women are responsible for transplanting rice seedlings. Everyone's primary work is directly related to agriculture, although a family member who has a professional skill is often assigned to do some other work, such as weaving or manufacturing silverware.

Land Tenure. Traditionally land belonged to the village, and each family had the right only to use the land, not to own it. In the Dehong region, the rice fields became private property during the nineteenth century and could be mortgaged or sold by the owner, who brought the field under cultivation first. However, the village still maintained ownership of dry land. In the late nineteenth century, the economic forces of the Dai and Han peoples began to infiltrate into the De'ang villages. By the time of the Agrarian Reform in 1956, the Dai and Han had occupied 80–90 percent of the rice fields in De'ang villages by buying the land from De'ang landowners. Losing the fields, many De'ang were reduced to being tenants of the Dai and Han owners. In the Lincang region, the majority of cultivated land is dry land or upland fields. Before 1956, the land near villages had been divided and given to individual families for a long time with the right of succession, but the land far from villages still belonged to the villages, and any village member could use such land. When the land lay fallow, it would be turned over to the village. Traditionally land could not be sold by anyone, and as soon as a villager migrated out, the land he owned had to be returned to the village. One could not even rent one's own land to an outsider without the permission of the village head. Since the Agrarian Reform of 1956, however, all of the lands in the De'ang areas have been nationalized, as have lands elsewhere in China.

Kinship, Marriage, and Family

Kin Groups and Descent. A De'ang village is usually composed of several patrilineal groups. Each patrilineal group is composed of several to thirty or forty nuclear families with a patriarchal authority structure and patrilineal inheritance of Sinicized family names.

Marriage. Customarily, mates come from the same village but from different patrilineal groups. Asymmetrical cross-cousin marriage—in this case, a man marrying a daughter of his mother's brothers—has become the preferred form. Postmarital residence is patrilocal. A matrilocal marriage can sometimes occur when a man is not able to afford the bride-price. If a husband wants a divorce, some charge and the approval of the village head will be necessary. If the divorce is demanded by the wife, her family must repay the bride-price.

Domestic Unit and Inheritance. In the Dehong region, the nuclear family that consists of a married couple and their children is the most common form. The eldest and second sons usually establish their respective new houses after marrying, and the youngest son inherits the parents' house and property and the responsibility of taking care of the parents. In the Lincang region, the large extended family was common until the early twentieth century. Such a family contained many nuclear families and included three or four generations. All the family members, varying between twenty and ninety in number, lived in one large bamboo house. The house was divided into several rooms. Each room was usually occupied by a nuclear family. Often the responsibility of running the household rested with the senior male. The property of the family was owned by all family members. Owing to the development of a monetary economy and the accumulation of property by the nuclear family, this large-family form has gradually disintegrated since the early twentieth century and the independent nuclear family has become most common in De'ang communities. As a kind of transitional form from the large extended family to the nuclear family, independent nuclear families have sometimes lived together in the previously used large house in close relationship with each other, although they have been independent households.

Sociopolitical Organization

Before 1949, the De'ang were under the rule of the Dai ruling class. The Dai ruler gave the De'ang village headmen official titles and appointments to collect tribute and tax. The position of a village head was often hereditary in Dehong, while in some areas of Lincang a village

head was elected by villagers and approved by the Dai ruler. Moreover, several village heads elected a chief head from among themselves to handle the affairs between the villages and to be the representative of the villages in contacts with the Dai ruler. Since the Chinese Communist government was established in 1949, the national government has brought the administrative system in the De'ang areas into the national socialist system.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religion. The De'ang adopted Theravada Buddhism from the nearby Dai. Buddhist temples exist in most villages, and feeding the monks is the obligation of every household. The De'ang monks can write and read the Buddhist scriptures in Dai language. In addition, there is a lay specialist in every village who directs offering-making ceremonies and divines for villagers. The ultimate goal of Buddhism in De'ang society is to extricate oneself from suffering and enter otherworldly life after death through merits earned in this life. The De'ang have religious festivals similar to the Dai, such as the New Year, Closing the Door, Opening the Door, and so forth.

Death and Afterlife. Each village has a cemetery shared by all of the villagers. The normal form of burial is in a coffin in the ground, while only those who have died of "unnatural" causes (e.g., disease or accident) are cremated. In funeral rites the monk chants for the dead and releases the soul of the dead from purgatory, so that the soul will not harm people and livestock.

See also Dai

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TAN LESHAN

Dong

ETHNONYMS: none

The 2,514,014 Dong (1990 census) live in numerous villages in the hills along the borders of Hunan, Guizhou, and Guangxi provinces. The Dong language, called Kam, belongs to the Zhuang-Dong Branch of the Sino-Tibetan Language Family. In 1958, the first writing system for the Dong was invented, using Roman letters; most Dong still use Chinese ideographs in their written communications, however.

Most villages are small (20 to 30 households) although a few are large, townlike complexes (approximately 700 households). Houses are two-story; livestock and firewood are kept on the ground floor. Dong villages feature drum towers of up to thirteen stories, where meetings and celebrations take place. Also distinctive of the Dong is their construction of elaborate covered bridges with tile roofs and stone arches.

Dong territory is subtropical, with 120 centimeters of rain annually. They raise rice, wheat, millet, maize, and sweet potatoes for their own consumption and cotton, tobacco, rapeseed, and soybeans as cash crops. The Dong also harvest large amounts of timber for sale. Other forest products include tung oil, lacquer, and oil-tea camellia.

Traditionally, only men could inherit land, though women had small plots that they farmed themselves. The monogamous Dong adopt boys when childless. After marriage, women continue to live with their parents, visiting their husbands only on special occasions; a woman lives with her husband after the birth of their first child. When a child is born, its parents plant fir seedlings so that the child will have materials with which to build a house after marrying; these trees are known as "18-year trees."

The Dong are polytheistic and worship especially a "saint mother" whom they honor with altars and temples.

The Communist Revolution has led to the introduction of factories to produce farm implements, cement, paper, and other goods.

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Dongxiang

ETHNONYMS: none

The Dongxiang population stood at 373,872 in 1990, having increased rapidly over the previous twenty years. The majority of Dongxiang live in Gansu Province, and a smaller number in Xinjiang Province. They live among Han, Hui, Tibetan, Tu, and Salar peoples. The Dongxiang language is Mongolian, belonging to the Altaic Language Family, although it contains many Han loanwords. Dongxiang can be written by very few people, who use Arabic or Roman letters; most written communication is carried out in Chinese. Prior to the Communist Revolution, the Dongxiang were known as the "Dongxiang Hui" and as the "Mongolian Huihui." The term "Dongxiang" is Chinese, meaning "eastern area," the part of Gansu province formerly known as Hezhou, in which they lived. One view of

the ethnogenesis of the Dongxiang is that they are descendants of Mongol garrison soldiers mixed with others living in or passing through the area.

The Dongxiang rely primarily on agriculture, raising wheat, maize, and especially potatoes, as well as hemp, beans, sesame seed, and rapeseed, which are sold for cash. Recently, the Chinese government has assisted in the planting of trees and grass in the area to help prevent soil erosion, which has long been a severe problem. Factories for making tiles, farm tools, generators, flour, bricks, and cement have also been erected recently.

The Dongxiang are Muslims. Prior to the Communist Revolution, two-thirds were Sunni and the majority of the rest were Shiite; a very few were adherents of the Wahhabiyaa sect. Despite their small numbers, members of the New Teaching sect politically dominated Dongxiang areas prior to the Revolution. Immediately before the Revolution, there were 595 mosques in the Dongxiang territory, one for every thirty households.

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Drung

ETHNONYMS: Derung, Dulongzu, Qiu, Tulong

One of the smallest minority groups of China, the Drung in 1990 numbered 5,816. They are located in northwestern Yunnan Province, near the Myanmar (Burma) border, and are spread over an area of a hundred miles along the valleys of the Dulong River. Mountains of 4,000 to 5,000 meters above sea level enclose the area, and climate varies from the semitropics of the valleys to six-month snow cover at higher altitudes. The Drung language belongs to the Tibeto-Burman Branch of Sino-Tibetan and is very close to one of the neighboring Nuzu dialects. Between the Tang and Song dynasties they were first a frontier people of the Nanzhao Kingdom and then under the authority of the Dali Kingdom. From the Song until late Qing dynasties they were part of the domain of the Lijiang (Naxi) *tusi* system of appointed native officials whose posts became hereditary, and in late Qing much of the area was a part of the temple domain of a Tibetan Lamaist monastery. To add to these threats to their autonomy and cultural identity, they were under considerable pressure from the Lisu and some were incorporated into Lisu society as slaves.

The Drung continue to exploit a number of ecological niches with a local economy based on slash-and-burn agriculture (maize, wheat, beans), fishing, forest and mountain hunting, and collecting of wild plants for food and medicinal use. Since the 1950s, the government has encouraged the planting of paddy rice and raising of cattle and pigs. Although the Drung have been pressured to adopt Chinese dress, they continue to weave the distinctive striped flax cloth that is worn by both sexes as a cloak, skirt, or wrapping during the day and serves as a blanket at night.

In the late 1940s and 1950s the Drung were still organized into fifteen exogamous patrilineal clans (*nile*), each of which held claim to particular valley lands, mountain lands, and forest areas. The clans were divided into *ke'eng*, or villages, composed of several closely related multigeneration households of twenty to thirty persons each. There were village communal lands and lands assigned to houses. Each personal name incorporated three names: the name of the clan, house, or village; one's same-sex parent's name; and an individual given name. Nowadays, a person must also have a proper Chinese name for registration purposes. At puberty, girls received facial tattoos that indicated their clan affiliation, a custom no longer followed.

Marriages were parentally arranged and usually monogamous. Some polygamy occurred, either through the levirate or through marriage to two or more women of the same ke'eng. Residence was patrilocal. Cattle, iron items, and cloth were required as the bride-price. Bride-service was sometimes substituted to fulfill the payments. Since the clans were ranked, it was unusual for a man's sister to marry into the clan from which he and his agnates drew brides. Women had high status in their marital households, participating in economic decisions and overseeing the distribution of resources, as well as participating in agricultural labor.

In 1956, the Drung-Nu Autonomous County was established, and authorities encouraged the Drung to participate in a land-reform program. (Chinese sources disagree about the extent to which this plan was carried out and how.) Shortly thereafter, the government organized the Drung into collectives and communes, which did not replicate former clan or lineage holdings but instead created new units in which Drung of various clans joined members of other ethnic groups to work assigned areas of land. This plan was facilitated by government irrigation projects that opened up some 6,000 hectares for paddy rice in the Dulong River valley. However, recent reports (see Shen Che) suggest that many Drung can be found in the uplands, practicing their traditional economy. Even so, the institution of the extended-family communal longhouse is disappearing, rejected by the younger generation.

The religion is animistic, with shaman practitioners. In the 1930s some of the Drung were highly receptive to the teachings of American and Canadian Protestant missionaries in the area, and in the mid-1950s it was estimated that close to one-third of the Drung identified themselves as Christian.

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NORMA DIAMOND

Ewenki

ETHNONYMS: Sulun, Tungus, Yakut

Orientation

Identification. The Ewenki are one of the fifty-five officially recognized minority nationalities of the People's Republic of China. Also known as "Tungus," "Yakut," and "Sulun," they are mainly found in the Ewenki Autonomous Banner, Chen Barag Banner, Butha Banner, Arun Banner, Ergun Left Banner, Morin Dawa Daur Autonomous Banner, etc. of the Hulun Buir League in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, and in Nahe County of Heilongjiang Province. The description below focuses on the traditional way of life, as changes since 1949 have been major.

Location. Most of their territory is in the forest and on the grassland on the western slope of the Greater Hinggan Mountains, an area also inhabited by Mongols, Daur, Han, and Oroqen. Under the influence of the Siberian winds, the climate is severe, with a long snowy winter and virtually no summer.

Demography. The Ewenki population, according to the 1990 census, is 26,315.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Ewenki language, comprising three dialects, belongs to the Tungus Branch of the Manchu-Tungus Family of Altaic languages. It has no script. Nomadic Ewenki also speak and write in the Mongolian language, while farming Ewenki and those living near the mountains also speak and write in Han Chinese.

History and Cultural Relations

The Ewenki trace their origin to a people known in Chinese history as "Shiweis" who lived by fishing, hunting, and reindeer breeding in the forests east of Lake Baikal and along the Shailka River, the upper reaches of the Heilong (Amur) River. Their name in Tungus means "forest people." Historically they were often grouped together with Oroqens and Daurs, who share much of their cultural tradition, and referred to as the "Sulun Tribes." They were under the rule of the Manchu even before the Russians invaded the Heilong River valley. After the Manchu took over all of China, the Ewenki were organized by the Manchu into *zuos,* administrative units based on clan organization. The Manchu extracted marten from them as tributes. After the middle of the seventeenth century, because of Russian invasion, the Qing court moved them to the valley areas of the Nen River, integrating them into the banner system and recruiting soldiers among them to serve along the northern borders for defense. At the end of the nineteenth century they were part of the Boxer Rebellion, and later they played an important role in the anti-Japanese war. Wars, diseases, etc., drastically reduced their population. After the founding of the People's Republic, the government of China carried out a policy of social reform and economic development; the Ewenki were gradually integrated into the national efforts for modernization.

Settlements and Economy

Most of the Ewenki in the Ewenki Autonomous Banner and Chen Barag Banner are engaged in animal husbandry; the Ewenki in Nahe are agriculturists; in Ergun some are hunters and the rest supplement their agriculture with hunting. Pastoral Ewenki live in felt tents, a shelter that suits their nomadic way of life as they move seasonally from place to place looking for good pastures for their horses, oxen, and goats. They organized themselves into nomadic units called *nimal,* usually comprised of several nuclear households belonging to the same clan. Nimal became feudalistic economic units characterized by owner-tenant relations. Although pasture belonged to the whole nimal, herds were owned privately.

The hunting Ewenki, before they settled down in the 1950s, roamed the primitive forests, driving their reindeer and following the tracks of game, mainly elk, deer, roe deer, and squirrels. They lived in *xianrenzhu,* a tent with long wooden poles forming a conical hut covered with animal hides or birch bark. They organized themselves into *wulileng,* comprised of blood-related households, as basic

economic units in which they hunted and shared the game equally on the basis of households. The hunter who fired the fatal shot customarily took the least-desirable share, but care was always taken to provide for the aged, sick, and the disabled. They stored their food and other belongings in a casual manner. Anybody in need could take what they wanted and return later, with no consent from the owner necessary. Normally a wulileng would contain five to six households—at most a dozen—under the leadership of an elected *xinmamaleng*, who was responsible for organizing collective hunting assignments. Usually hunting was carried out in groups of four to five hunters, called *angnaga*. Reindeer served as the main transport for their belongings, especially their xianrenzhus. They also rode reindeer when they hunted—except in winter, when they used ski boards. Hunting dogs were indispensable, and they used shotguns extensively. They maintained regular barter with outsiders, exchanging their game, fur, and forest produce for food grain, clothes, and implements. Today, embroidery, carving, and painting are still popular, and Ewenki like to make bird and animal toys with birch bark.

In recent years their economic life has undergone tremendous change, having diversified into substantial small- and medium-scale industries. They organized hunting in collectives and then production brigades. Tasks in animal husbandry such as grass cutting, transportation, water supply, herd bathing, wool processing, etc., are mechanized.

Kinship, Marriage, and Family

Monogamy is practiced among the Ewenki and clan exogamy has been the norm. Boys and girls enjoy considerable freedom in choosing their spouses, although there have been cases of arranged marriages in which a girl of 17–18 may marry a boy of 7–8. In Chen Barag, elopement still occurs. The couple in love may set up a felt tent with a xianrenzhu beside it. During the night, the girl sneaks out and gallops away with her lover, and in the newly built xianrenzhu an elderly woman marries them simply by rearranging the girl's eight pigtails into two. Normally after the nuptial night spent with the bride's family, the newlyweds set up their own household within the husband's clan. Divorce is rare. Both levirate (excluding the elder brothers of the husband) and sororate (excluding the elder sisters of the wife) were common. Cross-cousin marriage, as the preferential marriage form, is no longer practiced.

Descent and inheritance traditionally followed the male line. The family head was the eldest male, but pieces of family property, such as shotguns and reindeers, were passed on to the youngest son.

Ewenki kinship terminology is partially classificatory and partially descriptive. While terms for father, mother, husband, and wife are definite and clear, other terms are not, making very little distinction between relatives from the father's side and those from the mother's side. Sex distinctions are clear in some instances but not so clear in others. The Ewenki seem to be more conscious of relative age than of generation differences, and sometimes they use the same term for people of different generations.

Socialization is informal and begins early. Hunting and tending herds are the principal themes. Competitions are frequently held to encourage learning of these necessary skills, and both boys and girls participate in horse racing and lassoing horses.

Sociopolitical Organization

The last tribal chief of the Ewenki died in 1761, and with him the tribal organization. Various clans then scattered and moved on their own. Every clan elected its head and his assistant. Their tenure depended on their abilities and behavior; they enjoyed no privilege whatsoever and worked like anybody else. The responsibility of a clan head included settling disputes and calling clan meetings attended by family heads to discuss important issues. The Ewenki used to adopt members of other clans to increase the population of their clans; they even adopted captives for the same reason. Blood feuds were common between clans. Below the clan was the wulileng, a type of family commune; the typical ones were formed by blood relatives, while some others may have included members from different clans. The xinmamaleng, leader of the wulileng, was elected from its members and was usually the best hunter, brave, and candid. Important issues were settled at wulileng meetings attended by either the oldest male or female member of each family. The man with the longest beard enjoyed the most respect.

Social control was mainly effected through persuasion and public opinion; to lose face was a grave matter.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Although some pastoral Ewenki are Lamaist Buddhists, the Ewenki as a whole are animists, worshiping many natural elements including the wind god, mountain god, fire god, etc., and various protective gods who ensure their success in hunting and herding and general good health. Totems were prevalent, especially of bears and birds. Although they ate bear meat, they referred to bears with the same terms they would use for their most respected ancestors. The Ewenki conducted a formal ceremony while eating bear meat, following it with the same ritual observed for their own dead—a wind burial in which they placed the bones in a hollow tree trunk suspended on tree stumps. Ancestor worship was another feature of traditional Ewenki religious practice. They believed in an eternal soul that would separate from the body after death. Because of the influence of the Russian Orthodox church, they have changed from wind burial to earth burial. *Maru* is the term they used to refer to all gods, including their clan god, *shewoke*. They offered animal blood, meat, and fat to the gods. It was strictly forbidden for women to go near the shrines.

The Ewenki accepted only some basic ceremonies from the Russian Orthodox church; shamanism remained the prevalent form of religious belief. Shamans were highly respected and expected nothing in return for their services. They could be either men or women who had had the experience of long illness and, especially, mental problems. In many cases, as among the Ewenki in Ergun Banner, the clan chief might be the shaman. The Ewenki relied on shamans to cure the sick and, at the same time, they discovered the curing effects of certain herbs and internal organs of animals. Veterinary medicine was developed for their reindeer.

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LIU XINGWU

Gelao

ETHNONYMS: Ch'i-lao, Gelo, Kopu

The Gelao are a mountain agricultural people scattered across twenty counties in western Guizhou Province, with heavy concentrations around Zunyi and Anshun. A smaller number are in Zhuang areas in Yunnan and Guangxi. Between the 1982 and 1990 census their registered population jumped from around 54,000 to 438,000, suggesting that many families challenged the state's classification and eventually reclaimed Gelao ethnic identity. The basis for transfer is unclear since the literature about them is sparse. Gelao, an unclassified Sino-Tibetan language, is spoken only by a minority. Most speak Han and/or neighboring languages, particularly Yi, Miao, and Bouyei. Until the 1950s, Gelao wore a distinctive costume that included long scarves for both sexes and black-and-white striped linen skirts for women. Now they wear Han clothing, though women's ceremonial dress in the Zunyi area seems to be borrowed from Yizu. The term "Gelao" was used by the Chinese during Ming settlement of the area. They refer to themselves as "bendiren" (Chinese), meaning "natives," or as "shagai" (Gelao), meaning "resettlers." The Chinese version of their history is that they are the descendants of people of the ancient Liao "tribes" and the Yelang Kingdom of the southwest, which were conquered by the Han dynasty some 2,000 years ago. Ming and Qing reports place them in their present areas.

They are dryland farmers, heavily dependent on maize and sweet potatoes, and, where possible, growing millet, wheat, and rice. Many were formerly tenant farmers, paying rents in opium as well as staple grains and labor service. Some Gelao were landlords, but most of the rental land belonged to members of other groups. Cork production, bamboo weaving, and making straw sandals were supplementary occupations. In recent decades, commercial production of tobacco, tung oil, palm trees, and medicinal herbs has been encouraged by the state.

At present the Gelao live in compact villages with housing following the Han style. However, they continue to practice customs either borrowed from neighboring groups or retained from their original culture that distinguish them from the Han. The available literature is contradictory on whether marriages were parentally arranged or initiated by courtship. It is clear that postmarital residence remains neolocal, though usually in the groom's home village. Some local groups used to remove a girl's incisors just prior to her marriage.

Folk literature has distinctly Gelao themes, and the Gelao have adopted traditional Chinese musical instruments and integrated them with local folk instruments found among neighboring minority groups. Their traditional funeral practices followed the Han model only in part; Gelao additions include playing the *lusheng* (a traditional reed pipe) and dancing at the funeral, singing by the mourners, making animal sacrifices to accompany burial, and marking the grave with a tree rather than a gravestone. Chinese ethnographers report that ancestor worship is the core of religious activity, but their data suggest that the focus is on founding ancestors of settlements rather than on founders of patrilines. Some festivals coincide with and resemble those of the Han but have their own unique elements. Others are not a part of Han tradition: for instance, offerings of wine and chickens to bless the growing rice crop in the sixth lunar month; village communal worship of ancestors accompanied by ritual sacrifices of oxen, sheep, and pigs in the seventh lunar month; or the major festival for the ox god in the tenth lunar month. The Chinese government allowed festival observances to resume in 1980.

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NORMA DIAMOND

Hakka

ETHNONYMS: Haknyin, K'e-chia, Kejia, Keren, Lairen, Ngai, Xinren

Orientation

Identification. "Hakka" is the Yue (Cantonese) pronunciation of the term that translates literally as "guests" or "stranger families" or, less literally, as "settlers" or "newcomers." The name "Hakka" (in Mandarin, "Kejia") is likely to have originated from the descriptive term used before the seventeenth century in population registers to distinguish recent immigrants from earlier Yue inhabitants. During the nineteenth century, in certain contexts, the term "Hakka" carried negative implications, but by the early twentieth century, following a period of ethnic mobilization, "Hakka" became more widely accepted as an ethnic label.

Location. Hakka are widely scattered throughout the southeastern provinces of the People's Republic of China (PRC), but most are concentrated in northeastern Guangdong, east of the North River, in the mountainous, less fertile region of Meizhou Prefecture. Meizhou, which includes the seven predominantly Hakka counties that surround Meixian (located at approximately 24° N and 116° E), is considered the Hakka "heartland" and is claimed by many Hakka as their native place. Sizable Hakka populations are also found in southwestern Fujian, southern Jiangxi, eastern Guangxi, Hainan Island, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and, in lesser numbers, in regions of Sichuan and Hunan. By the twentieth century Hakka could be found on virtually every continent, from South and Southeast Asia and the Pacific to Europe, North and South America, Africa, and the Caribbean.

Demography. Estimated at over 38 million in the People's Republic of China in 1990, the Hakka population accounts for approximately 3.7 percent of the total Chinese population. In 1992, the International Hakka Association placed the total Hakka population worldwide at approximately 75 million.

Linguistic Affiliation. Today many Hakka throughout the world no longer speak Hakka, but traditionally the Hakka language was the single most important cultural feature that served to distinguish Hakka from other Chinese. The version of Hakka dialect spoken in Meixian is considered the standard form and can be transcribed into standard Chinese characters as well as other Chinese vernaculars. While many Hakka claim that the Hakka language is more like Mandarin than Cantonese is, linguists classify Hakka as Southern Chinese along with Yue and Min (Hokkien) languages, signifying that these dialects developed from a variety of Chinese spoken in southern China between the first and third centuries A.D. Hakka, once classified by linguists as part of the Gan-Kejia Subgroup, is now considered a separate category.

History and Cultural Relations

The Hakka have had a long history of conflict and competition with other Chinese groups over scarce land and resources. In Fujian and Taiwan they suffered from hostile relations with Min, and in Guangdong they fought with Yue speakers. Hakka-Yue conflicts were particularly violent throughout the middle of the nineteenth century, in the aftermath of the Taiping Rebellion, and during the Hakka-Bendi Wars (1854–1867). At that time, negative stereotypes and descriptions of the Hakka began to appear in both Chinese and foreign texts. The worst insult, which was recounted by Yue to foreign missionaries, was the implication that the Hakka, with their strange language and unfamiliar dress and customs, were not in fact Chinese but were more closely related to other "barbarian" or "tribal" people. Such accusations infuriated the Hakka, who proudly sought to defend their identity and set the record straight. Since then, studies of Hakka history, based largely on genealogical evidence and other historical records, as well as linguistic evidence, support and substantiate Hakka claims to northern Chinese origins. In the People's Republic of China the Hakka are officially included in the category of Han Chinese.

Today most Hakka and non-Hakka scholars agree that the ancestors of those who later became known as "Hakka" were Chinese who came from southern Shanxi, Henan, and Anhui in north-central China. From the "cradle of Chinese civilization," these proto-Hakka gradually moved southward in five successive waves of migration. Historians do not agree, however, on the exact time and sequence of the earliest migrations. Most historians place the first migration during the fourth century at the fall of the Western Jin dynasty, when Hakka ancestors reached as far south as Hubei, south Henan, and central Jiangxi. The next period is less debated. By the late ninth and early tenth centuries, with the disorder created during the late Tang dynasty, the ancestors of the present-day Hakka moved farther south into Jiangxi, Fujian, and Guangdong. The third wave, which stretched from the beginning of the twelfth century to the middle of the seventeenth, was caused by the exodus of the Southern Song dynasty and their supporters in a southward flight from the Mongol invasion. This dislodged people from Jiangxi and southwestern Fujian and forced them further into the northern and eastern quarters of Guangdong. By the end of the Yuan dynasty (A.D. 1368), northern and eastern Guangdong were exclusively Hakka. The fourth wave, which lasted from the mid-seventeenth century to the mid-nineteenth century, began with the Manchu conquest, and during the Qing dynasty, migration expanded into the central and coastal areas of Guangdong, Sichuan, Guangxi, Hunan, Taiwan, and southern Guizhou. By the time of the fifth wave, beginning at the middle of the nineteenth century, conflicts between the Hakka and the Yue increased. Triggered by population pressure, the Hakka-Bendi (Yue) Wars, and the large Hakka involvement in the Taiping Rebellion, the fifth wave of migration sent Hakka emigrants to seek better lives farther afield—to the southern part of Guangdong, to Hainan Island, and overseas to Southeast Asia (especially Malaya and Borneo). The establishment of the People's Republic of China and China's announcement of the in-

tent to reclaim Hong Kong in 1997 have created what might be called the sixth wave of migration, which has continued the flow of Hakka overseas, especially to the United States, Australia, and Canada.

Settlements

As later arrivals in most of the Chinese areas where they settled, the Hakka were generally forced into the higher elevations to the hilly, less productive, and less desirable land. Such was the case in Guangdong, Guangxi, and the New Territories of Hong Kong, where the Yue had already settled the more fertile river valleys, and also in Taiwan where the Min speakers owned the better land. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in regions of Guangdong, Hakka residence patterns differed from those of the Yue. As opposed to the Yue, who were more likely to live in more densely populated towns or in large, single-surname villages surrounded by fields, smaller numbers of Hakka were sparsely dispersed among the hills on land that they often rented from Yue landlords. In other regions Hakka and Yue occupied separate villages in the same areas; Hakka villages were more likely to be multisurnamed. As a result of their often hostile relations with other groups, Hakka architectural style often differed from that of their Chinese and non-Chinese neighbors. In southwestern Fujian and in northern Guangdong, Hakka built circular or rectangular, multistoried, fortresslike dwellings, designed for defensive purposes. These Hakka "roundhouses" were built three or four stories high, with walls nearly a meter thick, made of adobe or tamped earth fortified with lime. The structures vary in size; the largest, resembling a walled village, measures over 50 meters in diameter. Although the Hakka maintain the reputation of living in poor, marginal, rural areas, Hakka today also reside in urban, cosmopolitan regions.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. The Hakka have long enjoyed a reputation as extremely skilled and hardworking agriculturalists who can render the least desirable land productive. In the course of their history, the Hakka often farmed wasteland rejected by others or worked as tenants. Where the land permitted, they grew rice and vegetables. In poorer areas sweet potatoes were their staple. Much of the agricultural labor was performed by women, who, unlike other Chinese, did not have their feet bound. Female agricultural labor, marketing, and cutting of wood from the hillsides for fuel were especially necessary tasks in villages where Hakka men sought work overseas. As early as the Southern Song dynasty, Hakka men sought their fortunes by joining the military. The Taiping army, the Nationalist forces of Sun Yatsen, and the Communist army during the Long March were all comprised of large numbers of Hakka soldiers. Overseas, Hakka worked as railway builders, plantation hands, and miners. Today, Hakka are still known for their reputation for hard physical labor, and the women who are commonly seen working at construction sites in Hong Kong are often Hakka.

Industrial Arts. During the nineteenth century, Hakka peasants often had to supplement their agricultural work with other occupations. They were also silver miners, charcoal makers, itinerant weavers, dockworkers, barbers, blacksmiths, and stonecutters.

Trade. The Hakka are best known for their agricultural, martial, and scholarly skills and for their achievement in political, academic, and professional occupations, but they are not known for their involvement in commercial enterprises. However, a number of successful entrepreneurs are Hakka or are of Hakka ancestry. For example, T. V. Soong, founder of the Bank of China, and Aw Boon Aw, who made his fortune selling Tiger Balm, were both Hakka. In Calcutta today, the Hakka minority are successful entrepreneurs in the leather and tanning industry.

Division of Labor. The Hakka do not follow the traditional Chinese strict sexual division of labor. Women have long had a reputation for participating in hard physical labor—in fact, they perform many traditionally male occupations such as farming and construction. Because of the Hakka women's reputation for diligence and industriousness, during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries poor non-Hakka valued Hakka women as wives.

Land Tenure. As latecomers in many of the regions where they settled, the Hakka were often tenants of the Yue or Min or owned only top-soil rights to land while the Yue or Min owned bottom-soil rights. Before the Communist Revolution, Hakka were more likely to be tenants than landlords and therefore many poor and landless Hakka peasants benefited from land reform in the early 1950s.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. The Hakka trace descent patrilineally, and extended patrilineal kin groups combine to create lineages. The lineage commonly consists of a group of males who trace descent from one common ancestor, who live together in one settlement, and who own some common property. At least nominally, the lineage, including the wives and daughters, is under the authority of the eldest male in age and generation. Whenever possible, Hakka lineages traditionally set up ancestral halls. These buildings are usually not as ornate as those of the Cantonese, and their ancestral tablets only make reference to the name of the founding ancestor. Hakka rules for inclusion of forebears in ancestor worship are broader and more egalitarian than those of the Cantonese, and they often include men and women, rich and poor.

Kinship Terminology. Hakka kinship terms follow the general Han Chinese pattern, which may be referred to as "bifurcate collateral" or as "both classificatory and descriptive" (Feng 1948, 129). They typically have a very large number of kinship terms for the paternal side and less differentiation on the maternal side. Many kinship terms distinguish affinal and consanguineal kin and indicate age in relation to Ego or Ego's parents. They also commonly use such kinship terms as "father's younger brother" or "elder sister" to refer to fictive kin. Hakka kinship terms reflect the assimilation of a woman into her husband's family. Unlike Yue women in parts of Guangdong, who have separate terms of address for their husbands' parents, Hakka women use the same terms as their husbands to address his parents and other relatives.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Like other Chinese, Hakka practice surname exogamy. Marriage traditionally was arranged, often village exogamous, and also patrilocal. Hakka marriage ceremonies suggest the transfer of women from one family to another and the incorporation of women into their husband's household and lineage rather than the establishment of bonds between two families. Wives are included in ancestral worship of their husband's lineage. Many Hakka claim that polygynous marriages were rare among the Hakka, yet until recently polygynous marriages were found among poor Hakka villagers in the New Territories of Hong Kong.

Domestic Unit. The domestic unit was ideally an extended patrilineal kin group comprised of several generations. Traditionally this group would have included a husband and wife, their unmarried daughters, and their married sons with their wives and children.

Inheritance. A man's estate was traditionally divided equally among his sons. Daughters might inherit some movable property at marriage, but did not share significantly in the parents' estate.

Socialization. As reflected in Hakka songs and sayings, Hakka girls are taught that they should learn "the appropriate skills expected of the wife of an important official, as well as know how to cook, clean, and work hard." The Hakka also instruct their children in the value of education and bodily cleanliness. There is little evidence that Hakka patterns of child rearing and socialization are significantly different from those of other Chinese. Respect for parents, elders, and obligations to the family is a commonly held value.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Like other Chinese, the Hakka have organized communities along kinship lines and ties to a common native place. Alliances based on shared dialect or ethnic identity are also important. Other groups sometimes view the Hakka as being exclusive or "clannish," but they view themselves as being unified and cooperative. Two international Hakka organizations, the Tsung Tsin (Congzheng) Association and the United Hakka Association (Kexi Datonghui), were organized by Hakka intellectuals and elite in the early 1920s in order to promote Hakka ethnic solidarity and foster a public understanding of Hakka culture. In 1921, over 1,000 delegates representing Hakka associations worldwide attended a conference in Canton to protest the Shanghai publication of *The Geography of the World*, which described the Hakka as non-Chinese. Today these international Hakka voluntary organizations have branches reaching from Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore to the United States, Canada, and beyond.

Political Organization. Although Hakka political organization is not easily distinguished from that of the larger society in which they are situated, the Hakka have long played an important role in Chinese politics, despite their economic disadvantages. During the Qing dynasty, the Hakka fared well in the imperial examinations and ascended into the imperial bureaucracy. Today they are disproportionately well represented in the government of the People's Republic of China (PRC). While they comprise close to 4 percent of the population of the PRC, they represent a far greater proportion of government leaders. Among the most well-known Hakka political figures are Deng Xiaoping; Zhu De, the military commander during the Long March; Marshal Ye Jiangying, leader of the Peoples Liberation Army; and former Communist Party Secretary Hu Yaobang. Outside of the PRC, Hakka leaders include Taiwan's President Lee Teng-hui; Singapore's President Lee Kwan Yew; Burma's Prime Minister Ne Win; and the governor-general of Trinidad and Tobago, Sir Solomon Hochoy. Some sources also assert that Dr. Sun Yatsen was Hakka.

Social Control. Like other Chinese, Hakka have been subject to the larger forces of the Chinese government bureaucracy and state control; on the local level, senior males had the most formal authority before 1949. Social pressure, strict traditional rules of obedience, and filial piety also help to minimize conflict.

Conflict. Today, as in the past, village leaders in rural communities often resolve conflicts on the local level. During the nineteenth century, conflicts often grew into long-term violent feuds. Longer-lasting feuds between Hakka villages, between Hakka lineages, or between the Hakka and the Yue were often over land or property, theft, marriage agreements, or other personal conflicts. The theft of a water buffalo and a broken marriage agreement between a Yue man and a Hakka woman were contributing events that helped escalate Hakka-Yue conflicts into large-scale armed conflicts during the 1850s. Conflicts between Hakka Christian converts and non-Christian Chinese were also common during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. The Hakka do not have their own distinct religion, but like most other Chinese, traditionally practiced a blend of Daoism, Buddhism, Confucianism, and "folk" religion, subject to regional variation. The Hakka traditionally believed that ancestral spirits could influence the lives of the living and thus required special care, offerings, and worship. They erected homes, located graves, and built ancestral halls according to the principles of *feng shui* (geomancy). In many communities, Hakka beliefs and practices closely resemble those of the Yue; however, in other cases, anthropologists have also observed important differences. For example, during the nineteenth century the Hakka did not worship as many of the higher-level state-sanctioned gods or Buddhist deities, placed more weight on Daoist beliefs and ancestor worship, and were more likely to practice spirit possession than other Chinese in Guangdong. Some missionaries characterize the Hakka as having more "monotheistic tendencies" than other Chinese; these tendencies may have contributed to the fact that relatively larger numbers of the Hakka converted to Christianity during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries than did other Han Chinese. In some parts of Hong Kong, the Hakka have fewer shrines and ancestral altars in their homes than the Cantonese.

Religious Practitioners. The same religious practitioners—Buddhist and Daoist priests, spirit mediums, feng shui experts, and various types of fortune-tellers—were observed among the Hakka during the nineteenth century as among the Yue. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Hakka Christian missionaries became particularly active in parts of Guangdong and Hong Kong.

Ceremonies. The Hakka have traditionally observed the most common Chinese life-cycle rituals and calendrical festivals, including the Lunar New Year, the Lantern Festival, Qing Ming, the Mid-Autumn Festival, the Dragon Boat Festival, Chong Yang, and Winter Solstice. The Hakka generally do not celebrate Yu Lan, the festival to appease "hungry ghosts," which is popular among other Chinese.

Arts. The Hakka are known for their folk songs, especially the genre of mountain songs that were once commonly sung by women, sometimes in a flirtatious dialogue with men, as they worked in the fields or collected fuel along the hillsides. These songs are often love songs, but they also touch on topics such as hard work, poverty, and personal hardships. Although their clothes were traditionally plain, most Hakka women used to weave intricately patterned bands or ribbons, which they commonly wore to secure black rectangular headcloths or the flat, circular, fringed Hakka hats. These are still worn by some older Hakka women in Hong Kong and some regions of Guangdong.

Medicine. The Hakka traditionally depended on spirit healers, Chinese doctors, and traditional herbal remedies.

Death and Afterlife. Christian- or Buddhist-derived ideas of hell exist among the Hakka, as do ideas concerning the influence of the spirits of the dead and their occasional return to earth. One nineteenth-century Protestant missionary observed that the Hakka were not very familiar with the Buddhist karmic concept of one's life influencing rebirth or the Buddhist idea of hell with its tortures and purgatory. Instead, he asserted that the Hakka ascribed to the Daoist idea that "the righteous ascend to the stars and the wicked are destroyed" (Eitel 1867, 162–163).

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NICOLE CONSTABLE

Han

ETHNONYMS: Chinese, Han Chinese, Hua, Zhongguo ren

Orientation

Identification. Han people are both numerically and politically dominant in mainland China, Taiwan, and the city-state of Singapore; they also reside in nearly every country in the world as Overseas Chinese. In mainland China, where they constituted 91 percent of the population in the 1990 census, they are officially and conventionally known as "Han," a name that originally belonged to a river in central China and was adopted by China's first long-ruling imperial dynasty, which reigned from 206 B.C.E. to 220 C.E. Designation as "Han" distinguishes them from the diverse minority peoples such as Mongols, Uigurs, Tibetans, Miao, and others. Outside mainland China, the term "Han" is less frequently used, and the people usually refer to themselves by some variant of the term "Zhongguo ren," which in Mandarin Chinese means "people of the central country" and is usually translated into English as "Chinese." (The European terms "Chinese" and "China" are of disputed origin.)

Location. The majority of the Han people are concentrated in the eastern half of mainland China. Drawing a line from the Xing'an Mountains in northeastern China, across the northern bend of the Yellow River, through the foothills that separate Sichuan from Tibet, and across the northern part of Yunnan Province to the border of Myanmar (Burma), the area to the east and south of the line has sufficient rainfall for intensive grain agriculture, whereas the area to the north and west is drier and more conducive to pastoralism. Historically, the agrarian civilization built by Han people was confined to the agricultural areas. Even though the drier northern and western regions sometimes came under the rule of Han-dominated regimes, they were not intensively colonized by Han people until the twentieth century. The only areas outside this region that are now predominantly Han are the islands of Hainan, colonized during the last thousand years; Taiwan, settled by Han during the last 400 years; and Singapore, colonized only since the nineteenth century.

Within the core area of Han settlement, there is great climatic and geographic variation. In the northern region, centered on the drainage area of the Yellow River, winters are cold, summers are hot, rainfall is marginal, and agriculture has traditionally been based on dry grains, such as wheat, millet, sorghum, and barley. In the central region, centered on the drainage of the Yangzi River, and in the southern regions, winters are mild, summers hot and humid, and rainfall heavy, permitting multiple cropping and irrigated crops, especially wet-field rice.

Demography. For the past 2,000 years at least, Han people or their precursors have probably always constituted between 15 and 25 percent of the world's population. An imperial census taken in the year 2 C.E. counted over 59 million people; by the beginning of the Qing dynasty in 1644, the population of the Chinese empire was probably around 200 million, the great majority of them Han. This had grown to about 450 million by 1850 and was more than 580 million (and over 90 percent Han) in 1953, when the People's Republic of China took its first comprehensive census. Population grew rapidly in the 1950s and 1960s (with a large setback in the famine years of 1960–1962), finally inducing the People's Republic to institute a series of increasingly strict population-control plans, culminating in the one-child-per-family policy begun in 1979. These policies, largely though not completely successful, have reduced the population growth rate in recent years, but population continues to expand, and the 1990 census showed a total population in mainland China of 1,113,682,501, of whom 1,042,482,187, or 91.8 percent, were Han.

Outside mainland China, the Republic of China government on Taiwan also encouraged population control since the late 1950s, but through much gentler means, relying (ultimately successfully) on urbanization, economic development, and a strong propaganda campaign to curb population growth. The population of the island was 19.8 million in 1988, of whom over 98 percent were Han.

Together with Overseas Chinese populations of approximately 27 million in Asia (mostly Southeast Asia), over 2 million in the Americas, and perhaps 1 million elsewhere, the total Han Chinese population worldwide in 1992 is probably slightly over 1.1 billion.

Linguistic Affiliation. Han people (with the exception of some Overseas Chinese) are all speakers of one or another of the languages usually known as Chinese, which comprise a branch of the Sino-Tibetan Language Family. All are tonal languages and rely on word order rather than morphology to express grammatical relationships.

For essentially political reasons, both the People's Republic of China on the mainland and the Republic of China on Taiwan consider Chinese to be a single language consisting of a series of dialects (*fangyan* or "local speeches"), but nearly all linguists agree that several of these are best classified as separate languages since they are mutually unintelligible and differ greatly in phonology and vocabulary, though only slightly in syntax. The majority of Chinese speakers, including most inhabitants of the Yellow River drainage and parts of the Yangzi drainage as well as southwestern China, speak one of the dialects collectively known as Mandarin. Other important Chinese languages include Wu in eastern China, Gan in most of Jiangxi Province, Xiang in most of Hunan Province, Yue or Cantonese in the far south and overseas, Min in Fujian and Taiwan as well as overseas, and Hakka or Kejia in a widely dispersed series of communities mainly in the south and overseas. Many of these groups are themselves highly differentiated into mutually unintelligible local dialects; the Min-speaking areas of Fujian, in particular, are known for valley-by-valley dialect differences.

This regional linguistic diversity has been countered over the course of history by the unity of the written language. Chinese writing extends back at least to the fourteenth century B.C.E., when pictographic and ideographic signs were used to represent syllables of a spoken language. The specific forms of these signs or characters have changed since then and many have been added, but the basic principles of the writing system have persisted. Each character represents both a concept and a sound, so that, for example, *ming* meaning "bright" and *ming* meaning "name," though pronounced identically in Standard Mandarin, are written with different characters. The characters themselves can be pronounced in any Chinese language, however, making written communication feasible between speakers of related but different spoken languages.

Throughout the imperial period, the standard written language was what is now known as Classical Chinese, evolved over the centuries from what was presumably a representation of the speech of around the fourth to second centuries B.C.E. By late imperial times (1368–1911), the standard written language was far different from any spoken vernacular; in fact, literacy was largely, though not entirely, confined to the ruling scholar-elite.

In the twentieth century, a fundamental transformation of the nature and purpose of literacy has led to the elimination of the classical written language and its replacement by *baihua* or "plain speech," a written approximation of the Mandarin spoken in and around the capital city of Beijing. In addition, both the Republican and People's Republic governments have made Beijing Mandarin into a standard spoken language, called *guoyu* or "national language" by the Republic and *putonghua* or "ordinary speech" by the People's Republic. All schools in both the mainland and Taiwan use written baihua and spoken Mandarin as the medium of instruction. Thus, most younger speakers in the non-Mandarin regions of the mainland, as well as nearly everyone under about age 60 in Taiwan, can use Mandarin as a second language, and literacy in baihua is over 80 percent in the mainland and nearly universal in Taiwan.

History and Cultural Relations

The probable Neolithic forebears of the Han were farming in the valleys of the Yellow River and its major tributaries as early as 6000 B.P. In the late third and early second millennia B.C.E., a series of city-states arose in the same area; the best-documented of these, historically and archaeologically, are the Xia (centered in the Fen River valley), the Shang (centered in the western part of the North China Plain), and the Zhou (centered in the Wei River valley). Traditional historiography portrays these as successive "dynasties," but they are best seen as successively dominant

city-states. By the later part of the period of Shang dominance (c. 1400–1048 B.C.E.), written records afford us a portrayal of a highly stratified, kin-based state. The Zhou conquest of Shang in 1048 initially brought about little social change, but throughout the 800-year reign of Zhou kings, China was transformed fundamentally by the intensification of agriculture, the development of bureaucracy, the invention of iron technology, and the spread of commerce and urbanism. The latter part of the Zhou reign, referred to as the Spring and Autumn (771–482) and Warring States (481–221) periods, saw great demographic and economic expansion as well as the development of rival systems of political and social philosophy that formed the basis of Chinese intellectual life for the entire imperial period, which lasted from the unification of China by the Qin in 221 B.C.E. and continued until the overthrow of the Qing in 1911.

The 2,000 years of imperial Chinese history encompass great cultural change within a self-consciously continuous tradition. The first long-lasting imperial dynasty, the Han (206 B.C.E.–220 C.E.), was characterized by the development of a cultural and political orthodoxy often known as Confucianism—an attempt to create a social, political, and cosmic order on the basis of highly developed ideas of individual and social morality. The breakup of the Han was followed by a period of disunity, during which Buddhism became an important cultural force; the early part of the next unifying dynasty, the Tang (618–906 C.E.) witnessed the flourishing of a cosmopolitan culture, but its later years were marked by a partially xenophobic tendency. In the late Tang and Song (960–1280), the late imperial culture took shape; it was characterized by a bureaucratic ruling class, deriving its legitimacy from philosophical orthodoxy, and an economy involving an increasingly free peasantry interacting with large urban commercial, manufacturing, and administrative centers. This basic pattern was consolidated in the Ming period (1368–1644) and persisted with changes into the nineteenth century, when intensive interaction with the industrializing, expansionist Western countries led to a series of reevaluations of traditional forms and ultimately to Republican and Communist revolutions.

The overthrow of the Qing in 1911, led partly by Han ethnic nationalists, resulted in the establishment of the Republic of China. Under this banner, a series of regimes, culminating in that of the Nationalist party, or Guomindang, ruled parts of mainland China until 1949, when they retreated to the island of Taiwan, where the Nationalist party remains in power today. On the mainland of China, the Communist party, founded in 1921, gained control over the whole country in 1949, when they established the People's Republic of China and set about building a Socialist—and ultimately a Communist—society. Increasingly radical collectivist reforms culminated in the Great Leap Forward and Peoples Communes in 1958–1960, resulting in one of the largest famines in world history and in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of 1966–1976. Utopian ideological and educational ideas combined with rather rigid Socialist social policy and strict Socialist economics and caused cultural stultification and economic stagnation. Beginning in 1979, the ruling Communist party initiated the Reforms, loosening the ideological grip, decollectivizing agriculture, beginning a slow transition from a planned to a market economy (by no means finished as of 1993), and expanding commercial, diplomatic, and cultural ties to foreign countries.

Both preimperial and imperial China developed in interaction with surrounding cultures. In addition to the advanced civilization in northern China, by the end of the first millennium B.C.E. there were other centers of advanced technology in southwestern China; these were linked with more distant centers in what is now Southeast Asia. The earliest historical accounts, probably written around 800 B.C.E., already refer to non-Chinese peoples inhabiting the four directions surrounding the Chinese center. Since that period, proto-Chinese and then Han culture has expanded, mainly southward and southwestward, to its present extent, through intermarriage, conquest, assimilation, and cultural interchange. It is certain that the Han people of central and southern China are partially descended from the non-Han peoples displaced and assimilated by the Han expansion. The cultural interchange, however, has not been entirely one-way, and southern and particularly southwestern Chinese languages, customs, religion, and other cultural elements show strong signs of influence from the non-Han inhabitants either completely displaced, as in most of the Yangzi valley, or still living in contact with the Han, as in most of the southwest.

Cultural interaction on China's northern frontiers, by contrast, has involved the ecological boundary between agriculture and herding—pastoral peoples of Central Asia have not been easily displaced or assimilated into Han society and culture. Several times in Chinese history, tribal confederations to the north or northeast of China have adopted some of the bureaucratic features of the Chinese state and used these along with their considerable military skills to conquer all or part of China and establish their own imperial dynasties. The most prominent of these have been the Toba, who established the Wei dynasty (386–534 C.E.); the Khitan, who established the Liao (907–1125); the Jurchen, who established the Jin (1115–1260), the Mongols, who established the Yuan (1234–1368); and the Manchu, descendants of the Jurchen, who ruled the Qing, the last imperial dynasty, which lasted from 1644–1911. In all of these regimes, Han people played a prominent part, but in many cases the tension between an imperial ideology, which was universalistic, and a more particular ethnic ideology of Han difference contributed to the ultimate breakup of the regime.

In both the Republic and People's Republic governments, Han leaders and officials have been overwhelmingly predominant. Leaders of the Republic, although recognizing the existence of non-Han peoples within China's political borders, based much of their legitimacy on the continuing superiority of Han civilization along with the adoption of modern technology and limited modern social forms from the West. In the People's Republic, by contrast, the multiethnic nature of China is celebrated in state ritual and protected in law. Han culture is not seen as intrinsically superior, but Han people in general are considered more advanced, because they were already moving from feudalism to capitalism at the beginning of the People's Republic, whereas many non-Han minorities were still in early feudalism or even earlier stages of the historical pro-

gression of modes of production. During the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), this meant the imposition of modern, Socialist (in reality, Han) cultural forms on non-Han peoples; since the Reforms, Han cultural hegemony has been less emphasized, but certain aspects of assimilation continue through the education system and through various schemes for economic and social development and modernization.

In Overseas Chinese communities this process is somewhat reversed; Han people who migrate undergo various degrees of cultural assimilation to the host country. In Thailand, for example, many people of Chinese origin simply become Thai after a few generations; they remember their Chinese heritage but cease to identify with Chinese as an ethnic group. In North America, where ethnic distinctions are often based on racial distinctiveness and Chinese are easily distinguishable from Euro-Americans by sight, people usually lose most of their Chinese language and culture after a few generations but retain the emotional and cognitive group ties of ethnic identity.

Settlements

In agrarian China, 80 to 90 percent of the population lived in rural areas, most of them in nucleated villages concentrated in plains and valleys. In less productive areas of northern China and in mountainous areas in the south, villages rarely exceeded a few hundred in population; in more productive rice areas in eastern and southern China, a village could contain two thousand or more people. (In much of Sichuan and a few other areas, isolated farmsteads predominated.) Before the advent of modern transport, each village was within walking distance of a standard market town, a basic-level urban center with a periodic market and one or more commercial streets with small stores and teahouses. From the standard market town, with a thousand or a few thousand people, up to the largest cities, containing several hundred thousand each, there was a hierarchy of commercial and administrative centers, each level with a larger population, more commercial activities, and more services available.

Traditional rural housing was built of tamped mud or sun-dried mud bricks in most areas, or of fired bricks for those who could afford them. House styles vary regionally; the most common general variants are houses built on two, three, or four sides of an enclosed courtyard, usually with peaked thatch, tile, or slate roofs, and multistory houses (usually of brick and often with flat roofs) built in rows along a street, with courtyards in front or in back. Both types, in higher-density arrangements, were also found in traditional cities; courtyard housing predominated in primarily residential areas and row housing, often with the store downstairs and the family quarters upstairs, in commercial areas. Wealthier families built larger and more elaborate structures on the same principles.

In recent times all these styles are still found, but in large cities most housing built since 1949 on the mainland has consisted of four-to-six story (and more recently much taller) concrete apartment blocks in which families are allocated one or more rooms. In Taiwan urban housing is also of the apartment-block type, but apartments are much larger and better appointed. Over the past 40 years or so, rural housing of mud has gradually been replaced by more substantial brick and/or concrete structures; mud houses disappeared in Taiwan in the 1970s and in some parts of the mainland in the 1980s, but in more remote and poorer parts of mainland China people are still building new mud housing.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. The great commercial revolution in Chinese history occurred in the late Tang and Song periods, which saw the transformation from a basically subsistence economy to one of a peasantry firmly tied into local and long-distance trade networks. From then until the twentieth century, the great majority of the 80 to 90 percent of Han families who tilled the soil were also dependent on markets for purchase of cloth, oil, implements, furniture, condiments, alcohol (and later tobacco), and a variety of services. To obtain cash to purchase these goods and to pay taxes, they sold grain and, in some areas, commercial food and nonfood crops as well as home-produced handicrafts. By the Qing period, some areas in eastern China were given over entirely to the production of such nonfood crops as silk and cotton, and many farmers near cities grew mainly vegetables. Still, most peasants in most places continued to grow grain.

Grain agriculture was and still is predominantly one-crop, dry grains in the north and double-crop, dry grain and rice or two crops of rice in the south. Rice agriculture in particular is highly productive, and since the first green revolution in the Song period, constant improvement of varieties and intensification of effort have allowed increases in production, in surpluses, in population density, and in the commercialization of agriculture. In modern times, there has been some mechanization of agriculture as well as the expansion of irrigation to some parts of the north but in many places traditional technologies continue with little change other than the addition of chemical fertilizer and insecticides.

Industrial Arts. Chinese peasants were using the iron-bladed plow in the preimperial era, and Chinese soldiers fought with iron weapons. Chinese inventors developed the three devices Francis Bacon considered to be most essential to the Age of Discovery in the West (paper, the compass, and gunpowder); during the Song dynasty Chinese engineers developed the spinning jenny and the steam engine, the invention of which is traditionally considered to have set off the Industrial Revolution in Europe. Why the Industrial Revolution did not begin in China in 1050 instead of England in 1750 is still a subject for dispute, but seems to be attributable to economic rather than technological factors.

In the late imperial period, however, Chinese invention and technology began to lag behind those of Europe and North America, and China's industrial weakness was a major factor in its humiliation by Western powers in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Contemporary Chinese industry is that of a developing country, derived from, and in many cases technologically and economically inferior to, the comparable industries of Japan, Western Europe, and North America. Since 1979, China has shifted from a one-sided emphasis on heavy industry to a more

consumer-oriented industry and from national self-sufficiency to increased reliance on foreign trade and investment.

Trade. Local and interregional trade were vital to the economy of late imperial China; in addition, trade and tribute formed an important part of the Ming and Qing regimes' relations with their Inner Asian and, to a lesser extent, their Southeast Asian neighbors. Because of the size of the Chinese economy, however, foreign trade has been less important overall than for many polities in both the late imperial and modern times.

Certain regions of China have subsisted heavily on trade. Coastal Guangdong and Fujian were important trading centers in the Song, Yuan, and Ming periods; much of the overseas migration of Han people was for purposes of trading; and Overseas Chinese in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have controlled much of the commerce of Thailand, Cambodia, Malaysia, Indonesia, and the Philippines and are prominent in overseas trading from Polynesia to Japan to North and South America. Han-dominated Singapore and Hong Kong are primarily trading economies, and Taiwan, which has always had a substantial agricultural population, now derives substantial surpluses from manufactures for export.

Division of Labor. The basic division of labor in agrarian China was set out in Confucian social philosophy: scholar-bureaucrats ranked at the top, because they provided the wisdom and knowledge to maintain the social order. Next came farmers, who produced the necessary goods; then artisans, who added value with their skills; last were merchants, who merely moved things around. By late imperial times, merchants had acquired power and influence beyond their lowly normative position, as well as the ability to convert wealth into prestige by investing in land and education. In contemporary mainland China, the basic division of labor has until very recently been that between peasants—bound to subsistence labor on the land by restrictive social policy and using traditional, human- and animal-powered technologies to grow food—and urban workers and officials, working for wages in factories or at various kinds of desk jobs. Since the 1979 Reforms this distinction has begun to break down, with much rural and increasing amounts of urban private commercial and entrepreneurial activity.

The division of labor by gender was nearly absolute in imperial China, except among the poorest classes. Women were barred from holding office and prevented by foot binding from many kinds of physical labor. They worked hard at domestic tasks, however, in all but the most elite families. These tasks included the production of textiles for home use and for sale, as well as some assistance in agricultural tasks and care of livestock. During the Republican period, women gained some forms of legal and educational equality and began to take on a limited number of professional positions, as well as being hired as low-wage industrial laborers. Foot binding basically disappeared by the 1930s, enabling women to do more kinds of work.

In Communist China, women have gained full legal equality, and the participation of women in all walks of life has been a prominent feature of propaganda, especially during the Cultural Revolution. This equality probably always existed more in theory than in practice, though, and, since the Reforms, there has been some backsliding. There is much evidence of job discrimination, but it is less overt—women are considered suitable for and do pursue just about any career in business, the professions, or the public sector, but expectations that they also manage a household and care for children have kept them from achieving equality in practice.

Land Tenure. For the last 1,500 years, land tenure in China has involved a struggle between the tendencies of governments to allocate land administratively and the tendencies of a commercial economy to make land into a freely exchangeable commodity. In the early Tang dynasty, the equal-field system allocated land to families according to their population and their social rank; this system, which was never universal, broke down entirely by the middle of the dynasty. The early Ming emperors also advocated an in-kind rather than a cash economy and looked with disfavor on land transactions. Finally, between 1956 and 1979, the Communist party collectivized all agricultural land.

In between these government efforts at domination, land has been a marketable commodity and has tended to concentrate in the hands of landlord classes in some areas, though not in others. In the late imperial and Republican periods, most land in northern China was worked by owner-cultivators, whereas much greater proportions of the rich rice lands of the south were held by noncultivating landlords. Tenancy arrangements in these areas were of three sorts: tenants paid either a share of the crop, a fixed rent in kind, or a fixed rent in cash. In general, there does not seem to have been a strong trend toward greater or lesser concentration of land from the Ming period to the twentieth century, but the forms of tenure tended to gravitate away from more paternalistic, "feudal" forms involving personal service and patronistic protection and toward more strictly commercial forms involving cash or in-kind rents and little else.

The Communist party based much of its appeal to peasants in the 1921–1949 revolutionary struggle on a promise to eliminate the power and wealth of the exploitative landlord class. This was done in a sometimes violent program of land reform in 1949–1951 and was followed in the middle 1950s with a series of collectivization campaigns, culminating in the establishment of the large, centralized Peoples Communes in 1958. The communes were rather quickly decentralized as unworkable, however, and from 1962 to 1978 land in effect belonged to a production team—a group of twenty to forty households whose members were compensated in shares of the collective harvest by a complex system of labor points. The Reforms of 1979 involved a devolution of land rights (except for purchase and sale) and agricultural labor organization to the individual family; in effect, the prerevolutionary landlord system has been restored with the state rather than the private landlord claiming rights to part of the crop.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Han people have had patrilineal kin groups since the period of the earliest written history, and a hierarchical arrangement of clans was the basis of stratification in the feudal order of the Shang and

Zhou periods. Nothing is known about the kin group organization of the nonruling classes before the Song period.

In the Song period, the Chinese patrilineage as we now know it began to appear. The core of this type of lineage includes all male descendants of a founding ancestor; women tend to become more attached as they grow older to their husbands' and son's lineages and to relinquish their minor roles as sisters and daughters of their natal lineages.

Han lineages, until very recent times, have been rigorously exogamous (even a common surname was enough to prohibit marriage in the late imperial period), and with patrilocal marital residence this resulted in lineage villages or even lineage districts populated almost entirely by members of a single lineage. Particularly in the core areas of southern and eastern China, where agriculture and commerce were most developed, lineages often held large amounts of land collectively, using the income from tenant rents to fund ritual, educational, and sometimes even military activities. Such wealthy lineages often contained corporate, property-holding, sublineages within them, and a large lineage of 10,000 or more members might have ten or more genealogical levels of property-holding segments. Such lineages were highly stratified internally, often containing both scholar officials and ordinary peasants.

The importance of lineages varied greatly by region and locally, however, and probably only a minority of Han people in the late imperial period were members of a large, powerful lineage; indeed, many were not members of any lineage at all. In the overall social structure, lineages were one important kind of corporation, but they might be locally eclipsed by local, occupational, ethnic, or sectarian organizations.

The new government effectively destroyed the power bases of lineages when they confiscated all lineage-held land in the Land Reform and replaced lineage-based local governments with structures responsible to the party. But lineages remained localized during the collectivist period, and, since the 1979 Reforms, lineages have returned in some areas to the local scene in limited ways, sponsoring ritual and other activities and becoming the focus of local loyalties.

Kinship Terminology. Kinship terminology reflects the patrilineal bias of kinship relations. Agnatic cousins are partially equated with siblings and distinguished from both cross cousins and matrilateral parallel cousins, who are ordinarily not distinguished from each other. Some Chinese kin terminology systems display Omaha features, such as the equation of mother's brother with wife's brother with son's wife's brother. The most important distinction is between elder and younger relatives; elder relatives are always addressed with a kin term, whereas younger relatives are addressed by name. Rural people in some areas use kin terms to address people of a senior generation who are not relatives.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. In late imperial China, parents or other seniors inevitably arranged their children's first marriages. Surname exogamy was absolute in most areas, and village exogamy was often, though not always, the rule.

There were four types of marriage widely practiced in late imperial times. Major marriage was a patrilocal union between a young adult woman and a young adult man; this was the normative form everywhere and the model form almost everywhere. It involved both a bride-price (some or all of which would return to the couple as an indirect dowry) and a dowry in furniture, household items, clothing, jewelry, and money, paid for partly out of the groom's family's contribution and partly out of the bride's family's own funds. In the ideal major marriage, bride and groom laid eyes on each other for the first time at their wedding ceremony; this ideal was not always observed.

Minor marriage involved the transfer of a young girl (anywhere from a few days old to 8 or 10 years old, depending on the region and the individual case) from her natal family to her prospective husband's family, where she was raised as a low-status daughter of that family and then forced into a conjugal union with her "foster brother" when she was in her late teens. This form of marriage, practiced mainly in certain parts of the south, had the advantages of avoiding costly bride-price and dowry payments and of binding the bride more closely to her husband's family. It had the disadvantages of having low prestige and often a lack of sexual attraction between the partners, especially if the bride had been brought in very young.

Uxorilocal marriage involved the transfer of a man to a woman's household and was practiced mainly in the south and in situations where a couple with no sons needed either a laborer to work their land, descendants to continue the family line, or both. In some areas, an uxorilocal son-in-law changed his surname to that of the wife's family; in others, he kept his surname, and the children were divided between the two surnames according to a prenuptial contract. In many areas of the north, uxorilocal marriage was not practiced at all; in some parts of the south and southwest, it accounted for as much as 10 to 20 percent of all unions. In the absence of uxorilocal marriage, or as a complement to it, the alternative was adoption of an agnate or, in some cases, of an unrelated boy.

Delayed-transfer marriage was practiced primarily in Guangdong, and involved a woman's remaining in her natal home after her marriage, sometimes until the birth of a child and sometimes permanently. This custom was common among many non-Han peoples in the south and southwest and may have influenced Han practice in these areas. At the same time, delayed-transfer marriage was most common in areas where women had economic autonomy because of their wage-earning power in the silk industry; perhaps a combination of these factors accounts for this highly localized practice. In addition to marriage, the wealthiest Han men in the late imperial and Republican periods often took concubines, sexual partners whose status was less than that of a wife and whose children were legally children of the wife rather than of their birth mothers. Since concubines were social and sexual ornaments not expected to do domestic labor, only the richest men could consider concubinage. Multiple wives, as opposed to concubines, were not ordinarily permitted to Han men.

In late imperial times, men could remarry after the death or (rarely) divorce of a wife; widows were normatively discouraged from remarrying, but often remarried

anyway because of economic straits. By law, a remarrying widow would have to leave her children with her husband's family, because they belonged to his patriline.

Reform of marriage practices has been a keystone of social reformers' programs from the late nineteenth century on. The early efforts of Republican governments were successful only among educated urban classes, but in the PRC and in contemporary Taiwan, change has been much greater. The Marriage Law of 1950 in the People's Republic prohibited underage marriage, arranged marriage, minor marriage, bride-price, and concubinage and gave women full rights to divorce. Although not all the ideals embodied in this law have become universal practice, in urban China people usually marry in their mid-twenties by mutual consent and reside virilocally, neolocally, or uxorilocally according to individual preference and availability of housing. Spartan weddings of the collectivist era have given way to lavish banquets and huge dowries, at least among those who have benefited economically from the Reforms. In rural China spouses still often depend on relatives or neighbors to introduce them, but they know each other before the wedding and can call the plans off if they do not get along. With the increased prosperity of much of the countryside, bride-price and dowry have risen dramatically since the 1970s. The prohibition against same-surname marriages seems to have disappeared.

In Taiwan, love marriage is the ideal in theory and practice, and there is little difference between urban and rural practice in that wealthy, densely networked society. Wedding banquets are lavish, and dowries include such things as cars and real estate. Marital residence, as in mainland cities, depends on individual circumstances and preferences, though there is still some pressure to reside patrilocally. Minor marriage, while not illegal, no longer exists.

Domestic Unit. The Han domestic unit was usually coterminous with the property-holding unit. Its developmental cycle was the result of the processes of virilocal marriage and family division. Sons and their wives were expected to reside with the parents until the parents' death, at which time the sons would divide their household and property. If a couple had more than one son, their household would progress from nuclear (a married couple with children, recently separated from the husband's brothers) to stem (the couple with sons, unmarried daughters, and the wife and children of one son), to joint (the couple with sons, their wives, and their children), and back to nuclear when the original couple died and their sons divided their household and property. Demographic differences, of course, meant that not every family went through all the phases of this cycle in every generation—a couple with only one son, for example, could never be the head of a joint family, and an eldest son whose own son had children while his parents were still alive would never head a nuclear family. Censuses of local communities usually show from 5 to 20 percent joint families at any one time, with the balance about equally divided between nuclear and stem families.

This familial configuration produced a constellation of alliances and rivalries. Sons, for example, often resented the absolute authority of their fathers, but cultural norms of filial devotion prevented them from expressing this resentment. Sons and their mothers, by contrast, often remained close throughout their lifetimes, making the position of the son's wife, a potential rival for her husband's affection, a very difficult one, especially in the early years of her marriage. Mother-in-law/daughter-in-law rivalry is a recurrent theme of literature and folklore. Brothers, because of their increasing loyalty to their wives, developed rivalries over the course of their adult lives, culminating in almost inevitable family division when their parents died or sometimes before.

In recent times, the developmental cycle has simplified in most cases. In urban mainland China, the nationalization of property and housing has removed the economic hold parents once had over their adult children. The emotional ties remain, and they can be satisfied through a network of linked nuclear and stem families, who share child care, meals, and sometimes financial resources, but who do not coreside. In rural areas, collectivization of property spelled the end of joint families, but one son continues to reside with the parents after his marriage. In Taiwan many families have become geographically extended, retaining some common property rights though often scattered over a series of houses and/or flats. In addition, the rapidly declining birthrates in both areas mean that the personnel to form joint families are rarely available anymore; this trend will become even more acute in the future.

Inheritance. In traditional Chinese law, inheritance was equal and patrilineal. Daughters received dowry upon marriage, but at most periods this did not include land or other real property. In some areas, the eldest son received a slightly larger share than his brothers; in others, the eldest son's eldest son received a small share. In the absence of a son, a daughter inherited rather than a distant male agnate; such an heiress often married uxorilocally.

Daughters in Taiwan under the Republic now have an equal share in inheritance by law, but they usually waive this right formally when they marry. Daughters also have such a right in the People's Republic, but until very recently there has been no significant property to inherit, and little documentation is available on current practices there.

Socialization. Little is known of socialization in earlier periods of Chinese history, but in traditional rural communities in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries people had many children; they acted affectionately toward small children although they did not lavish immense attention on them due to alternative obligations. Mothers were primary caretakers, while older sisters, grandmothers, fathers, grandfathers, and other relatives often took a secondary part. People generally indulged boys more than girls, since boys were the link to the future of the family line as well as potential sources of security in old age. Where resources were short, girls might be neglected or even killed at birth if they could not readily be adopted by a wealthier family.

When children reached the age of 7 or so, there was somewhat of a hardening of attitudes, as indulgence and care gave way to discipline, which meant learning farming or other practical skills and conventional morality for most boys, learning household skills and modesty for most girls,

and learning the classical Confucian texts for boys of elite families or aspiring to be of the scholar-elite. From this age on, father-son tensions developed.

In the twentieth century, childhood has been altered in important ways by the spread of education (almost universal for a few years, at least, in mainland China in the late 1980s, and completely universal for both sexes through at least grade six or nine in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore) and by the decline in fertility. Children cannot be significant sources of labor, but they can provide hope of social mobility through educational advancement, outside of remote areas of the rural mainland. They must therefore be pushed to do well in school, but also must be afforded time to study. The decline in fertility means more attention to the individual child and also higher expectations. Mainland Chinese psychologists have recently started studies of the "little emperors and empresses" that many people think today's only children have become.

Sociopolitical Organization

Political Organization. Throughout imperial, Republican, and Communist China, varying political philosophies have all emphasized the creation and maintenance of order by establishing benevolent authority and preserving proper relationships between superior and subordinate. At the same time, counterideologies have stressed egalitarianism, distrust of authority, and mass action. The interplay of these two themes has shaped Chinese political history for more than 2,000 years.

For the twenty-one centuries of the imperial era, the ideology of order took the form of reverence for the emperor and respect for his appointed ministers and officials. The emperor was often referred to as Tian Zi, or "Son of Heaven," indicating that he played a pivotal ritual role in ordering the relationships between the human world and the cosmos. In addition, his formal power in human society was theoretically absolute, and most emperors were active executives as well as symbolic foci.

The power and position of the emperor were both supported and circumscribed by the ideology and actions of the bureaucratic officials. Beginning in the late Tang period, the officials were primarily drawn from the gentry or literati class, a nonhereditary group whose primary economic base was landlordism and whose ideological basis of legitimacy was their knowledge of the political philosophy of the Confucian school, which emphasized government by virtuous men as the key to social order and harmony. The literati needed the emperor (otherwise they would have nowhere to serve), and the emperor needed the literati (he needed men to administer his realm), but there was always tension between them, with the literati fearing the despotic tendencies of emperors and emperors fearing the factionalism, localism, and class privilege of the literati.

The literati, or gentry, also formed a kind of hinge between the formal hierarchical structure of the bureaucracy and the kinship-, locality-, and religion-based structures of local society. Because the literati participated both as subordinates in the imperial bureaucracy and as leaders of local communities, their loyalties were divided. From the standpoint of the ordinary peasants, the literati were their neighbors and relatives and, at the same time, their landlords and often tax collectors.

In times of prosperity, this system was relatively stable, due at least partly to the system of civil-service examinations, in which almost all males were eligible to participate, and to the free market in land, which allowed economic as well as political status mobility. But when corruption, mismanagement, natural disaster, foreign invasions, or other destabilizing factors were introduced, the links between emperor and literati and between literati and peasant became strained and eventually the regime was unable to restore order, causing periods of chaos and eventually the overthrow of the dynasty and its replacement by a new and vigorous ruling house. In these periods of interdynastic turmoil, counterideologies, such as those held by Buddhist and Daoist millennarian sects, successfully challenged the imperial orthodoxy for a while but eventually retreated when a new regime was consolidated. This dynastic cycle repeated itself every few centuries over the imperial era.

In the nineteenth century, however, this political system was fundamentally altered in response to the threat posed by European and U.S. colonial and imperialist expansion. After China was forced to sign a series of unequal treaties with the Western powers, Chinese intellectuals were forced to reevaluate their political institutions and increasingly found them wanting as responses to the advance of world capitalism. Socialism, anarchism, militarism, liberal democracy, and finally Marxism all gained their advocates in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The political ideology of the Republic was an amalgam of traditional ideas and Western concepts of socialism and democracy; neither of these, however, was realized, and the government became more conservative in the 1930s and 1940s as its rivalry with the Communist party increased, culminating in the 1949 establishment of the People's Republic. That Communist government bases its ideology on the Marxist ideas of class struggle and of the proletariat as a vanguard class; it implemented its programs through a combination of all-pervasive propaganda and a party-state political organization that penetrated every village, factory, and neighborhood in the country.

Initially, the Communist party in power followed a course of Socialist development based on the earlier Soviet experience, but Mao Zedong's impatience with the slowness of orderly Socialist development led to radical, voluntarist politics of mass movements in the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution. Especially in the latter period, the party and state organizations themselves became targets of populist propaganda and mass action, and orderly development was shunted aside in favor of voluntarist fervor. With the Reforms of 1979, however, the party retreated both from its mass-action mode of operation and from its immediate Socialist goals. In recent years, China has increasingly become a conventional one-party bureaucratic state, interested more in furthering economic growth and suppressing dissent than in directing the lives of the populace in much detail.

Social Control and Conflict. Traditional Chinese political philosophy emphasized the avoidance of conflict and the creation of social harmony by rule of an elite of morally cultivated scholars. Law and litigation were considered

backup measures applicable only in the partial breakdown of moral government and society. Disputes ought ideally to be settled locally by lineages, villages, guilds, and other unofficial organizations, and were only supposed to come before the courts when local settlement failed. Nevertheless, Chinese magistrates were often overwhelmed with litigation, and legal codes were in fact highly developed.

In recent times, both the Republican and People's Republic governments have adapted European-derived notions of law and legality, but in neither case have these entirely superseded the earlier ideas and institutions of rule by virtuous officials. Especially in the People's Republic, most disputes are mediated by semiofficial mediation committees or by local officials, and neither legal codes nor procedures are highly developed.

Many Han people are reluctant to enter disputes and will go to great lengths of politeness and accommodation to avoid conflict. When conflict does begin, it is often difficult to stop. Most people are worried about maintaining face, or the feeling that one is respected by the community, and losing a legal dispute threatens loss of face as much as it threatens loss of money, land, or other material goods. For this reason, avoidance of conflict and persistence in conflict both continue to be features of Han culture.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs and Practices. Han religion is conveniently, though oversimplistically, divided into three elite, literate traditions—State Religion, Daoism, and Buddhism; a series of folk beliefs and practices that varies widely in regional detail but contains a common substratum; and the beliefs and practices of various syncretic sects. None of these religious traditions is completely independent of any of the others, and with the exception of the sects, adherents of one tradition rarely reject or oppose the others.

Han folk religion is centered around the efforts of individuals and communities to create and maintain harmony in relationships between the human and the cosmic order. The soul is a necessary complement to the body in forming a whole person; as the physiology of the body must harmonize internally and with the external environment, the soul must harmonize with cosmic forces of time and space. If the soul leaves the body unintentionally, listlessness, madness, and eventually death can result, but the soul can intentionally leave the body in mediumistic séance, to be replaced by a deity, or in shamanistic travel to the realms of the dead. Upon death, the soul disperses to the Earth, where it remains in the bones, to the realm of the dead, where it takes up an existence roughly similar to that on Earth, and to the wooden or paper spirit tablet where people worship it as an ancestor.

Like society, the cosmos has an ideal order, represented by the relationships of time and space. Every person, through the soul, is part of this order, and it is prudent to maintain a position that is harmonious with the order. To do so, people harmonize important actions in time by consulting specialist horoscope readers or widely available almanacs; they harmonize their use of space by consulting geomancers, specialists in the harmonious siting of houses, public buildings, and especially graves—where the bones must be placed in a site and a direction that will preserve harmony between soul and environment and bring good fortune to descendants.

In addition to living humans, the cosmos is inhabited by purely spiritual beings, souls without bodies, which are of three kinds. Ancestors are the souls of agnatic forebears, worshiped at graves and in tablets with daily incense and food offerings on holidays. They are ordinarily benign beings and will harm their descendants only if neglected or insulted. Ghosts are the souls of people who are angry at having died an unnatural death or being without descendants; they are malicious and capricious—dangerous particularly to children. People propitiate them on regular occasions and when they have cause to expect ghostly attack. Gods are the souls of people who have lived particularly meritorious lives and have retained spiritual power that they can use to benefit worshipers. People worship them at home and in temples; specific gods are often patrons to particular neighborhoods, villages, cities, guilds, or even social clubs, and the yearly religious ritual to a community's god is one of its most important occasions.

This folk religion has, over the years, absorbed and assimilated elements from the State Religion, Daoism, and Buddhism. Folk religion is not an independent system, since specialists trained in one or another of the elite traditions are necessary to carry out many rituals on behalf of folk believers. Magistrates and officials up to the emperor performed rituals for harmony that would prevent natural and human disasters; Buddhist monks and Daoist priests performed exorcisms, funerals, soul-retrievals, and healing rituals. Yet each of the elite traditions also has its literary, specialist side, engaged in only by the specialist practitioners or literate lay adherents.

State Religion was the ritual basis of the imperial regime, the site of the emperor's and the officials' cosmic ordering functions. In postimperial times, it has largely been supplanted by the secular rituals of the Republican and Communist regimes, though adulation and worship of Mao Zedong, particularly during the Cultural Revolution, amounted to a sort of deification.

Daoism is still an active force in China. Beginning from the late Zhou period, Daoism developed both as a philosophy of living in harmony with nature and as a system of esoteric rituals designed to confer personal immortality, cure disease, and superimpose a superior, eternal order of unchanging life on the earthly order of daily and seasonal change, life and death, growth and decay. The priests of this latter tradition were important in the development of science and medicine in imperial China, though their actions seem at odds with the natural harmony practices advocated by the philosophical Daoists.

Buddhism was introduced to China from India beginning in the early centuries of the Common Era and by Tang times was firmly established as one of the primary religions of China. Chinese Buddhist monks went on to develop some of the most sophisticated Mahayanist philosophies, some of which spread to Japan and Korea as well. Mahayana Buddhism combines the original Buddhist goals of realization of the transitoriness of material existence with a posited cosmology of myriad Buddhas and bodhisattvas (Buddhas-to-be) who are potential helpers of those who believe. The Buddhist tradition in China thus afforded its adherents everything from a sophisticated system

of philosophy and psychology, to the opportunity for monastic meditative practice toward the goal of relief from existence, to help from Buddhist divinities enshrined in local temples. Over the last thousand years, many Buddhist and Daoist divinities, beliefs, and practices were absorbed into the folk religion, so that bodhisattvas function as local gods, for example, and Buddhist monks are as likely as Daoist priests to perform funerals, exorcisms, and other rites for the common people.

Sectarian traditions emerged periodically in Chinese history; by late imperial times most sectarian groups held a syncretic series of beliefs taken from Daoism, folk religion, the official tradition, and particularly from the Maitreya (Buddha of the Future) tradition of Mahayana Buddhism. Exclusivist in their membership, often secret in their activities, many sects fomented millennarian uprisings, especially at times of dynastic turmoil and decline. Other sects were quietistic, striving for personal salvation rather than social revolution. Because of their exclusivist practices and their intermittent advocacy of violent social change, imperial, Republican, and Communist governments have all persecuted the sectarians, but they have reemerged after the Reforms in mainland China, and draw a large following in Taiwan, where they have entered a quietistic phase and currently pose little threat to the sociopolitical order.

Foreign religions other than Buddhism have historically had limited appeal to Han people. Islam has been present in China for over a thousand years, and there are Muslims throughout the northwest and in most cities of China. Muslims, however, are not considered Han in mainland China; they are given the separate ethnic designation of Hui. There was a Jewish community at Kaifeng in Henan for several hundred years; its members were largely assimilated by the late nineteenth century. Christian missionaries have proselytized in China intermittently since the Tang period; their most recent period of intense activity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries produced perhaps 4 million converts to both Protestant and Catholic Christian churches—suppressed in the Cultural Revolution, they are reviving in the Reform period. But Christians remain a tiny minority of Han people, probably no more than 10 million converts and adherents.

During the most radical periods of the People's Republic, all Han religion was suppressed, and very little activity went on. Since the Reforms, folk religion in particular has revived in many areas, particularly in the south and southeast, with many temples rebuilt and traditional funerals and other rituals quite common. A certain number of Buddhist monasteries and Daoist temples have been allowed to reopen, but it seems unlikely that the elite practitioners of either of these traditions will soon regain their former numbers or prominence.

Arts. Early Chinese literature consists primarily of historical and philosophical prose as well as various kinds of poetry. The earliest extant poems, probably transcriptions of folk songs, date from the eighth century B.C.E.; since then there is an unbroken tradition of poetry both as a folk form and as a gentlemanly literary endeavor. In classical poetry, lyric and narrative forms are both found, but the epitome of the tradition is the short lyric on the themes of nature, the transience of life, or male friendship.

Fiction is a rather late entrant to Chinese literature, with the earliest extant stories written in a semivernacular style in the Tang period. In the late imperial period, the multivolume episodic novel, written in vernacular style, gained great popularity; its themes range from historical romance to Buddhist fantasy to psychological family chronicle. Fiction and political essays, now written entirely in the vernacular or baihua, have been the primary genres in the postimperial period.

Painting has been preeminent among the visual arts. The earliest extant paintings reside on the walls of Buddhist temples and caves; painting on paper or silk survives from as early as the Song period. The two major traditions of classical painting were the court tradition, depicting urban or rural scenes in meticulous detail, along with portraiture, and the literati tradition of more suggestive and evocative landscapes and still lifes. In recent times, Chinese painters have pursued a mix of traditional literati styles, adaptations of Western oils and other media, and systematization of folk styles. Communist attempts to institute Stalinist-style Socialist Realism in arts and literature have been largely abandoned by serious artists in the Reform period.

Along with painting goes calligraphy, an art engaged in by almost all literati in the imperial period and still widely learned and practiced today. Not only professional artists but also political leaders and other prominent persons are asked to inscribe their characters on important public buildings and monuments, and good calligraphy is still universally admired.

Other visual arts have not been accorded the same status as painting or calligraphy, but the works, usually by anonymous artists, show every bit as much skill and style. Wood carving, jade and other stone carving, and the architecture of palaces, private homes, and gardens are all highly sophisticated.

Medicine. For more than 2,000 years Han people developed a complex system of medical theory based on humoral balance and imbalance, and a series of diagnostic and therapeutic modes used to maintain and restore such balances. Diagnosis is primarily by history taking and a complex system of twelve or twenty-four different pulses; therapeutic modes include the administration of humorally active medicines orally and topically as well as the stimulation of a series of surface points with needles (acupuncture) or burning moxa (moxibustion). Practitioners of this tradition included both professionals and literati-amateurs, and they developed an extensive literature of manuals and pharmacopoeias.

In twentieth-century China there have been ongoing debates over the scientific validity and practical utility of this tradition and whether it still has a place in a world dominated by Western allopathic medicine. At present, traditional Chinese medicine is still practiced in mainland China, and there are special medical schools to train Chinese doctors. There is also considerable research on the biochemistry and physiology of traditional pharmaceuticals and point-stimulating procedures. In recent years as well, acupuncture has received attention and respect in Western countries, and several states in the United States now regulate its practice and license its practitioners.

At the same time, allopathic medicine is now the dominant form of practice in both the mainland and Taiwan. More important than clinical practice, however, have been the extensive public-health measures taken by the Japanese colonial and Republican governments in Taiwan and by the People's Republic on the mainland; these have brought the morbidity and mortality patterns of both Chinese areas close to those of the industrialized nations.

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STEVAN HARRELL

Hani

ETHNONYMS: Ahni, Aini, Akha, Baihong, Biyue, Ekaw, Eoni, Haoni, Heman, Heni, Heyi, Kaduo, Kaw, Woni

Orientation

Identification. The Chinese government now refers to this ethnic group as "Hani." The Hani refer to themselves as the "Kaduo," the "Aini," the "Haoni," the "Biyue," and the "Baihong." In Han Chinese historical texts they have been called "Heyi," "Heman," "Heni," "Woni," "Ahni," and "Hani." The Hani in Thailand refer to themselves as "Akha" and other Tai groups call them "Kaw" or "Ekaw."

Location. Most Hani live in the area between the Red and the Lancang rivers, which is also the valley between the Mengle and Ailao mountains. The Hani population is concentrated in the Honghe Hani and Yi Autonomous Prefecture, which includes the counties of Honghe, Luchun, Jinping, and Yuanyang. Other Hani also live in Simao Prefecture and Xishuangbanna and northern Yunnan. Some Hani speakers inhabit parts of Vietnam, Myanmar (Burma), Laos, and Thailand. The environment in which the Hani live is characterized by high mountains, a moderate climate, abundant rainfall, and rich soil.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Hani language is of the Yi Subbranch of the Tibeto-Burmese Branch of the Sino-Tibetan Language Family. Hani embraces three regional dialects: Ha-Ai, Bi-Ka, and Hao-Bai, which are further subdivided into ten local dialects. The Hani had no written language, but after 1949 the Chinese government developed a pinyin romanization system.

Demography. According to the 1982 Chinese government census there were 1,058,836 Hani living in Yunnan Province, southwestern China, with over 700,000 or 76 percent in the Mount Aiqian area. By 1990, the Hani population had increased to 1,253,952.

History and Cultural Relations

The Hani have a legend that tells of their ancestors as nomads from a faraway northern river plain who gradually migrated south. Some Chinese sources consider that the Hani might have migrated south from the present Yunnan-Sichuan border area. During the Sui and Tang dynasties, the Chinese referred to the Hani as *wu man*, a general term for other southern peoples. In the eighth century A.D. they were called *heni* and were part of Yunnan's Nanzhao Kingdom. During the Mongol Yuan dynasty the people of the area were referred to as *hezi*, and the Henilu Administrative District was established. In the Ming dynasty, the Chinese changed the name of this district to Henifu and established a hereditary system (*tusi*) of local Hani leaders. During this period Chinese military colonizers came to the region, influencing the Hani and other local groups. In the Qing dynasty, a system of rotating Chinese officials replaced the tusi system. From the turn of the century on, the area was not at peace. The Hani, along with the Yi, demonstrated against the Qing government by participating in the Taiping Rebellion. In 1917, a woman named Lu Meibei led an uprising against the hereditary local leaders. Between 1895 and 1935 the Hani resisted French incursion into the region, and during World War II they resisted the Japanese. In 1947 the Chinese Communist party formed a working group in the area and carried out guerrilla warfare. In 1950 the Chinese Communist party declared the area "liberated" and made it part of the People's Republic of China.

Settlements

The Hani have traditionally lived in forested mountain areas. Settlements have ranged in size from just a few households to 400 households. The most prevalent settlement size has been 30 to 40 households. Settlements would be close to a water source and close to one another, yet clearly demarcated by village gates. In Honghe, homes are sometimes two-storied, of wattle and daub construction, with stone foundations and thatch roofs. In Xishuangbanna homes are of bamboo construction, some-

times two-storied, and sometimes built on the ground. The Hani keep animals on the first floor and reside on the second floor. They used the eaves as a storage area. In eastern Xishuangbanna storage rooms lie adjacent to the main house. In some Hani areas, each home is divided into a women's section and a men's section.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. The main food staples of the Hani are rice and maize. Other crops include beans, buckwheat, and millet. In Xishuangbanna and Lancang, the Hani practice slash-and-burn agriculture. In the Honghe area, rice is grown in narrow terraced fields. Peanuts, sugarcane, cotton, chili peppers, ginger, and indigo are important cash crops. The area is known for tea and shellac. Most families also raise pigs and grow vegetables and tobacco. The mountain forests provide rich lumber resources—palm, rattan, tung oil, camphor, pine, cypress, maple, and bamboo—as well as a diversity of wild animals—tigers, leopards, bears, deer, monkeys, and flying squirrels—which can be used for traditional medicines. The region abounds in mineral resources: bronze, gold, silver, lead, and nickel. Since the 1950s, roads, mines, smelters, and chemical, concrete, and plastics factories have been constructed. The economic reforms initiated in 1978 have encouraged the development of forestry, animal husbandry, fishing, and sideline industries.

Industrial Arts. Traditionally, each Hani village had a blacksmith, a silver- or goldsmith, and a stonemason. Hani women wove and dyed their own cotton cloth for clothes. Old men wove bamboo/rattan baskets, curtains, and mats.

Trade. Prior to 1949, Hani men engaged in trade of tea, animals, wild meat products, and grains with Han Chinese, Yi, Dai, and others at weekly markets. They also traded gold and tobacco for salt and cotton from Laos merchants. A wealthy merchant could employ mule teams to transport his goods.

Division of Labor. Traditionally, men have been responsible for agricultural production, making tools and baskets, and constructing and repairing homes. Women have managed the household chores, children, animals, vegetable plots, weaving, sewing, and collection of firewood. In the past, women were often prohibited from participating in certain religious ceremonies and sacrifices.

Land Tenure. Before 1952, in Xishuangbanna and Lancang (Simao Prefecture), except for a few paddies and tea fields that belonged to individuals, the village owned the land but individuals were free to cultivate it. There was no sale or lease of land. In the Honghe area, the local tusi leader extracted a "fee" of 6–20 percent of the people's produce and could own over 65 hectares in personal fields. In 1952 the Chinese Communist government enacted land reform in the area, and in 1958 people's communes were established. In the late 1970s the land-tenure system was changed to that of the responsibility system, where farmers could manage private plots.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Hani descent is patrilineal and kin groups are organized into patrilineal clans. Clans trace their ancestry back forty to fifty generations, although the first twenty generations might be a combination of spirits and mythical ancestors. A clan is composed of thirty to forty households with an elderly male clan head.

Kinship Terminology. The Hani refer to a clan as a *gu*. The Hani adopted Han Chinese–style surnames during the Ming dynasty.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. In Xishuangbanna, Hani marriage was traditionally monogamous. Taking a second wife incurred public condemnation and punishment by fine, as well as the obligation to return the first wife's dowry to her family. In the Honghe area, Hani marriage was polygamous, especially for the local leaders and wealthy households. Men were allowed postmarital sexual freedom, whereas such behavior was strictly prohibited for women. However, in both areas the Hani permitted premarital sexual relations. In Xishuangbanna a young couple would usually meet with their parents' approval for marriage, and there would follow nine ceremonial events between engagement and marriage. In Honghe the parents arranged the marriage while the children involved were young. Marriage ceremonies varied from place to place. For example, in Lancang the people considered a couple wed when the groom passed through the village gate. In Xishuangbanna, a couple who wanted a divorce could simply pay the village headman a "processing" fee, and then both were free to find new spouses. In other areas, a husband could abandon his wife, but if a wife wanted a divorce, she would have to return the betrothal gifts to the groom's family; widows who remarried were objects of discrimination.

Domestic Unit. The preferred domestic unit is the nuclear family. After marriage, a couple moves to a new household, close to the groom's parents.

Inheritance. Among the Hani, the house and property are passed down through the male line. A woman can only inherit if her husband resides with her family.

Socialization. Parents typically treat children leniently until the age of 6 or 7, at which time they are expected to start helping with household chores. Prior to 1949, there was only one elementary school in the region. Children were educated by their parents—boys in agricultural and tool-making skills; girls in household management, weaving, and sewing. As of 1985 there were 503 elementary schools and 3 middle schools; 80 percent of Hani children attended school.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Hani society is both patrilineal and patriarchal. In a family, male children become part of their father's line, while females eventually become part of their husbands' lines. The oldest male is head of the household, and in general decision making women are subservient to men.

Political Organization. As noted earlier, during the Ming dynasty, the Hani were governed according to the tusi system, under which local Hani leaders received offi-

cial titles from the Chinese emperor. In the Qing dynasty, this system was abolished in some areas and replaced by a system of rule by rotating Chinese officials. In Xishuangbanna, the Hani came under the control of Dai feudal lords. Each district encompassed several tens of villages. Some Hani leaders were also enfeoffed. In the 1950s the Chinese Communist party established the Xishuangbanna Gelang He Hani Autonomous District (1953) and the Honghe Hani Autonomous Prefecture (*zhou*) People's Government (1952), the name of which was changed to the Honghe Hani, Yi, and Dai Autonomous Prefecture in 1957. Since the 1950s there have been Hani cadres at the commune, prefecture, and county levels.

Social Control. Under the tusi system there were no written laws, and a local leader had primary authority. A militia was used for control and offenders were imprisoned. The Hani now come under the Chinese civil and criminal code, although some kinship sanctions do prevail.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Traditional Hani beliefs were a combination of animism, polytheism, and ancestor worship, but these beliefs varied by region. Early Buddhist and later Christian missionaries had little impact on the Hani. In Xishuangbanna, ancestor worship and animism were important. In Honghe the people worshiped several spirits. The "Heavenly Spirit," a female deity called "Ao ma," was viewed as the creator of all things. The Hani worshiped trees in the "holy hills" as guardian spirits and offered annual sacrifices to them. The Hani viewed certain events as unlucky—for instance, a new family or wild beast coming into the village, a dog climbing onto the roof of a house, a tree knocking down the village gate, or a fire in a neighboring village. The Hani believed that the unluckiest event was the birth of twins or a handicapped child. The villagers would then kill the children, chase the parents out of the village, and burn their house and possessions. If the parents were wealthy, they could hire a *beima* to conduct nine days of great sacrificial rites, in which case they would be allowed to remain in the village. However, no one in the village would have relations with them for one year, and they would thenceforth be excluded from village religious activities. The Hani believed in spirits of heaven and earth, spirits of the hills, protective spirits of the village and home, and obscure supernatural forces of the netherworld.

Religious Practitioners. There existed among the Hani a group of religious practitioners. A *zuima* directed the religious activities of a village. A male from the oldest household in the village usually held the position, and it was passed down from father to son. Every year the zuima would perform planting and harvesting ceremonies, and in return the villagers would give him a day of free labor. There were male beima who performed incantations and exorcisms. Male and female *nima* were in charge of predictions and medicinal herbs. Both beima and nima were paid for their services with chicken, rice, wine, cloth, and money.

Ceremonies. Religious activities and agricultural activities were often linked. In the spring, the zuima would lead the people to a river to make sacrifices to the spirits, asking for the grains to be abundant. Before the harvest, a village would engage in a ceremony to chase out ghosts. The first day, the villagers would sacrifice chickens and repair the roads around the village to facilitate the ghosts' exit. On the following morning at dawn, the whole village would make as much noise as possible in order to dispel the ghosts. Every village would then place a strip of bamboo outside the village gate, symbolizing the ghosts' departure. In Honghe the Hani also celebrated the Chinese New Year and the Duan Wu and Mid-Autumn festivals.

Medicine. The Hani believed that disease was tied to certain spirits that could be controlled or exorcised through sacrifice and wizardry. Since the 1950s, the Chinese government has constructed county-level hospitals, disease-prevention clinics, and mother-infant health stations. At the district and village levels there are cooperative health services.

Death and Afterlife. Funerals differed from area to area. In Xishuangbanna, the whole village would stop work to attend and assist in a funeral. The head of the household of the deceased would sacrifice a pig for the spirit and invite all to a feast. If it was a poor household, the other villagers would contribute. The villagers buried their dead in the forest in graves without markers. In Honghe, upon the death of an elder, relatives and friends would bring chickens, pigs, rice, and wine as presents for a memorial ceremony. The son-in-law would be required to kill a cow in offering. Before the funeral, youths would gather in the room of the deceased and ask a beima to preside over placing the body in a coffin and sending the dead one's soul "on the road." To find an appropriate burial site, an egg was rolled until it broke. The family then buried the body in this spot. Some tusi leaders and wealthy families adopted the Han Chinese customs of hiring a geomancer to determine an auspicious site and using stone or brick tombs.

See also Akha in Volume 5, East and Southeast Asia.

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BETH E. NOTAR

Hezhen

ETHNONYMS: Fishskin Tatars, Gold, Hezhe, Nabei, Nanai, Naniao, Sushen, Wild Nuchen, Yupibu

The Hezhen of northeast Heilongjiang Province are one of China's smallest minorities. Chinese sources suggest that as many as 80 to 90 percent of them died during the Japanese occupation of Manchuria when the Japanese forces removed them from their clan-based villages for resettlement in the marshlands and forests or transported them as forced labor to work the mines and build the rail lines. The spread of opium use at that time also played a role in population decline. In the 1990 census the population was estimated to be 4,245, up from 1,500 in the 1982 census and growing rapidly. The Chinese Hezhen are located mainly along the confluence of the Songhua and Heilong rivers, separated from a larger number of Hezhen in Russia. Their language belongs to the Manchu-Tungus Branch of Altaic.

Aboriginally, they were a distinctive fishing and hunting people, but since the seventeenth century they have been strongly influenced by the Manchu and the Han. The Qing (Manchu) dynasty brought them into the military Banner system, and some Hezhen men entered careers in the military and civil service or participated in patrols on the rivers. Traditional Hezhen society was composed of seven exogamous clans, similar to the Manchu clan system. The clan heads and village heads were elected by all adult members and had the power to order punishments for recognized crimes. The egalitarian social order changed as a result of several factors: the introduction of guns; a growing trade in dried fish, furs, and deer antlers; and the expansion of Chinese settlement into the area. The river fisheries were a particularly rich resource, and fishing became highly commercialized in the early years of the twentieth century. The older system of commonly owned fishing grounds and even division of the catch gave way to private ownership of boats and equipment by a handful of families and hired labor as a livelihood for the majority.

In the twentieth century, intermarriage between Hezhen women and Han men became common: during the Qing dynasty, as Bannermen, Hezhen men could marry Chinese women, but Hezhen women rarely if ever married out of the group. The Hezhen still retain their language, elements of traditional dress made of fish skins and deer hide and with floral design embroideries, and items of material culture such as birchbarks (canoes) and dogsleds. In 1945 the area came under Communist rule, and many Hezhen returned to their former home areas. By the early 1950s the government had organized fishing cooperatives. In the late 1950s Hezhen villages were incorporated into communes shared with neighboring Manchu, Koreans, and Han Chinese. Agriculture became a larger part of their economy, along with the farming of fish, deer, and marten. Some ice fishing and forest hunting still continue. Local schools, developed during the 1950s, provide an education in Chinese. There has been continuing intermarriage with neighboring groups. Chinese sources suggest that the Hezhen no longer conduct their traditional shaman-led religious rituals and healing ceremonies.

See also Nanai in Part One, Russia and Eurasia

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NORMA DIAMOND

Hui

ETHNONYMS: Chinese Muslims, Dungan, Hanhui, Huihui, Khojem, Mumin, Musilin, Panthay

With a population of 8,603,000 in 1990, the Hui are the most populous of China's Muslim peoples. They are also the most widespread, living in every city, province, and region of China, as well as in 2,308 of China's 2,372 counties. In China, Islam is most often known as "the Hui religion." The Hui are most populous in the following provinces, in declining order: Ningxia, Gansu, Henan, Xinjiang, Qinghai, Yunnan, and Hebei; in the Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, they make up 31.6 percent of the population. Although the Hui may constitute a very small percentage of the population of any one region, they are often by far the largest minority group in the region in which they live. Some 6,000 Hui live in Lhasa, speak Tibetan, and are known as Tibetan Hui. There are also Hui who live in Taiwan.

The Hui differ from the other Muslim peoples of

China in that they do not have a language of their own and speak the Chinese dialect of their locality. They are also unlike the other Muslims in that they do not have their own identifying literature or music. They do have a number of visible ethnic markers, which include caps or turbans and beards in some areas for the men and head scarves for the women. Nonconsumption of pork and mosque attendance also serve as ethnic identifiers, as does circumcision where it occurs. The Hui are often called "Chinese Muslims," even though they are regarded as a national minority rather than a religious community. One can be Han Chinese and Christian but not Han Chinese and Muslim.

The Hui are descended from Muslim (including Persian, Arab, and Turkish) traders, soldiers, and officials who came to China from the seventh century through the fourteenth century and who settled and married local Han women. For this reason, it is not uncommon to find the following physical characteristics in the Hui population: hazel-green eyes, beards, high-bridged noses, and light-colored hair. Most Hui can trace their descent line to a "foreign" ancestor. To retain religious purity and group identity the Hui have always segregated themselves socially from other people, in enclaves. The Hui population has been growing rapidly; in the years between 1953 and 1990, it has grown 2.4 percent annually. Although this growth is largely the result of natural increase, it also has to do with Hui marriage practices. Hui women are nearly always forbidden to marry non-Hui, but Hui men may marry Han or other non-Hui women who are willing to follow Islamic practice. When Hui men marry Han women, those Han women change their registration with the government to "Hui," and the children of the union are raised as Hui. Hui consider it impossible for a Hui person to become Han, whereas the reverse is feasible.

In rural areas the Hui tend to reside in villages separate from Han and other groups, though the Hui are in many cases indistinguishable from their non-Hui neighbors in their employment. In the north they are primarily growers of wheat and dry rice; in the south they raise wet rice. City-dwelling Hui are most often laborers or factory workers. Nevertheless, the Hui are famous as traders, and it was their interest in profitable business ventures that led them to be dispersed all over China and even beyond its borders. Today, 29 percent of the Hui work in service industries, the highest proportion of any ethnic group in China.

Hui marriage practices tend toward endogamy in all respects, especially in the northwestern part of China, where the Hui are culturally and religiously conservative. There one finds pronounced village endogamy, surname endogamy, and religious-order endogamy. The prevalence of these types of endogamy has led to some first-cousin marriages, and marriages between those who share a common ancestor within five generations, which is now illegal under Chinese law.

The words *qing zhen* (pure and true) are often associated with Hui life, in reference to all Islamic ideals. These words are often placed on the signs of Hui establishments and on products in which Islamic ideals of purity are supposedly maintained: restaurants, food stores, bakeries, ice cream stores, candy wrappers, mosques, incense packages, and Islamic literature. In the case of food, qing zhen means that the food is free of contamination by pork and other unclean foods and is ritually purified.

The majority of Hui are Sunni, Hanafi Muslims; many have never heard of Shiite Muslims. Hui Islam has been greatly influenced by Sufism since the seventeenth century, and currently about 20 percent are in Sufi orders. The Sufi movement caused the Hui to organize themselves into religious orders, each of which adheres to a school of thought established by a Sufi saintly leader. In addition, mosque leaders have allegiance to their *shaykhs*, Sufi elders who lead the orders and who appoint them. Some orders are concerned with adherents' participation in secular affairs, others with saint veneration or scriptural reform, etc. In turbulent times, Hui adherence to their orders provided networks, centralized command, and a means of transmitting political leadership. There have been many schisms in the various orders, leading to the creation of new orders, as different groups have attempted to make Islam more meaningful to the Hui people. In the late nineteenth century, Hui reformers spread the teachings and practice of the Ikwan Muslim Brotherhood (Wahhabi). This denomination is very strong in Qinghai and Gansu provinces. Despite this religious and social divisiveness, the Hui and other Muslim peoples sometimes function together, as was the case when Muslims publicly protested against Salman Rushdie's novel *The Satanic Verses* and against the publication of a Chinese book, *Sexual Customs*, which they believed denigrated Muslim peoples.

There is great variability in the religious conservatism of the Hui. In northwest China the Hui are very conservative and are growing more so. There, leaders and parents have placed a great deal of emphasis on religious education, especially the study of the Quran. Many of these parents also question the value of studying Chinese language, history, and other subjects in public schools. Conservatism has also increased in other respects: in some places smoking and the consumption of alcohol are now prohibited where they were once common. In contrast, in northeastern China many Hui smoke, drink, and eat pork when away from home.

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DANIEL STROUTHES

Jing

ETHNONYMS: Gin, Yuezu

The Jing live near the China-Vietnam border, mainly on three islands in the Gulf of Tonkin. The Fangcheng Multi-National Autonomous County (part of the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region) is shared by Jing, Zhuang, Yao, and Han. The Jing are thought to be descendants of sixteenth-century immigrants from Vietnam. They speak a dialect of Cantonese in daily life. Their indigenous language has not been classified. In addition to the modern Han writing system, they use an older form called Zinan in their songbooks and religious scriptures. According to the 1990 census, there are close to 19,000 Jing. Roughly one-third are now classed as urban.

Prior to 1949, the main source of livelihood was coastal and inshore fishing, with agriculture and salt making being of secondary importance. In recent years, the fishing industry has been mechanized and the Jing engage in modernized deep-sea fishing. Oyster farming and pearl cultivation began in 1958. Land reclamation, encouraged by the state, has linked the islands to the mainland and made possible an expansion of agriculture: in addition to rice, sweet potatoes, and taro they raise bananas, papayas, coconuts, and other newly introduced tropical fruits.

Villages tend to be large, with as many as 200 households. Every village has several small temples or shrines. The main religion is Daoism fused with Buddhist elements and earlier religious strains. A small number are Catholic. Every village has several Daoist priests who are part-time practitioners. The position usually passes from father to son. Their performances rely on written texts. There are also male shamans, who in trance are possessed by different gods. Both kinds of specialists are concerned with the success and safety of fishing, with illness and childbirth, exorcism of evil spirits, funerals, and the general well-being of the community. The Jing celebrate most of the festivals of their Han neighbors. Their own particular festival is Changha. Each locality celebrates at a different date. The festival honors ancestors and the gods of localized cults, and includes feasting, singing, and performances to entertain the spirits as well as the living.

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Jingpo

ETHNONYMS: Acha, Aji, Atsa, Chashan, Dashan, Jinghpaw, Kang, Lachi, Lalang, Langshu, Langwo, Lashi, Maru, Shidong, Xiaoshan, Zaiwa

Orientation

Identification. The name "Jingpo" was officially adopted as the formal name in 1953. Before then the Han Chinese normally called this minority "Shantou Ren" (the people on the mountaintops) and, earlier, "Ye Ren" (savages or wild people). There are four main Jingpo subgroups: Jingpo (i.e., the Jinghpaw of Myanmar, formerly Burma), Zaiwa, Lachi, and Langwo, with the Zaiwa and the Jingpo being the major ones. Because each subgroup has its own dialect, there are many local names for the Jingpo.

Location. In China the Jingpo live exclusively in Yunnan Province. Almost all of Yunnan's Jingpo inhabit the Dehong Dai and Jingpo Autonomous Prefecture (*zhou*). Dehong Zhou is a triangular area in the extreme west of the province, between 23°50' and 25°29' N and 97°31' and 98°43' E, oriented against the west slopes of the Gaoligong ranges. With very few exceptions, the Jingpo live on the slopes at elevations of 1,470 to 1,980 meters. The area is dominated by the main range of the Gaoligong Mountains, its two west branches, and the Daying (Taiping) and Ruili rivers. The mountains run south and southwest, diminishing in elevation from more than 2,940 meters in the north to less than 210 meters at the southwest outlet to the Irrawaddy Valley. Thus, the Dehong terrain is a fan-shaped slope embracing the rain-bearing

northeastern monsoon of the Indian Ocean, which creates a rich subtropical rain-forest area. The climate is semitropical with an ample amount of rainfall that comes primarily during summer. The average annual rainfall is 200 centimeters. People here used to divide a year into only two seasons: a dry season from November to May and a wet season from May to October.

Demography. In 1990 the Jingpo had a population of 119,209; the Zaiwa number over 70,000 people, making up the majority of the Jingpo population. As a transnational ethnic group, the Jingpo are also found as the Kachin in Myanmar and the Singhpo in Assam. The Myanmar Kachin have always constituted the main part of the people. The estimated Kachin population was about half a million in the 1950s, whereas India's Singhpo were a few thousand.

Linguistic Affiliation. Linguists generally agree that all the Jingpo dialects are of the Tibeto-Burman Family of Sino-Tibetan. A majority of Chinese Jingpo specialists hold that Jingpo and Zaiwa (Atsi) are the two major dialects of Jingpo and that both belong to the Jingpo Branch of the Tibeto-Burman Family, although the dialects are not mutually intelligible. Other linguists maintain that Jingpo and Zaiwa are different languages; the former, including Gaori (Gauri), Monzhi, and N'kung dialects, belongs to the Jingpo Branch, while the latter, including Lachi, Langwo, and Bula, constitutes a separate Zaiwa Branch. All these classifications aside, both Jingpo and Zaiwa are officially and equally recognized.

History and Cultural Relations

The origin of the Jingpo remains open to debate. Chinese ethnohistorians generally hold that the ancestors of the Jingpo originated in the Tibetan Plateau, around the sources of the Irrawaddy, Nu (Salween), Lancang (Mekong), and Changjiang (Yangzi) rivers, and moved south about 1,500 years ago. Their southern migration diverged along eastern and western routes: the western route went along the N'mai Hka and Nu rivers into the triangle between the N'mai Hka and Mali Hka rivers and its western areas; the eastern route went along the Jinsha (upper reach of the Yangzi) and Yalong rivers into the old Langsudi and its eastern area. From the thirteenth century on, the eastern route migrants turned west into the area of Pianma, Togo. Some of them then moved northwest to Hkamti Long and to Assam, some went westward to the Huhkawng Valley and southward to the jade mines near the Burma border, and some migrated southward along the Irrawaddy into the area north of the Shan State of Burma. Among those southbound migrants were the Jingpo, who entered Dehong in about the fifteenth century. The reasons for the southward movement were the harsh environment, feuds and violent reprisals among clans, segmentation of the lineages, and later on, avoidance of military service to the imperial court. Historians believe that many ancient tribal names in Chinese historical records apply to ancestors of the Jingpo: "Qiang," "Sou," "Cuan," "Wu Man," "Xinchuan Man," "Luoxin Man," "Ye Man," "Ochang Man," and "Shantouren." However, early historical records about the affiliation of the people are few and largely conjectural; the records have become relatively elaborate only since the Tang dynasty (A.D. 618–906), when present-day Dehong was included in the western domain of a highly civilized local kingdom, the Nanzhao State. The geographic location and some cultural traits suggest that Xinchuan Man, Luoxin Man, and Ye Man of the Tang time are probably the ancestors of the Jingpo. In records from the Yuan and Ming dynasties (A.D. 1206–1628), information about the "Ochang" is very similar to that pertaining to the "Acha," which is an old name of the present-day Zaiwa and Langwo, whom the Dai still call "Acha," "Achang," or "Ochang." Before the Jingpo entered Dehong, the area had long been inhabited by other peoples: the limited fertile valleys were held by the Dai and Han, while the hills were the homeland of the De'ang (Benglong) and some Han Chinese. The dynasties had already incorporated the area into the *tusi* system, with the Dai as tusi lords. As unorganized, scattered immigrants, the Jingpo could find room to settle only in the mountains. As a whole, the Jingpo were subordinate to the Dai, and they had to pay tributes to the tusi in whose territory they lived. But since the tusi lands were fiefs of the imperial dynasties and the central court also had some direct relations with Jingpo chiefs, the Jingpo were only under the Dai tusi's nominal rule. Well-known as a warlike people, the Jingpo supplied important military support and services to the tusi and the central authority. Some Jingpo chiefs eventually gained the right to collect a "head-protection" fee from one or several Dai or Han villages as reward for their support or services. This pattern of spatial distribution and these sociopolitical interrelations between the Jingpo, Dai, and Han Chinese were maintained until the 1949 Revolution, and they still remain to a limited extent today.

Settlements

An average Jingpo village has about twenty households. A few larger villages exist near the major points of traditional caravan trade roads or military strongholds. The villages are mostly permanent, as the people have practiced terraced paddy farming for over a century. Most Jingpo villages are built on the mountain slopes, facing the valley. Within the village, family houses are scattered irregularly on several terraces of the hill slope. The crests of the ridges form rough roadways. Generally, there are two designs among Dehong Jingpo houses; the major difference is the location of the entrance and corridor. One is of traditional style, with its main entrance on the side and its lengthwise corridor inside, while the other is of mixed Han and Jingpo style, with a small entrance hall in the front of the house. The former type is mainly seen in the area inhabited by the Jingpo branch; the latter style is popular in the area of the Zaiwa and other branches. Jingpo houses are wood-framed, thatch-roofed, walled with mats made of thin bamboo strips, and floored with split bamboo. Wealthy families have their house frames mortised and floors planked. The rectangular shedlike structure is usually raised about 1 meter above the ground. A house usually has five rooms, each with a fireplace in the center. As a rule, a room at the end of the upslope side is designated for spirits. It is empty except for a bamboo sacrificial altar against the side wall. For Christian Jingpo the room is no

longer for spirits but serves as a bedroom or storage room. For most families the center room serves as a kitchen; a few rich families have their separate kitchen buildings. The house roof extends at either end, supported by a post, and thus forms a porch hut, where the wife feeds pigs and husks rice by hand or with a food pestle, the husband makes farm tools, and the children play. Buffalo-owning families build their buffalo sheds by the house. Many households have separate tower-shaped mud-brick grain bins behind the houses to keep their grain dry and safe from fire.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. Jingpo farming is of two types: sedentary terraced cultivation and shifting cultivation (swidden horticulture), with rice as the major crop in both. Although the Jingpo have practiced terraced wet-rice cultivation for over a century and it has become the main source of grain, shifting dry-rice cultivation still plays an important part in their economy. Today the Jingpo farm their paddy fields basically the same way as their grandparents: a buffalo draws a plow and a harrow to prepare the field, which is irrigated naturally by spring water. The major improvements so far are chemical fertilizers and improved varieties of hybrid rice. Traditional shifting cultivation is of two types: shifting field-forest cultivation and shifting field-grass cultivation. Each may be extensive, intensive, or semisedentary. When extensive, cultivation is only one or two years, the fallow period is ten to twelve years, and there is little hoeing; when semisedentary, cultivation lasts for two to four years, the fallow period is six to eight years, and hoeing and sometimes plowing are necessary. Today, field-forest extensive shifting cultivation (*yingwang* in Jingpo) is mainly practiced by the Jingpo, while semisedentary field-forest and field-grass shifting cultivation (*dongyuo* in Zaiwa) is done mainly by the Zaiwa, Lachi, and Langwo. Shifting cultivation has been declining because of the rapid decrease in forest and grassland. Crops grown in swidden land are diversified: dry rice of different kinds (glutinous and nonglutinous), maize, foxtail millet, Job's tears, soybeans, kidney beans, potatoes, etc. Before 1958 the Jingpo also commonly grew the opium poppy. They also grow various vegetables, such as chili peppers, ginger, garlic, cucumbers, pumpkins, and wax gourds. In recent years they have grown sugarcane on a large scale. The Jingpo use the slash-and-burn method of swidden cultivation. They clear the hill slope of trees and underbrush, burn it, and then sow their crops before the first rain, which usually comes in May. Farmers mix and broadcast seeds of rice, soybeans, foxtail millet, and cucumbers, and then they plant taro, Job's tears, kidney beans, and other vegetables on the edges of the plot. Weeding is mandatory, as weeds grow faster than the crops. The raising of buffalo, cattle, and pigs has also been of special importance to the Jingpo economy. Buffalo were introduced together with wet rice into the Jingpo society; cattle may have arrived much earlier—they seldom draw plows in the area but have long been used in ritual sacrifice and gift exchange.

Industrial Arts. The Jingpo buy all their metal tools from the state store or market. Men can make some wood and bamboo tools—such as plows, harrows, curved sticks (used to thresh rice), baskets, and winnowers—but these implements are mostly for their own use, not for sale. Women weave on belt looms, making beautiful tubular skirts, but they buy most of their clothing from shops.

Trade. The combined factors of Jingpo contact with more developed peoples, their location along caravan routes, and their opium growing had a dual impact on Jingpo society. While these factors restricted or replaced the division of labor and thereby crippled exchange within Jingpo society, they promoted trade with other peoples. The collecting of forest products, such as mushrooms, wild vegetables, timber, firewood, fruits, and herbal medicines, has always been an important cash-earning activity. It has become a major source of cash since 1958, when the Chinese government banned opium growing. Some households now grow tea and marketable woods such as the tung tree, walnut, and fir. In recent years, small-scale cross-border trading and labor selling on the Myanmar side have begun to flourish in the villages along the border. The former is a legacy of ancient Yunnan-Burmese caravan trade as well as a by-product of the government's open-door policy. Work as seasonal opium-field laborers in Myanmar's Kachin hills is closely associated with the cross-border trading and with the Jingpo's long history of opium growing.

Division of Labor. The basis of the division of labor is gender. Men do only heavy and technical work such as plowing, harrowing, and watering the paddy fields, slashing and burning dry plots, making tools, and hunting; weeding fields, harvesting, carrying and processing crops, gathering wild vegetables and fruits, and cooking are women's jobs. In the busy seasons of planting and harvesting, men also take part in women's work.

Land Tenure. Present-day land tenure is that of socialist collective ownership. The land, including wet and dry fields, vegetable gardens, woodlands, and hills other than those that are state-owned, are all collectively owned; the legitimate owner of all this land is the co-op (agricultural producers cooperative). In practice, each household cultivates the farmland. By the nineteenth century, limited private ownership of paddy fields already existed in Jingpo society. In some areas the landowners could sell, buy, lend, or mortgage their paddy fields under the condition that the plots must not be sold out of the village, but the Jingpo considered forest land to be communal property, and each village held the right for all the village members to use the forestland for swidden cultivation. In 1957, the land became socialist collective property, owned first by agricultural mutual-aid groups, later by the co-ops, and then by the production team of the people's commune. Since 1981 the Jingpo have used a household contract-responsibility system. Paddy fields are allocated by contract to each household but dryland remains shared by all households. Each contracting household pays an agricultural tax (in grain) and sells its quota of grain at the state-set price (about 40 percent less than the market price). While the households have the right of decision making in farming, they are expected to consider the plan suggested by the local government about the varieties of crops to be grown and where to grow them.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. All Jingpo people trace descent patrilineally. The individual inherits his or her surname from the father. Each family belongs to a lineage, which belongs to a clan containing other lineages. Individuals with a common surname are thought to be from the same patrilineage and, as a rule, from the same clan; but individuals with different surnames may also affiliate their lineages in differing spans to the same clan. A Jingpo clan is thus a lineage of maximal scale. The lineages from which wives are taken and given become *mayu* (wife giver) and *dama* (wife taker) to each other, with the mayu enjoying prestige and privileges over the dama.

Kinship Terminology. Jingpo kin terms follow Omaha-type cousin terminology. Male speakers refer to all the members of mayu-dama families with affinal terms regardless of generation. Ego calls father's brothers' and mother's sisters' children by sibling terms. A man calls his brothers' children and a woman calls her sisters' children by the same terms used for his or her own children. A man calls his sisters' children and a woman calls her brothers' children by different terms than for his or her own children. A man calls his father-in-law and mother-in-law by the same terms used for his mother's brother and the mother's brother's wife, while a woman refers to her mother-in-law and father-in-law the same way she refers to her father's sister and the father's sister's husband.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. A Jingpo clan is not necessarily exogamous, whereas the lineage is definitely exogamous. Lineage exogamy, asymmetrical matrilateral cross-cousin marriage, occasional polygyny by levirate, and class endogamy were the major features of the Jingpo marriage system. Since 1949, class endogamy has disappeared, polygyny has been abolished, and cross-cousin marriage and ultimogeniture have been declining. But the Jingpo still strictly observe lineage exogamy and violators of it incur moral sanction and punishment. Today, the Jingpo prefer that a man marry his mother's brother's daughter, although a man may marry another woman instead. It is not desirable for a man to marry his father's sister's daughter, but it is completely unacceptable to marry someone with the same surname. If a man does not marry his mother's brother's daughter, his family has to pay fines to the mother's brother. Young people have much freedom in dating; flirtation and premarital sex are common, but parents usually arrange marriages. There are four ways a Jingpo man takes his wife: wife stealing (*mjicho*), wife engaging (*mjitun*), wife snatching (*mjihkau*), and wife seizing (*mjilu*). The first is the most popular way, in which the "stealing" is mock stealing, as both families and the wife consent to the marriage. In the second, a bride is formally engaged when she is still young and will marry out when older. The third involves a man kidnapping the girl who refuses his love and marrying her. In the last case, a man first has relations with another person's wife or fiancée and then marries her. The last two methods are rare now. In any case, the groom's family pays bride-price (*hpaozo*) in the form of animals—buffalo, cattle, or horses—gongs, and *palajing* (a kind of silk or nylon scarf). The amount of the hpaozo is decided by the number of the bride's relatives who have a distinct right to take the gifts; therefore, the bigger the wife giver's lineage, the higher the bride-price. In exchange for the hpaozo, the bride's family provides the gift for the son-in-law (*moshao*). Just as a gong is required in a hpaozo, the indispensable article in a moshao is a spear, a sword, or best of all, a gun. As a rule, a moshao's value is one-half that of the hpaozo. Residence is virilocal, but after the wedding the new wife customarily goes back home and lives with her parents until their first child is born. Divorce is allowed but is not common, and the wife usually has to pay back the hpaozo.

Domestic Unit. Nuclear and stem families are the basic household units. A family is usually made up of parents, a son with his wife, and unmarried children. The average family size is five.

Inheritance. The Jingpo practice ultimogeniture. In ordinary cases, elder sons separate from the parents' home when they get married, leaving the youngest son to live with and take care of the parents and inherit the family's property (and the title of chief, if any, in the old days).

Socialization. Jingpo parents never beat their children. The Jingpo do not subscribe to the idea that sons are superior to daughters, which is popular among the Han and the Dai. Children now go to public school at age 7 or 8, but many drop out during primary school years and only a few have a chance to attend middle school, which is normally far away, in the valleys. The traditional "public house" is common in the villages as a place for adolescents to gather together and make love. No youth organizations and initiation rites are reported.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Traditional Jingpo communities were split into two classes, aristocracy and commoners, based on the ranking of lineages. A hereditary chief was called *duwa* (in Jingpo) or *bumzao* (in Zaiwa), meaning "the ruler of the mountain." The chief's privileges were the right to take a hindquarter thigh of any game caught in his domain and the right to collect tributes in labor from his commoners. But the chief was more like a public leader and a protector of his community, for his commoners were not his slaves or serfs but free people. As a member and a resident of a chief's domain, a commoner had the right to use the land for swidden cultivation and to move out without permission of the chief. The Chinese authorities eliminated the distinction between aristocrats and commoners after 1949.

Political Organization. Chiefdom used to be the basic principle that organized the Jingpo into a stratified society. A chief ruled his domain with assistance of the *suwen*, the *guan*, and sometimes the *gadu*. The suwen came from the founder lineage or the major lineages of the domain. Elected by the households of the chief's lineage and approved by the chief, the suwen formed a kind of house of representatives. The suwen also collected tributes from commoners for the chief and the tusi, took care of the commoners' corvée, assisted the chief in handling and mediating disputes, and led the village's ritual offerings. In re-

turn for their service, the suwen were exempt from corvée and tributes. The position was not hereditary. In some big chiefs' domains, consisting of more villages, there were the guan. A guan, as the chief's agent in his village, took full responsibility for the village's affairs; his position was hereditary. The guan had more real power and authority than the suwen. He not only was exempted from corvée and tributes to the chief but also had the right to ask for corvée for himself. In some villages there was a gadu, whom the chief chose from among the suwen. The gadu could act on the chief's behalf; his position was inheritable and above the suwen. Different versions of Kachin chiefdom—*gumsa* (traditional aristocracy) and *gumlao* (rebellious aristocracy)—were also found among the Dehong Jingpo, but the two structures changed fundamentally in the last century because of the influence of the Han and Dai as well as the increasing Chinese control through the tusi and civil administration. In most cases chiefs became either local heads of the Han or Dai type or symbolic leaders whose power and privilege had fallen into the hands of new strongmen, mostly suwen and guan. The chiefs' authority now derived less from their lineage background and more from their personal efforts and abilities, profits from opium growing and tolls, and the special relationship with the Han officials or Dai tusi. The Communist Revolution ended the chiefdom system. Local politics today is organized by the party into a unified government structure of five levels: state; province or autonomous region; prefecture or autonomous zhou; county; and *xiang* (countryside). A xiang, the lowest level of state power and the basic administrative unit, includes several administrative villages, each of which consists of a number of natural villages. The xiang government is appointed by the xiang peoples congress, which is elected from the party-recommended candidates and under the leadership of the xiang party committee. The xiang government appoints the head of the administrative village while the villagers elect the head of the natural village.

Social Control and Conflict. Traditional Jingpo principles (*htungtara*) and common law still play an important role in Jingpo life. Faith in gods and commitment to the mayu-dama relationship are the essence of the principles. For example, in the case of adultery or other sex scandals, "face washing" by cattle sacrifice and compensation according to the common law are always taken for granted and tacitly approved by the village heads. Other disputes, such as those over debts, stealing, fighting, or injury are mostly settled through the mediation of the village heads and elders in accordance with htungtara. A traditional way to resolve major conflicts and disputes—to grab cattle by force—is still accepted by the cadres and villagers, especially when the offender is a wrongdoer who refuses to pay the compensation.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. The essence of the Jingpo religion is belief in the dual nature of man and living things—the natural and spiritual aspects—and the belief that the supernatural beings or spirits (*nat*) are superior to man. The Jingpo also believe that all the spirits were once nothing but mortals passing out from the present world; however, this passage invested them with supernatural powers and thus transformed them into objects of fear, reverence, and worship. The spirits are innumerable and occupy every imaginable place. Each village, lineage, and clan also has its particular divinities. Capable of good deeds as well as evil, the nat dominate or interfere with the affairs of the present world, bring people illness or health, bestow bad fortune or good fortune, and determine the destiny of people. The nat are disagreeable in character and always ready to take revenge—that is, to "bite" people who trespass against them, knowingly or unknowingly—so they must be avoided, feared as well as worshiped, and consulted all the time. Some aspects of Dai Buddhism and Han Chinese Confucianism appear in Jingpo myths and rituals. In recent years, quite a number of the Jingpo converted to Christianity, but the mass of the people still hold their ancestral faith and sacrifice to their numerous spirits.

Religious Practitioners. The Jingpo have part-time religious specialists, the dumsa, who can relieve people of illness and suffering by identifying the offended spirits and supplicating, placating, and making offerings to them. In order to identify the troublesome spirits and ascertain their will and wishes, a dumsa should also be a diviner. Public recognition is the main basis of the dumsa's qualification. Dumsas' popularity, influence, and income depend on their personal abilities and charisma. Certain grades are commonly recognized among these specialists. The first is the *jaiwa*, or grand dumsa, the highest religious authority and the only priest who can officiate on special occasions such as *manao* (the greatest festival dedicated to the *madai nat*, the highest of all ancestor spirits). The second is the dumsa, among whom several grades exist: *ga dumsa*, who can minister to the earth and sky spirit; *tru dumsa*, who can authorize the sacrifice to the ancestral spirits; and the normal dumsa. Among this group there is also *shichao*, a dumsa specializing in releasing and sending the souls of the dead to the spirit world. The third is the *hkinjawng*, a subordinate and assistant to the dumsa when putting up the altar and cutting up the sacrifice. The fourth is the *myhtoi*, the medium or nat prophet, who is the oracle of the spirit world, able to get in touch with nat and know their will when in a trance. The fifth is the *ningwawt*, the diviner. (Some diviners are also dumsa, but usually capable ningwawt are not.) All of these specialists traditionally receive payment from their clients for their service. With few exceptions, these specialists are male, aged, and capable, with glib tongues, familiar with the religious language chanted at the sacrifice as well as everything about the history, tradition, and legends of their lineages and clans. The dumsa once were leading figures in the society. During the Cultural Revolution and other political campaigns, the dumsa had a difficult time, but now they are practicing again and make a fair income from their services.

Ceremonies. To propitiate the nat by offering them animal sacrifices is the object of Jingpo rituals. Each village is a self-authorized unit of communal ritual, and the village heads (formerly the chiefs) and the dumsa jointly take care of the rituals. Each family also takes full responsibility for its own rituals and is free to invite any dumsa to preside. Two communal rituals, the *numshang* offerings, are performed each year, one in April and the other in October.

Connected with sowing and harvest, the two offerings especially reflect the care taken to secure the goodwill of the guardians of homes and villages. There was another communal ritual, manao, the biggest ritual-festival dedicated to the madai nat. However, the Jingpo commonly did not observe it, partly because it required seven to nine buffalo or cattle, tens of pigs, and hundreds of fowl as sacrifices, but also because only the madai-keeper families (i.e., those from the main chief lineages) were entitled to hold it, and only the jaiwa were entitled to conduct it. The government authorities banned this grand ritual in the Cultural Revolution. Now the government has officially declared the manao a Jingpo national holiday and fixed it on the Chinese New Year; its celebration is officially organized with no nat-offering activities. Individual households hold other rituals on a fixed timetable connected with subsistence farming: the ancestral nat offering in February for the whole family's good fortune in the coming year and in April to guarantee growth of the rice seedlings; the stream nat offering in May to prevent the people being "bitten" by the spirit; the new-rice tasting ritual in October to thank the sky and ancestral nat; the rice-soul-calling-back ritual in November to ensure continued consumption of the rice. Families also perform some situational and problem-resolving rituals. Situational rituals include those for marriages, funerals, new-house building, the regular visiting of the mayu family by the dama, and "face washing" occasioned by adultery or other sexual scandals. People hold problem-resolving rituals to dispel illness and misfortune, to call back a wife who has run away, to find lost things, and so on.

Arts. Jingpo literature includes legends, ballads, and folktales, which are mainly about the genesis and genealogy of the chief clans and are handed down orally by the dumsa. Love songs are very popular among the youth, and the religious group dance of manao is a vivid presentation of Jingpo character. Weaving and embroidery of wool skirts are well developed, whereas painting and wood carving are simple and mainly associated with nat worship.

Medicine. The Jingpo traditionally attributed illness to a bite from a nat, or soul loss. Traditional folk medicine was limited to some medicinal plants and herbs, mainly for injuries or wounds. Modern medicine has been introduced in the Jingpo area since 1949, but the dumsa rituals remain the first resort in any illness. The Jingpo believe that if a person dies outside the village, his or her spirit will become a "wild nat," which can never return to the old homeland but instead wanders around trying to "bite" the living. Because of this belief, many sick villagers are reluctant to go to the hospital.

Death and Afterlife. The Jingpo believe that human beings are multisouled: a man has six souls and a woman seven. Of the souls three are "near" or "real," while the rest are "far" or "false." If the "real" souls are all absent from the body—because a nat has "bitten" the person or for another reason—the person will die; if one or two are away, the person will be ill. A human being will join the nat world after dying. The best death is a natural death (a death at 50 years of age or older) at home; the worst death is to die by accident outside the home, an occurrence that the Jingpo believe to be caused by evil spirits. The funeral rituals are for normal deaths only and consist of the burial, which disposes of the corpse, and the spirit sending, which sends the spirit away to the world of nat spirits. The two parts are usually held at the same time but may be held separately within a month or even a year, if the family cannot afford the whole ritual at once. The spirit sending is more important because the spirit separated from the corpse remains at home, in the spirit room, and can always cause trouble. The Jingpo believe that at least one buffalo should be killed and its skull should be laid in front of the person's grave to please the deceased's spirit and exhort it to leave.

See also Kachin in Volume 5, East and Southeast Asia

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WANG ZHUSHENG

Jino

ETHNONYMS: none

The Jino are a small group, numbering only 18,021, who live in Jinghong County, Xishuangbanna Prefecture, Yunnan Province. Their language belongs to the Tibeto-Burman Branch of the Sino-Tibetan Family and is most closely related to Yi and Burmese. The Jino language is unwritten. Legend has it that the Jino people originated in the north. The Chinese government did not officially recognize the Jino as a distinct minority until 1979. Until then, they were regarded as a subgroup of the Dai nationality. Before 1950 they were under the political and economic control of Dai rulers, Qing and Guomindang

government officials, and Han merchants engaged in the tea trade. The Jino continue to be major producers of Puer tea, which is famous all over China.

Jino mountain villages are bounded by wooden and stone markers, each bearing the impression of swords or spears. Jino villagers hold land within their village in common. Their bamboo houses, which rest on stilts, are built on the higher slopes. Two or more surname groups make up a village.

The climate in which the Jino live is subtropical and rainy; the average annual temperature is between 18° and 20° C. Prior to 1949, they used swidden methods. Now, with the introduction of irrigation, they raise dry and wet rice, maize, tea, and cotton as well as bananas and papayas. (They also grew tea before 1949.) In addition, the Jino hunt and gather. The men hunt with crossbows, poisoned arrows, shotguns, and traps. Meat is divided equally among all members of the hunting party, but pelts belong to the hunters who collect them. Women gather wild fruits and herbs.

Every community has men who are blacksmiths and silversmiths. Men also make bamboo and rattan furniture and other household items; all the women spin and weave cloth. In the past the Jino exchanged tea and cotton with the Han and Dai for iron and foodstuffs. Today they are engaged in a money economy.

At the beginning of the century, large extended families were common. These included as many as twenty men of the patriline with their wives and children, sharing labor and a common budget. By the 1930s this system had begun to disappear in favor of separate residences for nuclear families. Some Jino villages today have as many as 100 households, and the average is 30 to 40.

Although the Jino are now patrilineal, oral literature and popular sayings suggest that 300 years ago they were matrilineal. Mother's brother continues to be respected and, when deceased, is worshiped as one of the key ancestors. Similarly, women's status is high: according to Jino oral history women were clan leaders and religious specialists in the past.

The Jino allow courtship and premarital sex and attach no stigma to illegitimate children or to their mothers. They are monogamous. A village contains at least two exogamous clans.

A village father and a village mother lead each village and the sole requirement for office is that they are the oldest man and woman in the village.

The Jino are animists and ancestor worshipers. Shamans make incantations and sacrifice animals when misfortune occurs. The village father and mother begin the planting of crops with animal sacrifices and ceremonies. The major festival occurs on New Year's Day, which is a date in March determined by the village father and village mother. The Jino bury their dead in a common cemetery along with their personal possessions. Above each grave is a small hut in which relatives leave food for the soul of the deceased.

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Kazak

ETHNONYMS: Kazakh, Khazak

The number of Kazak people in China in 1990 was 1,111,718; however, this represents only 13 percent of the entire Kazak population, most of whom reside in Kazakhstan. The Kazak in China live primarily in the Xinjiang Uigur autonomous Region, but some live also in western Gansu Province and in Qinghai Province. The Kazak language belongs to the Kipchak Subbranch of the Turkic Branch of the Altaic Language Family and is most closely related to Kirgiz and Tatar. The Kazak language contains many Russian and Chinese loanwords. The term "Kazak" means "secessionists," a name which the people gained when they broke away from the rule of Uzbek Khan (in the lower Syr Darya River region of Kazakhstan) in the fifteenth century.

The Kazak are migratory pastoralists, though a few have become settled agriculturalists. During the summer, they live in round felt tents (known as yurts), which each have a smoke hole in the roof and a door that faces east. The roofs of the yurts of wealthier individuals are embroidered. In the winter, the Kazak live in adobe houses. The Kazak live on the meat and dairy products of their herds of cattle, sheep, and horses. In addition to milk, the Kazak consume yogurt, milk dough, milk skin, cheese, and butter, as well as a fermented drink, horse-milk wine. The most frequently served meat is mutton, which is eaten in large chunks with the hands. Most of the slaughtering takes place in the fall, and they cure the meat by smoking it. Of particular importance to winter survival is horse-meat sausage, which keeps for long periods.

The Muslim Kazak were traditionally members of clans, which were further organized into tribes. There were five tribes (listed in descending order of size): Kereit, Naiman, Kezai, Alban, and Suwan. Traditionally, marriages were arranged and there was a bride-price payment; wealthier families paid up to a hundred animals for a bride, whereas poor families paid nothing. The Kazak also practiced the levirate. Under Chinese influence and new legal codes, the Kazak no longer practice polygyny.

See also Kazakhs in Part One, Russia and Eurasia

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Kirgiz

ETHNONYMS: Kirghiz, Kyrghyz, Kyrgyz

In 1962 the Kirgiz living in China numbered 66,000, but by 1990 their population had grown to 141,549. This latter figure, however, represents only 7 percent of the entire worldwide Kirgiz population, most of which lives in Kyrgyzstan. More than three-fourths of the Kirgiz in China live in the southwestern part of the Xinjiang Uigur Autonomous Region, and most of the rest live in the southern counties of that region. The Kirgiz language is a member of the Turkic Branch of the Altaic Family. Following their conversion to Islam, the Kirgiz developed a writing system that uses the Arabic alphabet. There are two major Kirgiz dialectical divisions, the northern and the southern.

The ancestors of the Kirgiz, the Xiajias, lived in the upper Yenisei River region; they were under the domination of the Turk Khanate in the sixth century but were able to break away in the seventh century. Later, the Uigurs established dominance in the area, but the Xiajias drove them off in the ninth century. By the twelfth century, the Kirgiz ancestors (by then known as the "Jilijis") were fighting with the Oirats; when the Mongols defeated the Oirats, the Jilijis moved into their territory (the Tianshan Mountains), where the Kirgiz live today.

The majority of Kirgiz are migratory pastoralists who raise cattle, horses, sheep, camels, and especially goats, which provide their preferred drink, goat's milk. The only plants grown are cabbages, onions, and potatoes. Wheat flour, rice, tea, salt, and sugar are imported. A small percentage of the population engaged in swidden agriculture prior to the Communist Revolution. The migratory Kirgiz live in square felt tents, whereas the settled ones live in adobe houses. Kirgiz men herd the animals and cut grass and wood; women graze the animals, milk and shear them, and do household work. Only men inherit land.

Marriages are arranged by parents, often early in life. A man courts his bride-to-be with a roast sheep. Before the wedding, the bride's family ties the couple to posts and releases them only when the groom's family asks for "mercy" and presents gifts to the bride's family. Following the Muslim wedding, the couple lives in the husband's parents' tent.

Kirgiz are organized into tribes. There are two major groups of tribes, north and south, corresponding to the dialectical divisions.

The majority of Kirgiz belong at least nominally to the Ismail sect of the Shiite Muslims. A small number of Kirgiz never became Muslims and practice shamanism or Lamaism.

See also Kyrgyz in Part One, Russia and Eurasia

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Lahu

ETHNONYMS: Lahuna, Lahupu, Lahuxi

Orientation

Identification. The Lahu are swidden farmers and hunters of the upland regions of southwestern Yunnan. There are two main branches: the Lahuna or "Black Lahu," and the Lahuxi or "Yellow Lahu." Lahu populations are also found in Myanmar (Burma), Laos, and the Chiang Mai region of Thailand.

Location. Most of the Lahu within China proper are residents of the Lancang Lahu Autonomous County in Simao Prefecture. The remainder live in the southern parts of neighboring Lincang Prefecture and in Menghai County in Xishuangbanna. The main concentrations are in the subtropical hilly areas along the Lancang River, also known as the upper Mekong. Annual rainfall is 140 centimeters and the average temperature is 20° C. Eighty percent of the rainfall is concentrated in the rainy season between May and October.

Demography. The Lahu population within China is approximately 411,476, according to the census of 1990. About 80 percent are distributed along the west bank of the Lancang River. Less than 7 percent are classified as urban. Another 200,000 Lahu live in Southeast Asia.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Lahu languages belong to the Yi Branch of Tibeto-Burmese and are closely related to Lisu. Lahuna is the most widespread and serves as a lingua franca. In the past, carvings on wood were one way of transmitting messages. In the early twentieth century, an alphabetic script developed by Western missionaries was in use in parts of the Lahu area. After 1957, government authorities reformed this script and made it the officially recognized writing form for the Lahu language.

History and Cultural Relations

According to Chinese historical tradition, the origin of the Lahu can be traced to the ancient Qiang or Di-Qiang mentioned in early historical accounts. It is thought that some 2,000 years ago, some of the Qiang migrated southward into Yunnan, the ancestors of the Lahu among them. The Lahu once were known for their skill at hunting tigers. As hunters and farmers they exploited the lush slopes of the towering Ailao and Wuliang mountains in western Yunnan. In the eighth century A.D., during the rule of the Nanzhao Kingdom in western Yunnan, the Lahu people were pushed to move farther southward and eastward. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, they were already settled in their present areas. Here they came under the political and economic influence of the more complex and sophisticated Dai culture, as well as that of the Han. Intensive agriculture replaced slash-and-burn methods of farming in some areas. At the same time, Dai rulers and Han landlords economically dominated some of the Lahu areas. From the eighteenth century on, there were a number of uprisings in which Lahu joined with Hani, Wa, and, in some instances, Han or Dai. During this period the revival of Mahayana Buddhism, spread by Bai monks and priests from Dali, also influenced the Lahu and the new religion played a part in the content and organization of the uprisings. Culturally, the Lahu remained more closely related to Yi, Naxi, Hani, and Lisu, who trace their origins to the original Di-Qiang peoples. Since 1949, the Lahu have borrowed more cultural traits from the Dai and the Han, particularly in housing, clothing, and general economic activities.

Settlements

Lahu villages vary in size, depending on locale. They range from 3 to 50 households or from around 50 to as many as 800 people. The main village, whose homesteads include a number that hold complex extended families, is often surrounded by smaller temporary hamlets that lie closer to the fields under cultivation. Most Lahu settlements are on the higher slopes of the hills and mountainsides, at the head of creeks and streams. Dai and Han lands and villages are at lower elevations where wet-rice cultivation is more feasible. Large houses are raised on stilts, with space underneath the houses reserved for domestic animals. Every house is divided into small rooms, each holding a nuclear family unit from within the larger extended family. Wood and bamboo are the most common building materials. In recent years, zinc roofing has been gradually replacing the thatched roofs, especially in the lowland areas close to Dai settlement.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. Maize, buckwheat, and dry upland rice are the staples. More recently paddy rice has been adopted in some areas. Generally, the Lahu practice slash-and-burn farming and harvest one crop a year on each field. In addition to staple grains, the Lahu grow beans, garlic, cucumbers, squash, and various greens. Tea, tobacco, and sisal are cash crops. Gathering of wild foods and medicinal plants continues, as does hunting with the crossbow or firelock for deer and other woodland game. Pigs and chickens are the most common domestic animals. The Lahu also practice apiculture. Few families have horses or oxen, and until the 1950s, Lahu agricultural technology lagged behind that of the Dai or Han.

Industrial Arts. Handicrafts include blacksmithing, weaving, appliqué design, and bamboo work. Few of these products are for market sale. Barter was the preferred form of trade until recent decades.

Division of Labor. Hunting, clearing the bush and preparing fields, smithing, and bamboo work are male activities. Women do most of the agricultural work, and women also are responsible for gathering activities, weaving cloth, tailoring, and decorating clothing for the household.

Land Tenure. Lahu class land in three categories. Paddy fields are the most precious, and utilization rights are closely tied to ownership. Dry fields come second in value, and there is much flexibility in transfer of use rights. Waste lands are free to all members of the village community who are willing to clear and cultivate them. In some areas, prior to 1949, landownership and control of usage of the paddy fields and dry fields belonged to Han landlords

or the local Dai rulers. Households or village communities had to pay as much as 50 percent of the crop and various kinds of tribute as rental. Land reform took place in most of the Lahu areas in 1952, ending the feudal system and/or restoring the village communal system or household control over land use.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Some Lahu follow the Han system of patrilineal descent and inheritance. However, many Lahu continue with a matrilineal emphasis and recognize bilateral descent. The localized, matrilineal extended family is the dominant kin group, though some large households incorporate both married sons and daughters.

Kinship Terminology. The terminology in use varies considerably because of the influence of the Han, Dai, and other groups. In Lincang Prefecture, for instance, Ego's siblings, parallel cousins, and cross cousins are distinguished only by relative age and sex. In Ego's parent's generation, father is accorded a separate term, while father's older and younger brothers share the same term as father's sister's husbands. In the Lancang Lahu Autonomous County, "uncles" are not lumped together: there are separate terms for mother's brother, father's brother, father's sister's husband, and mother's sister's husband, a system which suggests Han influence in its stress on lineality. But Han influence is not consistent throughout the system: maternal and paternal grandparents are distinguished only by sex.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Monogamy is the usual practice. In most areas the young people are free to choose their marriage partners on the basis of love and have frequent opportunity to meet in work situations or at festivals and holidays. Courting begins around the age of 15 or 16. Love songs, the playing of flutes and reed organs, overnight visits, and the exchange of small gifts play an important part in courtship. Elopements occasionally occur, but generally the couple desires parental permission for marriage, and in the negotiations the young man's family sends gifts to the prospective bride's household. Except in highly Sinicized areas, the wedding formalities take place in the bride's village, and all the villagers are invited to a feast. Often, the groom is expected to reside in the bride's village for several years following the marriage, providing labor service to the bride's family. Later they move to his village. During the initial years, divorce is relatively easy. The Lahu permit remarriages of divorced or widowed persons.

Domestic Unit. Traditionally the large extended family was prevalent. Such households contained several or even several dozen nuclear units, which would include married siblings and their sons and daughters with their spouses and children, totaling as many as a hundred persons. The extended family was under the authority of a male household head, but each nuclear unit had its own separate room and cooking stove. Since the 1950s, these large households have dissolved and been replaced by smaller family units in separate dwellings. In the farming season, young couples move to the small hamlets close to their fields. The extended household pools and redistributes the harvests. Both sons and daughters have inheritance rights in the household, as does a widowed daughter-in-law who remains to care for the elder generation. Under modern Han influence, independent nuclear families are gaining ground.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Household and village are the main units of social organization, though the Lahu recognize parallel descent groups. The village leadership deals with offenders of local custom through fines, punishments, or sometimes expulsion.

Political Organization. Before 1949, there were two kinds of political control superseding the village communal structures. East of the Lancang River, there was a bureaucracy of government officials similar to that found in Han areas. West of the Lancang, there existed a chieftain-dominated feudal government. In 1953, the Lancang Lahu Autonomous County was established, followed by the Menglian-Dai-Lahu-Va Autonomous County in 1954. Organization followed the pattern established in other ethnic areas of China: during the 1960s and 1970s, division into communes and brigades; in the 1980s, division into townships and villages.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. The Lahu worship a variety of gods and spirits. The most important god is Exia, creator of the universe and mankind, who determines the good or bad fortunes of people. Exia is located in sacred places deep in the mountain forests, unapproachable by non-Lahu. They also worship the gods of earth, storms, and other natural phenomena and make offerings to them. Upright poles carved with geometric designs play a part in the ceremonies. Buddhist monks from Dali in the early Qing dynasty introduced Mahayana Buddhism. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, some of the Lahu converted to Catholicism and to Protestantism introduced by Western missionaries.

Arts. The Lahu have a rich and distinctive musical tradition, which includes antiphonal songs and playing of the reed organ, flute, and three-string guitar. There are some forty traditional dances, some restricted in performance to one sex.

Medicine. The Lahu believe that evil spirits cause diseases and epidemics and that curing requires the use of ritual and magic to dispel the evil. Wild medicinal herbs are used to treat physical ailments.

Death and Afterlife. The Lahu cremate their dead. During the funeral, the mourners are led to the village cremation ground by women, who carry on their backs the articles used by the deceased during his or her lifetime. In some areas, the Lahu give the dead earth burial; they pile the grave with stones. The entire village stops work to observe mourning on the burial day.

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LIN YUEH-HWA (LIN YAOHUA) AND ZHANG HAIYANG

Lhoba

ETHNONYMS: none

In 1990 the Lhoba numbered only 2,312. They live in the counties of Mainling, Medog, Lhunze, Nangxian, and Luoyu in southeastern and southern Tibet. The Lhoba language belongs to the Tibeto-Burman Branch of the Sino-Tibetan Language Family. There is no written language in use. "Lhoba" is the name given them by the Tibetans and means "southerners." They identify themselves by clan names or names of localities.

The Lhoba practice agriculture and are skilled at working with bamboo. They are also hunters who trade animal hides, musk, bear paws, and other animal products with the Tibetans for manufactured and imported goods such as farm tools, clothing, salt, wool, grain, and tea. Both groups and individuals go on hunting trips. Boys begin to hunt at an early age, joining their fathers in hunting expeditions. The mainstays of the Lhoba diet are dumplings of maize or millet flour and rice or buckwheat. Those Lhoba who live near Tibetans have adopted some Tibetan traditions, such as buttered tea and spicy foods. Only men inherit land. The Lhoba do not wear shoes, an ethnic marker distinguishing them from other groups in the area.

Formerly, the Lhoba had a stratified society with institutions similar to castes. The Lhoba took slaves, but at the same time the Tibetans regarded the Lhoba as inferior, banning intermarriage with them and restricting their areas of residence.

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Li

ETHNONYMS: none

The Li numbered 1,110,900 in 1990 and lived in Hainan Li and Miao Autonomous Prefecture on the island of Hainan, off China's southern coast, in Guangdong Province. (Hainan has since become a province in its own right.) The Li language belongs to the Zhuang-Dong Branch of the Sino-Tibetan Family. Li is closely related to Zhuang, Shui, Dong, Dai, and Bouyei; the peoples are culturally similar in many ways as well. Although there is now a system for writing Li, most Li people make their written communications in Chinese. Many Li can speak local dialects of Chinese as well.

Archaeological evidence indicates that the Li people or their ancestors lived in their present location for a considerable time, perhaps as long as 3,000 years. Han people have been living on Hainan with the Li since before 200 B.C., and Han control over the Li has existed since the sixth century.

Li settlements consist of small groups whose members are consanguineally related and who work together on commonly held lands and share the harvest. They build their houses in the shape of boats out of woven bamboo and rattan, and they use mud to plaster the walls.

The Li region is located at the base of the Wuzhi Mountains. The climate is tropical and there is a good amount of rainfall, which allows up to three rice harvests per year in some places. The Li raise coconuts, betel nuts, sisal, lemongrass, cocoa, coffee, rubber, palm oil, cashews, pineapples, cassava, mangoes, and bananas. They also raise staple foods like wet rice, maize, and sweet potatoes.

The monogamous Li have arranged marriages; a bride-price may run as high as several head of cattle. Grooms unable to afford the bride-price perform bride-service for several years. A newly wed woman lives with her parents, visiting her husband only on occasion; only when she becomes pregnant does she move in with her husband.

The Li are animists and ancestor worshipers. The dead are buried in single-log coffins in a village cemetery.

Other distinctive features of the Li are their skill in weaving kapok, their understanding of herbal medicines, and their twelve-day week, in which each day has the name of an animal.

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Lisu

ETHNONYMS: Black Lisu, Flowery Lisu, White Lisu

Orientation

The Lisu are one of the uplands groups of southwestern China; some Lisu also live in northern Myanmar (Burma) and Thailand. They are agriculturalists, with continued reliance on hunting and gathering.

Location. Most of the 575,000 Lisu in China live in concentrated communities in Bijiang, Fugong, Gongshan, and Lushui counties in the Nujiang Lisu Autonomous Prefecture in northwestern Yunnan Province. Others are scattered elsewhere in western Yunnan or in southern Sichuan Province. The main area of settlement lies in the mountainous areas and river basins of the Nu and Lancang rivers. Average annual temperature along the river basins is between 17° and 26° C, and annual rainfall averages 250 centimeters.

Linguistic Affiliation. The language belongs to the Yi Branch of Tibeto-Burmese, Sino-Tibetan Language Family, and is closely related to Lahu. In 1957, the government introduced a new alphabetic script to replace both a missionary-devised alphabetized system and one based on Chinese ideographs that had limited use prior to 1949.

History and Cultural Relations

In the sixteenth century, the Lisu migrated from the area along the Golden Sands River (Jinsha River) to their current locations. Better organized and more technically advanced, they overran the indigenous inhabitants of the Nu River area, forcing them to pay tribute and even enslaving some. Moving in a southwesterly direction they came into increasing contact with Bai, Naxi, Jingpo, and Dai peoples and, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, with Han. Since the 1950s, under Han influence, the Lisu have adopted more advanced production techniques, modern schooling, and medicine.

Settlements

Lisu villages generally contain between 100 and 200 persons, distributed in 20 to 50 households. Two types of housing are found: one is a simple wooden structure built of 4-meter-long pieces of timber and roofed with wooden planks; the other is a more complex structure of bamboo and wood supported above the ground by twenty to thirty wooden stakes and covered with a thatched or wooden roof. The upper level is family living space, and the space below the floor shelters the family's livestock. Such houses are surrounded by bamboo fences. The central room of the house holds a fire pit.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. Maize, sorghum, and buckwheat are the main staple crops. The Lisu use slash-and-burn techniques on mountain upland fields. They grow vegetables and tangerines in the warmer river-valley settlements. They also raise oxen, sheep, poultry, and pigs. Current cash crops include ramie, tung trees (for lacquer), and sugarcane. Hunting with a crossbow and gathering of medicinal herbs (fritillaria bulbs, goldthread) continue to be important. Since the early 1950s, the state has encouraged the development of a number of processing industries, including the brewing of a traditional liquor made from sorghum and maize.

Industrial Arts. Traditionally, there were no full-time artisans. Lisu made cloth, shell and bead jewelry, and bamboo and wooden articles during the slack seasons or in their spare time, and individuals rebuilt their houses with assistance from the village community. In recent years, some Lisu have become full-time workers in the manufacture or processing of bricks and tiles, agricultural tools, paper, and foodstuffs.

Trade. Formerly, the Lisu conducted trade on a barter basis; only gradually did they adopt the use of silver coinage. They reckoned the value of land in pigs, oxen, or grain. In recent decades, the Lisu have entered the market economy, selling poultry, livestock, vegetables, and liquor at the periodic markets.

Division of Labor. Both sexes participate in agricultural work. Men are responsible for firewood gathering, hunting, house building, and repairs; women carry water, weave cloth, make clothing, perform most domestic chores, and process grains.

Land Tenure. Most land was privately owned by households—there were no clan-owned lands in recent historical times. Some high mountain areas were public wasteland, available to anyone for cultivation. The Lisu did not allow any buying or selling of land. Sons inherited land from their fathers or received land at marriage, along with some tools and livestock. Daughters did not.

Kinship, Marriage, and Family

Kinship. The clan system seems to have lost all important functions save regulation of marriage and periodic worship of the mythic founder. Ten or more clan names still persist, such as Tiger, Bear, Monkey, Bamboo, and Fire. Kin terms follow the Iroquois system.

Marriage. Prior to marriage, young adults had access to village youth houses where they could socialize and entertain visitors from other villages. Thus, many marriages were based on courtship and love. However, parents arranged the marriages, and permission of the mother's brother was required. In most cases, brides joined their husband's household, but matrilocal residence was not uncommon. Betrothal costs were heavy, including livestock, and before 1949 some couples resorted to elopement in order to avoid the costs or the possibility of parental disapproval. No information is available about current practices.

Domestic Unit. The monogamous nuclear family was the basic unit. All but the youngest son left the parental household after marriage, setting up their own households nearby.

Inheritance. All sons received some land, livestock, and household property, but the son who remained in the household to care for the aging parents inherited a larger

share, as well as the house. Daughters had no land-inheritance rights but received a dowry of jewelry. They were also allowed to accumulate private savings through the raising of pigs and poultry or other economic activities.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Traditionally, both kinship and the village community were important in social life. A recognized, respected elder headed every village; he settled disputes, presided over community sacrificial ceremonies, and, in earlier times, dealt with military matters. Clan members and fellow villagers were participants in funerals and weddings, but only clan members received a share of the betrothal gifts and foods.

Political Organization. Prior to 1949, under the Guomindang, the Lisu villages were reorganized under the *bao-jia* system, with ten households forming a basic unit for political control and ten such units grouped under the leadership of appointed headmen, who were usually heads of the clans. During wartime, the villages formed an alliance, but this ended when the war was over.

Conflict. The most frequent internal conflicts arose out of debts, marriage disputes, and accusations of use of witchcraft to spread disease.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Traditional religion centered on a pantheon of gods and nature spirits, but there is little published material about it. Some of the Lisu festivals still observed today are borrowed from the Han (Lunar New Year) or neighboring peoples (Torch Festival). During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, some Lisu converted to Catholicism and Protestantism brought by Western missionaries.

Arts. Ornaments of silver, shell, and pearls and bead necklaces and headdresses are a distinguishing feature of the Lisu. A rich repertoire of songs and dances are an important part of weddings, funerals, festival days, and house construction.

Death and Afterlife. The Lisu buried their dead in village or clan graveyards. Men were buried with their knives and hunting bows, women with their weaving tools, hemp bags, and a cooking pot. The Lisu thought they would use them in the afterworld. A year after death, the mourners would build a burial mound; three years later, they would hold a ceremony to conclude the offerings to the deceased.

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LIN YUEH-HWA (LIN YAOHUA) AND NARANBILIK

Manchu

ETHNONYMS: Jurchen, Nuzhen, Qiren

Orientation

Identification. From the seventeenth century to the early twentieth century, the Manchu played a key role in Chinese history as the rulers of the Qing dynasty. As a result of their long interaction with the Han they are one of the most highly Sinicized of any of China's minorities. Even so, they retain a strong sense of ethnic identity.

Location. The largest concentration of Manchu (46.2 percent) is in Liaoning Province. Most of the remainder is located in the other two northeast provinces of Jilin and Heilongjiang, and in smaller numbers in Hebei, Gansu, Shandong, and Ningxia provinces and the autonomous region of Inner Mongolia. There are also sizeable Manchu populations in major cities such as Beijing, Chengdu, Xian, and Guangzhou. The dispersal of the population relates in part to the sending of Manchu administrators and military colonists to various parts of the empire during the Qing dynasty. At present, 80 percent of the Manchu are in areas where settled farming is possible. The Manchurian plain, crossed by the Liao and Sungari rivers, has become a major agricultural and industrial center.

Demography. The 1990 estimate of the Manchu population is 9,821,180. The early 1950s estimate was 2.4 million, but it is difficult to say how much of the rise is due to natural population growth and how much is due to the increased willingness of Manchu to identify themselves as such.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Manchu language belongs to the Manchu-Tungus Branch of the Altaic Language Family. The Manchu script, which was developed in the sixteenth century, is a modified borrowing from Mongolian. In the eighteenth century, educated Manchu began to use the Han ideographic writing system. At present, although the state encourages publications in Manchu, many Manchu cannot easily speak or read the language. They do, however, have a much higher literacy rate in Chinese than the national average.

History and Cultural Relations

The origins of the Manchu can be traced back more than 2,000 years to the forest- and mountain-dwelling peoples

of northeastern China such as the Sushen tribe, and in later periods to the Yilou, Huji, Mohe, and Nuzhen (Jurchen) mentioned in historical records. Their ancestors established the Bohai State between the seventh and eighth centuries A.D., and were a part of the Liao Empire (947–1125), which extended over Manchuria, Mongolia, and northeastern China. In 1115, the Jurchen tribes of northern Manchuria became unified, and in alliance with other non-Han agricultural and pastoral peoples of the region established the short-lived Chin (Jin) dynasty, which held control of the northeast and extended southward into inner China as far south as the Huai River. At their main capital, Yanjing (now Beijing), they built a Chinese-type bureaucratic state and recruited Chinese officials to help run the empire. By 1215, under pressure from the advancing Mongols, the capital was moved southward to Kaifeng; the Chin fell in 1234. Four centuries later, they were more successful, establishing the Qing dynasty (1644-1911), which ruled all of China. During the Qing, many important Han writings were translated into Manchu. There was frequent interaction with Han and Mongols, and marriage alliances between Manchu and Mongols. Intermarriages with Han were not permitted until the mid-nineteenth century. During the Qing years, many Manchu, particularly those living in or on the borders with interior China, adopted much of Han culture and assimilated to Han styles of life. Migrations of Han from north China into the northeastern provinces during the twentieth century further hastened assimilation and the adoption of the Chinese language. By the end of the nineteenth century, Russia and Japan were competing for control of China's northeastern provinces, with their rich timber lands, farm lands, and mineral reserves. Japan occupied the area in 1931 and in 1932 proclaimed Manchukuo as an "independent" state under the rule of Pu Yi Aisengoro, the last of the Qing emperors. After World War II, Chinese sovereignty was restored.

Settlements

The traditional houses of the Manchu were, for many centuries, similar to those of the Han. They were built in three divisions, with a central room used as a kitchen and two wings that served as sleeping quarters and living area. The sleeping rooms were heated by kangs, brick beds that could be heated in winter that were laid against the west, north, and south walls. Windows of the house opened to the south and west. The houses were warm in winter and cool in summer. Houses held a three-generation family, with an average size of seven or more persons.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. Mountain and forest hunting and gathering were more important subsistance activities in the past, but for many centuries the Manchu have been a sedentary agricultural people. Sorghum, maize, millet, soybeans, and tobacco are basic crops, along with fruit growing. Animal husbandry is part of the rural economy, particularly the raising of pigs. More than 80 percent of the Manchu now living in Liaoning, Heilongjiang, Jilin, and Hebei are engaged in agriculture. The remainder of the population is in industry and a variety of urban jobs. Forestry and lumbering are also part of the present economy.

Trade. There was a merchant class in past centuries, although during the Qing dynasty the Manchu were forbidden to engage in trade. Even then the Manchu held an official monopoly on ginseng, a medicinal root native to the area. Business activities have begun to reemerge since the economic reforms of the early 1980s.

Division of Labor. During the Qing dynasty, most of the Manchu, aside from members of the imperial clan or those in the thirty-one grades of the aristocracy, were "bannermen," who received land and stipends from the government. The "banners" were military forces who together with their families were assigned to various locations within the empire. Most were assigned to areas in and around major cities, particularly Beijing. Within the homeland area, the Manchu continued as farmers, theoretically banned from engaging in trade or artisan labor. The main division of labor in the countryside was along sex lines, with household chores undertaken by the women and most of the agricultural work or side occupations engaged in by men. In the twentieth century, some of the urban Manchu became peddlers or workers, and some entered the arts and professions.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Monogamy and patrilocal residence has always been practiced by the Manchu. By custom, young people were engaged at the age of sixteen or seventeen, by parental decision. Bride-price was reciprocated by gifts of wine, pork, clothing, and jewelry to the groom's family. Dowry was regarded as the bride's property. Lavish weddings are currently discouraged.

Domestic Unit. Rural Manchu live in three-generation extended households. In the cities, the nuclear family has become the norm.

Sociopolitical Organization

In the past, the patrilineal clan was an important form of sociopolitical organization; it was preserved through the Qing dynasty. In the early seventeenth century, the outstanding leader Nurhachi welded all the Nuzhen tribes into the Eight Banners. Each banner was divided into basic units called niulu, which functioned as the primary unit of political, military, and economic organization. Each niulu held about 300 people. In the early Qing dynasty, around 1633, the Manchu rulers began to incorporate Mongols and other tribal groups, as well as Han, into the Eight Banner system. The banner system dissolved in the twentieth century. At present, the area is organized on the basis of counties, townships, and villages.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Traditionally, shamanism was a key practice, both among the common people and at the imperial court. In the early Qing dynasty, only the most intelligent people who had a good command of the dialect of the royal Aisengoro clan could be candidates for the office of court shamans. They chanted scriptures and performed

religious dances when imperial services were held. The common shamans were of two kinds: full-time specialists who dealt with illness and ceremonial leaders for their kin group, who presided over sacrificial rites for the ancestors and heavenly spirits. The shaman's costume during performances consisted of a smock, a pointed cap festooned with long colored paper strips half-concealing the face, a small mirror dangling over the chest, and bronze bells at the waist.

Ceremonies. Sacrifices to the heavenly spirits were offered to mark the occasion of military undertakings, successes, and returns. Offerings and rites to the ancestors of the household were made in front of a small shrine kept at the west side of the sleeping room. Over the centuries, some Manchu adopted Han religious practices and beliefs associated with folk Buddhism and Daoism.

Death and Afterlife. The dead were believed to travel to another world that coexists with this world. No one was allowed to die on the west or north kang, and the corpse had to be removed from the house through the windows since the doorway was meant only for the living. Ground burial was the common practice.

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LIN YUEH-HWA (LIN YAOHUA) AND NARANBILIK

Maonan

ETHNONYM: A-nan

The Maonan are speakers of the Dong-Shui Branch of the Zhuang-Dong Language Family of Sino-Tibetan. Many also speak Han or Zhuang. They live in the hilly north-central part of the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, in Huanjiang and Hechi counties. Their communities are interspersed with those of Yao, Zhuang, Miao, and Han. The total population is about 72,000 (1990 census). Eighty percent of the Maonan use the surname Tan and trace their ancestry to Hunan Province. The remainder, surnamed "Lu," "Meng," "Wei," and "Yan," claim Fujian and Shandong as their original home. The population is highly Sinicized, reflecting early intermarriage between Han settlers and local women. Since the late Ming dynasty, a separate ethnic identity has emerged. The small villages, with fewer than a hundred households, are ethnically homogeneous, and member families generally share the same surname.

Houses are two-storied, with livestock kept on the lower level. The main occupation is farming of maize, wheat, gaoliang (sorghum), sweet potato, soybeans, tobacco, and a small amount of paddy rice. Prior to 1949, landlord holdings were large; more than 50 percent of the households were either farm laborers on managerial estates or tenant farmers. Land reform in 1952 equalized holdings and more recent construction of irrigation systems and a major reservoir has expanded the amount of arable land. Before 1949, Maonan crafts specializations made up half of household income. These included stone carving, wood carving, weaving of bamboo hats and mattresses, and blacksmithing. Beef cattle, sold at interprovincial markets, also provided a large part of income. Presumably, with the development of the free market and economic reforms during the 1980s, these nonagricultural enterprises have revived.

Descent is patrilineal, kinship is recognized within five generations, and marriages are prohibited within this group. Otherwise, people of the same surname may marry. Before 1949, parents arranged engagements when the children were five or six years old or even before birth. Marriages took place at twelve or thirteen, after exchanges of gifts between the two households. A young bride remained with her parents till the birth of her first child. The youngest son remained with his parents after marriage, but all others set up new households. Levirate marriage was permitted. Sons and daughters shared in division of family property, and both married and unmarried daughters could inherit land. Under new laws, both marriage and inheritance have changed. Traditionally, custom permitted widow remarriage and divorce by mutual consent, which is upheld under current law.

Religious beliefs and practices are highly Sinicized or influenced by the neighboring Zhuang minority. Christianity made some converts before 1949. The Maonan celebrate the Chinese New Year's (Spring) Festival, Qingming, and Zhongyuan festival with minor modifications. For example, married-out daughters are expected to spend New Year's Eve, the second day of the New Year and Qingming with their natal families and to bring gifts of meat, wine, and noodles. Ancestral worship is important, but differs from Han practice by including a woman's parents on the same altar with her husband's ascendants. At Fenglong Festival, the most important indigenous festival, which honors local gods and ancestors, not only married-out daughters but also affines and friends living elsewhere are invited to the village celebrations. The various gods of the Daoist/Buddhist pantheon also have a place on the household altar, particularly the Lord of the Three Worlds and his wife, the Divine Mother. Most gods and spirits are seen as protective and benevolent, but a few, like General Meng, cause sickness and must be appeased with generous offerings of meat and wine. At least once, each generation in a family must sponsor a sacrificial ceremony to fulfill its vows to the gods and spirits for their assistance. The most elaborate of these required the sacrifice of thirty-six ani-

mals (including an ox and seven pigs) and continued for three days and nights under the direction of a group of Daoist priests and spirit mediums. These elaborate ceremonies are no longer permitted, and smaller sacrifices for births, illness, weddings, and funerals are strongly discouraged by the state. A modern medical care network now exists in the area; previously, illness was dealt with by shamans.

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NORMA DIAMOND

Miao

ETHNONYMS: Bai Miao (White), Cowrie Shell Miao, Hei Miao (Black), Hmong, Hua Miao (Flowery), Hung Miao (Red), Magpie Miao, Qing Miao (Blue/Green)

Orientation

Identification. The various Miao groups are for the most part an unstratified agricultural people found in the uplands of several provinces of China and related to the Hmong of Southeast Asia. They are distinguished by language, dress, historical traditions, and cultural practice from neighboring ethnic groups and the dominant Han Chinese. They are not culturally homogeneous and the differences between local Miao cultures are often as great as between Miao and non-Miao neighbors. The term "Miao" is Chinese, and means "weeds" or "sprouts." Chinese minority policies since the 1950s treat these diverse groups as a single nationality and associate them with the San Miao Kingdom of central China mentioned in histories of the Han dynasty (200 B.C.–A.D. 200).

Location. About half of China's Miao are located in Guizhou Province. Another 34 percent are evenly divided between Yunnan Province and western Hunan Province. The remainder are mainly found in Sichuan and Guangxi, with a small number in Guangdong and Hainan. Some of the latter may have been resettled there during the Qing dynasty. The wide dispersion makes it difficult to generalize about ecological settings. Miao settlements are found anywhere from a few hundred meters above sea level to elevations of 1,400 meters or more. The largest number are uplands people, often living at elevations over 1,200 meters and located at some distance from urban centers or the lowlands and river valleys where the Han are concentrated. Often, these upland villages and hamlets are interspersed with those of other minorities such as Yao, Dong, Zhuang, Yi, Hui, and Bouyei. Most live in the fourteen autonomous prefectures and counties designated as Miao or part-Miao. Among the largest of these are the Qiandongnan Miao-Dong Autonomous Prefecture and Qiannan Bouyei-Miao Autonomous Prefecture established in Guizhou in 1956, the Wenshan Zhuang-Miao Autonomous Prefecture of Yunnan established in 1958, and the Chengbu Miao Autonomous County in Hunan organized in 1956. In addition, there are Miao present in at least ten other autonomous units where they are a minority among the minorities. Some Miao villages are within *minzuxiang* (minority townships), in areas that have a high concentration of minority peoples but not autonomous status, as is the case in Zhaotong Prefecture in northeastern Yunnan.

Demography. The 1990 census reports a population of 7,398,677 Miao. This is an increase of almost 47 percent over the 1982 census figure of 5,036,377. Some of the growth is due to natural increase (as of 1990 the Miao were not limited to one or two children) and some to the recognition of additional population as Miao and better census procedures.

Linguistic Affiliation. According to Chinese language classification, the Miao languages belong to the Miao-Yao Branch of Sino-Tibetan. Officially, these languages are termed *fangyin* (dialects) although they are not mutually intelligible. There are at least three main languages, further divisible into distinct and separate sublanguages or dialects of varying degrees of closeness. The Miao languages are tonal. Xiangxi, spoken in western Hunan by close to one million speakers, is associated with the Red Miao. It is comprised of two sublanguages. The larger of the two has been taken as standard and given a romanization for school texts and other local publications. The Qiandong language of central and eastern Guizhou is associated with the Black Miao. It has three major subdivisions. The most widespread of the three has well over a million speakers, and is taken as the official standard. The others, with a half million speakers each, are regarded as dialects and, as of this writing, have no official recognition. The Chuanqiandian languages are spoken by White, Flowery, and Blue Miao. There are at least seven major subdivisions, each further divided into a number of local dialects. At present only Chuanqiandianci (White Miao) and Diandongbei (Hua Miao) are officially recognized. Both of these formerly used a phonetic script, introduced by missionaries at the turn of the century. The script has been supplanted by a government-introduced romanization. In addition there are some eight additional fangyin, with several thousand speakers each, which do not fit into any of the major categories. Most of the Miao in Hainan are Yao speakers, and some Miao elsewhere speak only Dong or Chinese.

History and Cultural Relations

Chinese scholarship links the present-day Miao to tribal confederations that moved southward some 2,000 years

ago from the plain between the Yellow River and the Yangtze toward the Dongting Lake area. These became the San Miao mentioned in Han dynasty texts. Over the next thousand years, between the Han and the Song dynasties, these presumed ancestors of the Miao continued to migrate westward and southward, under pressure from expanding Han populations and the imperial armies. Chinese texts and Miao oral history establish that over those years the ancestors settled in western Hunan and Guizhou, with some moving south into Guangxi or west along the Wu River to southeastern Sichuan and into Yunnan. The period was marked by a number of uprisings and battles between Miao and the Han or local indigenous groups, recalled in the oral histories of local groups. Though the term "Miao" was sometimes used in Tang and Song histories, the more usual term was "Man," meaning "barbarians." Migration continued through the Yuan, Ming, and early Qing, with some groups moving into mainland Southeast Asia. The retreat from Han control brought some into territories controlled by the Yi in northeast Yunnan/northwest Guizhou. The various migrations can also be seen as "vertical" migrations into the undeveloped hillside and mountain areas that were of lesser interest to Han. Depending on the terrain, the settled farming cited in Miao historical myths gave way to shifting slash-and-burn agriculture, facilitated by the introduction of the Irish potato and maize in the sixteenth century, and the adoption of high-altitude/cool-weather crops like barley, buckwheat, and oats. Farming was supplemented by forest hunting, fishing, gathering, and pastoralism. During the Qing, uprisings and military encounters escalated. There were major disturbances in western Hunan (1795–1806) and a continuous series of rebellions in Guizhou (1854–1872). Chinese policies toward the Miao shifted among assimilation, containment in "stockaded villages," dispersal, removal, and extermination. The frequent threat of "Miao rebellion" caused considerable anxiety to the state; in actuality, many of these uprisings included Bouyei, Dong, Hui, and other ethnic groups, including Han settlers and demobilized soldiers. At issue were heavy taxation, rising landlordism, rivalries over local resources, and official corruption. One of the last Miao uprisings occurred in 1936 in western Hunan in opposition to Guomindang (Republican) continuation of the *tuntian* system, which forced the peasants to open up new lands and grow crops for the state.

From Song on, in periods of relative peace, government control was exercised through the *tusi* system of indirect rule by appointed native headmen who collected taxes, organized corvée, and kept the peace. Miao filled this role in Hunan and eastern Guizhou, but farther west the rulers were often drawn from a hereditary Yi nobility, a system that lasted into the twentieth century. In Guizhou, some tusi claimed Han ancestry, but were probably drawn from the ranks of assimilated Bouyei, Dong, and Miao. Government documents refer to the "Sheng Miao" (raw Miao), meaning those living in areas beyond government control and not paying taxes or labor service to the state. In the sixteenth century, in the more pacified areas, the implementation of the policy of *gaitu guiliu* began the replacement of native rulers with regular civilian and military officials, a few of whom were drawn from assimilated minority families. Land became a commodity, creating both landlords and some freeholding peasants in the areas affected. In the Yunnan-Guizhou border area, the tusi system continued and Miao purchase of land and participation in local markets was restricted by law until the Republican period (1911–1949).

Throughout the Republican period, the government favored a policy of assimilation for the Miao and strongly discouraged expressions of ethnicity. Southwestern China came under Communist government control by 1951, and Miao participated in land reform, collectivization, and the various national political campaigns. In the autonomous areas created beginning in 1952, the Miao were encouraged to revive and elaborate their costumes, music, and dance, while shedding "superstitious" or "harmful" customs. Some new technology and scientific knowledge was introduced, along with modern medicine and schooling. The Miao suffered considerably during the Cultural Revolution years, when expressions of ethnicity were again discouraged, but since 1979 the Miao have been promoted in the media and the government has encouraged tourism to the Miao areas of eastern and central Guizhou.

Settlements

At higher elevations, as on the plateau straddling Guizhou and Yunnan, settlements are rarely larger than twenty households. An average village in central Guizhou might have 35 or 40 households, while in Qiandongnan villages of 80 to 130 families are common, and a few settlements have close to 1,000 households. Villages are compact, with some cleared space in front of the houses, and footpaths. In some areas houses are of wood, raised off the ground, and with an additional sleeping and storage loft under a thatched or tiled roof. Elsewhere they are single-story buildings made of tamped earth or stone depending on local conditions. Windows are a recent introduction. Animals are now kept in outbuildings; in the past they were sheltered under the raised house or kept inside. Many settlements are marked by a grove of trees, where religious ceremonies are held.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. Economic strategies vary. The Hua Miao were shifting-swidden agriculturalists, growing buckwheat, oats, corn, potatoes, and hemp, and using a simple wooden hand plow or hoe. Sheep and goats were fed on nearby pasture land. Additionally the Hua Miao hunted with crossbow and poisoned arrows and gathered foodstuffs in the forests. In parts of Guizhou, the Miao more closely resembled their Han neighbors in their economic strategies as well as in their technology (the bullock-drawn plow, harrowing, use of animal and human wastes as fertilizer). The Cowrie Shell Miao in central Guizhou were settled farmers growing rice in flooded fields, and also raising millet, wheat, beans, vegetables, and tobacco. Their livestock was limited to barnyard pigs and poultry, with hunting and gathering playing a very minor role. Some of the Black Miao in southeast Guizhou combine intensive irrigated terrace farming of rice with dry-field upland cropping.

Industrial Arts. Women continue to spin and weave cotton, hemp, ramie, and wool for home use, and to produce garments with elaborate batik and embroidered designs that vary by area and dialect and serve as subethnic markers. Complex silver necklaces, bracelets, earrings, and headdresses are a well-developed craft specialty for men and again are closely associated with ethnicity. They are not usually sold outside the local Miao community. Carpenters, basket makers and blacksmiths can be found among some Miao groups.

Trade. No Miao communities are self-sufficient. All depend on the market for pottery, salt, processed foods, and various daily necessities. In Guizhou there is great demand for silver for making jewelry. What the Miao have to sell varies greatly by area. The Hua Miao market wool, hides, sheep and goats, wild game, firewood, and a variety of forest products. The Cowrie Shell Miao market agricultural produce, poultry and pigs, bamboo shoots, and homecrafted grass raincoats and sandals. Different areas have their specialties, such as cattle, horses, bamboo baskets, and herbal medicines. Before 1949, some Miao sold opium, but more often poppy growing and production of raw opium was the required rent for cropland and the profits went to the landlord and middlemen. Very few Miao were full-time merchants or traders.

Division of Labor. Both sexes engage in agriculture, care of livestock, and fishing, and men contribute some labor to domestic chores like cooking, gathering firewood, and child care. Men are expected to do the heaviest work, including plowing. Women sometimes participated on short hunting trips, but trips of several days or several weeks were undertaken by groups of men; hunting trips are now illegal. Labor exchange and cooperation between households was common even before collectivization.

Land Tenure. Prior to the 1950s land reform, some Miao were smallholders. Many, if not most, were tenants on lands owned by Han, Yi, Hui, and others. Few were true landlords, and most who rented out land were likely to work part of their holdings themselves with family labor. All land is now owned by the state, including undeveloped mountain and forest lands, thus limiting any expansion beyond lands officially assigned to an individual or village. In the process, pastoralism and forest hunting/gathering have been reduced. Before land reform, some Miao areas followed the practice of lineage or hamlet ownership of mountain and hillside lands even where some private holdings existed. People could open new lands for farming and settlement, share village pastures, or hunt away from their home area.

Kinship

Generally, Miao have been pressured to take Chinese surnames, which are transmitted patrilineally. Descent is said to be patrilineal, and in some places the Han patrilineage form has been adopted. However, matrilineal kin are important in some areas. In practice, there is strong evidence that the system is bilateral. No serious comparative study of kin terms and lineage organization is yet available, and some of the writings on the subject suggest Miao politeness in telling Han investigators what they want to hear.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Marriages generally require parental consent but are based on mutual attraction and choice. In the past, many communities had "youth houses" where unmarried young people could gather. Groups of young men traveled around to court girls in other villages. In the absence of parental consent, elopement was an alternative. Festivals and trips to periodic markets still provide an opportunity for young people to meet, engage in antiphonal singing and dancing, and establish new friendships. Since the 1950s, travel restrictions and state disapproval of premarital sexual behavior has increased the parental role in marriage arrangement. Marriages are monogamous. Marriage outside the dialect or language group is rare. Divorce and remarriages are permitted. Postmarital residence is usually in the man's home village but only the youngest son lives with his parents after his marriage, and in instances where there are no sons a family may bring in a son-in-law or an aged widow or widower might join her married daughter's household. In some areas, there is delayed transfer of the bride until after the birth of her first child, or the practice of starting out with residence with the bride's family.

Domestic Unit. The two-generation nuclear family is statistically the most common. Relations between spouses, and between parents and children, are more egalitarian than among the Han. Economic, social, and ritual ties are retained with natal kin. Visiting kinsfolk are welcome guests, and may come for extended visits.

Inheritance. At marriage, sons and daughters receive property and assistance in building a new house. Marriage portions previously included livestock as well as household goods, tools, jewelry, and cloth. The youngest son and his descendants inherit the parental house and remaining wealth. A couple without sons will live with a daughter, who stands as heir.

Socialization. Both parents are involved in child rearing. Verbal skills and work skills are valued. Children are expected to assist with work tasks from an early age. Some tasks, such as gathering firewood or caring for livestock, are not gender-linked, and both sexes are encouraged to take responsibility and act independantly. Mothers teach their daughters to spin and weave and to do batik and embroidery, and sons learn hunting skills from their fathers. Since the 1950s, most boys and some girls attend primary school. Relatively few continue on to middle school since this usually involves boarding schools far from their home communities.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Given the long period of Chinese rule, it is not possible to reconstruct precontact organization, though some areas still retain older lineage and clan names. Owing to dispersion, population decimation, and frequent migration, the multisurname settlement seems to be the most common. Villages do not seem to have been formally linked by any kind of tribal organization. There was little class differentiation in the villages, and no formal political structure. Respected knowledgeable elders, heads of family groups, and religious experts of both genders served as informal leaders. Among the more Sinicized,

landlords and those who had some literacy in Chinese exercised power in the community. Under the present system, those who are members of the Communist party stand as the official leaders of the community.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Religious beliefs and activities vary by locale and subethnic identity. The situation is further complicated by partial adoption of elements of folk Daoism and Buddhism, or by conversion to Christianity (as among segments of the White and Flowery Miao). Traditional religious beliefs concern powerful suprahuman forces associated with sacred groves, stones, caves, and other natural phenomena, as well as with bridges and wells. Other protective spirits guard the household and hamlet. The latter are sometimes thought of as dragons. It is believed that at death, the soul divides into three parts, one of which returns to protect the household as an ancestral spirit. There is also concern with evil spirits and with ghosts of those who died bad deaths and who may cause illness and misfortune. Religious beliefs are supported by a complex series of sung or chanted poetic myths, which treat the creation of the universe, the doings of divine beings and culture heroes, and early Miao history.

Religious Practitioners. Most religious ritual is performed or guided by various part-time specialists who act as priests, diviners, or shamans for the local community or for kin groups. Most of them are males. They engage in ordinary work, and only the most important religious activities require them to don special items of dress and decoration to mark them from others. There are no written texts for learning the chants, songs, dances, and rituals: they are memorized. If called by a family, specialists receive a small payment (often in foodstuffs) for their assistance. Shamans play a key role at funerals and postburial rites. They are also involved in analysis and healing of illness: some are skilled in herbal medicine as well as ritual procedures. Shamans also provide explanations of the possible causes of misfortune and can provide protective amulets. Ceremonies on behalf of the village community or a gathering of kin from several villages are conducted by skilled male elders who function as priests, following ritual procedures, administering the necessary animal and food sacrifices, and chanting the songs and myths without going into trance or communicating directly with the supernaturals and spirits. Some ceremonies are led by the male head of household on behalf of his immediate family.

Ceremonies. The calendrical year holds a number of set ceremonies that vary from group to group in content, purpose, and timing. For example, some groups now celebrate the lunar New Year along with their Han neighbors, whereas others celebrate the year's start in the tenth lunar month, following the harvest, and mark it with bullfights and cattle sacrifices. Others mark the New Year with cockfights or sacrifice of pigs and chickens, or intervillage assemblages enlivened by antiphonal singing, dancing, and the playing of the *lusheng*. Among the important festivals found in many (not all) Miao communities are the Dragon Boat Festival, which is synchronic with the Han festivities to a large extent, and the Mountain Flower festivals, which were an important institution for bringing together marriageable young people from different hamlets. The Drum Society festivals are held by dispersed kin groups to honor their ancestors every seven, ten, or twelve years, and are not strictly tied to the calendar. Most festivals involve the lavish offering of animal sacrifices, and for this reason the state has discouraged them.

Arts. The Miao are well known for the complexity, sophistication, and variety of their weaving, embroidery, and brocade and batik work, though little of it is commodified. Their elaborate silver jewelry is also famous. There is a rich heritage of oral literature (myths, history, tales, and songs). The ability to play the lusheng or other instruments and to sing and improvise songs is highly prized. Generally the Miao do not have graphic arts: the absence of god figures or painting of supernatural beings is a deliberate internal marker that differentiates them from Han and some neighboring groups.

Medicine. Aside from the shaman's extensive knowledge, ordinary persons also have some knowledge of plants and other materials that have healing properties. The Chinese invert this by claiming that Miao women engage in magical poisoning (gu), but all evidence suggests this is a Han myth rather than Miao practice. Divination and exorcism of ghosts and evil spirits are also a part of healing.

Death and Afterlife. The human soul is comprised of three parts. After death, one resides at the grave; another must be led safely through the journey to the other world where it rejoins the ancestors, and the third must be led safely back home where it serves as a protective ancestral spirit to the living. Thus, burial and postmortuary rituals require the skills and knowledge of a shaman to lead the mourners in ritual and perform the necessary sequence of ceremonies.

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NORMA DIAMOND

Moinba

ETHNONYMS: none

The 7,475 (1990) Moinba live in southern Tibet, primarily in Medog, Nyingchi, and Cona counties. Their language is a member of the Tibeto-Burman Branch of the Sino-Tibetan Family; the Moinba language has many dialects. Written communication is in Tibetan. The Chinese characters for the name are read "Menba;" which is a Tibetan place name. The people call themselves by a variety of names, which are not specified in written Chinese sources.

Moinba live among Tibetans and intermarry with them. Their wooden houses are two or three stories in height with bamboo or straw roofs.

The subtropical Moinba region is forested and has abundant rainfall. The Moinba grow and eat rice, maize, millet, buckwheat, soybeans, and sesame seeds. They have also adopted some Tibetan dishes, such as roasted barley, buttered tea, and hot, spicy foods. The economy also includes hunting and pastoralism. The Moinba were under monastic-domain feudalism from the fourteenth century until the 1950s.

While most marriages are monogamous, polygyny and polyandry were allowed into the past. Women's status is equal to men's in the household.

The majority of the Moinba are Lamaists, like the Tibetans, though some still maintain the traditional shamanistic religion. The Moinba follow the same religious calendar as the Tibetans. They use water burial, sky burial (burial in a tree), and cremation to dispose of their dead.

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Mongols

ETHNONYMS: Menggu (in Chinese), Monggol (in Mongolian)

Orientation

Identification. Mongols live in a number of different countries. The Siberian Buriats and the Kalmuk Oirats on the Volga reside in the Russian Federation; the Barga, Khiangan, Juu Ud, Khorchin or Jirem, Chakhar, Shiliingol, Alshaa, Ordos, Tumed, Daurs, and a small community of Buriat Mongols live in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region (IMAR), People's Republic of China (PRC); the Oirat (or Deed) Mongols live in Qinghai Province and in the Xinjiang Autonomous Region, PRC; the Khalkha, along with a small population of Buriat and a larger one of Oirats, live in the Mongolian People's Republic (MPR).

Location. The range of Mongolian culture extends from northeastern Manchuria (125° E) westward to eastern Xinjiang (80° E). A north-south geographical projection extends in the south from the Ordos Desert, 37° N, northward to Lake Baikal in Siberia at 53° N. Mongols also live in Qinghai Province and along the lower Volga and Don rivers. There is a small remmant Mongolian community in Yunnan Province in the PRC.

The MPR, nearly four times the size of California, is wedged between Russia, to its north, and Inner Mongolia to the south. Ecologically, Mongols in Central Asia live in a landlocked, arid region. There is, nevertheless, much topographical diversity. In both the MPR and the IMAR there are high mountians; rich, wooded areas with rivers, streams, and lakes; and rolling plains of grass (steppes). The Mongolian plateau is the origin of many important Asian rivers. The Yellow River cuts through northwestern Inner Mongolia. The climate is characterized by warm summers and very cold, dry winters. The climate varies by region. At Ulaanbaatar (in Russian, Ulan Bator), capital of the MPR, the average temperature ranges from 18° C in July to below 0° C in January; whereas in Alshaa County in southwestern Inner Mongolia the temperatures can range from 37.7° C for July to below 0° C for January.

Demography. Mongols constitute 90 percent of the MPR's 1,943,000 total population. In contrast, Mongols constitute only 13.5 percent (2,681,000 Mongols and 60,000 Daurs) of the IMAR's 19,850,000 total population. The population in both regions is expanding. The MPR financially rewards families with six or more children, whereas the PRC, in 1986, restricted urban and peasant Mongolian families to two children. The new policy does not apply to pastoral Mongols.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Mongolian language is similar to other Altaic languages (Turkish, Uigur, Kitan, Jurchen, and Manchu). In the MPR the largest and most important dialect is Khalkha. In the MPR Oirat is the only other main dialect, whereas in the IMAR dialects may be divided into many regions: in the center there is the Chahar-Shiliingol dialect, which is closely related to standard Khalkha; in the northeast Barga and Buriat are spo-

ken; in the southeast the major dialect is Khorchin; in the northwest it is Alshaa; and in the southwest it is the Ordos dialect. The Oirat or Kalmuck dialect is spoken in northwestern Xinjiang, Qinghai, and the western part of the MPR. With the exception of the Daurs, who speak a separate language in northeastern Inner Mongolia, the dialects are more or less mutually intelligible. Historically, the Mongols adopted a Uigur or vertical script under the leadership of Chinggis (Genghis) Khan (1206–1227). In 1946, the MPR formally adopted the Russian Cyrillic alphabet. The Uigur script remains the official script in the IMAR. In the MPR the official language is Mongolian, whereas in the IMAR both Mandarian and Mongolian are the official languages of government publication and documentation.

History and Cultural Relations

Mongols were an insignificant northern tribe until the early thirteenth century. Under the leadership of Chinggis Khan they were transformed into a large nomadic segmentary state. Khubilai (Kublai) Khan established the Yuan dynasty (1260–1368) and shifted the political center of Mongolian power from Karakorum (near Ulan Bator) to northern China (near Beijing). Mongol power declined after the Mongol dynasty in China was overthrown in 1368.

The Manchus, who conquered China in 1644, divided Mongolian territory into the geographical regions of Outer Mongolia and Inner Mongolia. They also reorganized the Mongols into a banner administration system that bound Mongols to a specific locality, thereby effectively curtailing migration. The collapse of the Manchu (or Qing) dynasty in 1911 resulted in the formation of autonomous regions in Outer Mongolia and among the Bargas. As Russia fell into a civil war, China abolished the newly formed regions, and thereby provoked the formation of the first Mongolian political parties. In Feburary 1921 White Russians entered Outer Mongolia and drove out Chinese forces; in July 1921, the Russian Red Army drove out the Whites and installed a "constitutional monarchy." The MPR was officially formed in 1924. Khorloogiin Choibalsan and Sukhbaatar (in Russian, Suke Bator) formed and led the early Revolutionary party, and Choibalsan served from 1939 to 1952 as premier. In the 1930s the Japanese formed a new government (Meng-Jiang) in central Inner Mongolia, headed by the Mongolian prince Demchigdonggrub (Dewang). The Japanese army withdrawal in 1945 enabled Soviet-Mongolian military units to enter Inner Mongolia and Manchuria. It was not until after the Soviets had rejected political unification that the majority of Inner Mongolian leaders agreed to back the Chinese Communist party. The MPR and USSR have several long-term economic and "friendship" agreements. In 1987, the MPR established diplomatic relations with the United States.

The MPR is, ethnically, relatively homogeneous. The Kazaks, who live in the west, are the MPR's largest minority group (4 percent), followed by the Russian and Chinese urbanites (2 percent each). There was considerable resentment of Soviet domination of the MPR. The Soviet Union, however, was also regarded as a useful protector against China, as is its successor, the Russian Federation. Inner Mongolia is an ethnically diverse region. Ethnic relations between Mongols and Han Chinese continue to swing between mild antagonism and overt hostility. Most Mongols in the IMAR regard themselves as citizens of the PRC.

Settlements

The Mongols have always lived in a variety of dwellings: temporary grass shelters, the standard yurt (*ger*) with a wooden latticework frame covered with felt, a permanent dwelling made from adobe brick, and multistory apartment complexes. Because of the fierce north winds, dwellings face the southeast. Today, 51 percent of the MPR's Mongolian population lives in cities, whereas the majority of the IMAR Mongols are farmers. The largest city in the MPR is Ulaanbaatar (population over 500,000). A few other "large" cities with a population of more than 10,000 are Choibalsan, Darkhan, and Erdenet. In the IMAR the three largest cities are Baotou (more than 500,000), Huhhot (491,950), and Wuhai (under 40,000).

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. The Mongols no longer concentrate on raising horses, cattle, camels, sheep, and goats. Instead there is a preference for sheep, which have the highest market value. Mongols continue to hunt a variety of animals: wild antelope, rabbits, pheasants, ducks, foxes, wolves, and marmots. In the mountainous areas they formerly hunted bears, deer, sable, and ermine.

The Mongols have used irrigation and dry-farm methods for centuries. Mongolian peasants grow barley, wheat, oats, corn, buckwheat, millet, potatoes, sugar beets, garlic, cabbage, onions, carrots, sorghum, and fruit trees (especially apples), and raise pigs and sheep. Among herders a typical diet consists primarily of millet, milk tea, dairy products, mutton, *kumiss* (fermented mare's milk) and liquor (*khar arkhi*). Of the total land area in the MPR, about 65 percent is used for pasturage and fodder. In the MPR, most wheat is grown on state farms and fodder on collectives. With only 15 percent of its labor force employed in industry, the MPR relies on imports from the former Soviet Union for most of its industrial goods. The majority of Mongols living in the IMAR are peasants, with smaller numbers of herders and urbanites. The region is economically subsidized by the Chinese state.

Industrial Arts. Historically, Mongolian artisans were honored and respected. They worked in gold, silver, iron, wood, leather, and textiles. Recently the applied arts have increased in importance because of export demands and tourist preference.

Trade. Historically, Mongols supplemented their economy by trade and raiding. They never developed a merchant class. On a regular basis the Mongols traded animals, fur, and hides for grain, tea, silk, cloth, and manufactured items with Chinese and Russian trading companies. The Mongols also traded with each other during the *naadam*, which continues to function in the IMAR as a trade-marriage-entertainment fair. Most trade in the MPR is with the former USSR and eastern Europe, whereas

most trade in the IMAR is either with other Chinese provinces or with the United States and Japan.

Division of Labor. The gender division of labor is complementary. Among herders, women and children milk, churn butter, cook, sew, and perform child-care duties, whereas the men tend the cattle, horses, and camels, collect hay, and hunt wild game and occasionally wolves. Both sexes tend and shear sheep. In agricultural settings, men construct dwellings and plant, irrigate, weed, and harvest the crops, whereas women cook, clean, sew, perform child care, and assist with the planting and harvesting. In urban settings both men and women work for a wage. Women are responsible for most of the household chores and child-care duties.

Land Tenure. In the MPR, collectivization, after failing in the 1920s, was reintroduced in the late 1950s and has remained the predominant mode of production. In China, collectivization was first introduced in the late 1950s. In the early 1980s it was rejected in favor of the responsiblity system, which extended to both farmer and herder long-term contracts to use the land.

Kinship, Marriage, and Family

Kinship. The kinship system (i.e., relations governed by rules of marriage, filiation, and descent) was strongly patrilineal in the past, but its larger units, the clans and lineages, lost many of their functions to the Manchu administrative institutions. Among herders the *ail*, a group of households consisting of kin and nonkin that migrated together, formed a discrete social unit. The functions of the ail included mutual help in times of trouble, common kinship rituals (weddings, hair-cutting rites, funerals, etc.), and economic exchange (payment of marriage expenses). Within urban settings, situational use of kinship ties is preferred over other corporate forms of kinship.

Marriage. Within the domestic cycle, there is more importance placed on marriage than on birth or death. Mongols typically married young: for girls it was at age 13 or 14, for boys a few years later. Today Mongolian peasants marry in their early twenties and immediately start a family. Urban Mongols, especially the college-educated, delay marriage until their late twenties and, sometimes, early thirties. Except for urbanites, there is no dating tradition and marriages continue to be arranged. Premarital sex is common among Mongolian herders in the IMAR. Postmarital residence is almost exclusively patrilocal. Birth control is discouraged in the MPR and encouraged in the IMAR. Among peasants and herders, divorce is rare.

Domestic Unit. Historically, the main kinship groups are the nuclear and extended family and the patronymic group (a group of agnatically related men with their wives and children). Within the MPR collective farm the household remains the basic domestic unit. Among the Mongols in the PRC the primary domestic units are the nuclear and stem family.

Inheritance. Until the seventh century and the establishment of Buddhist estates, "property" was defined only as movable property. Wives in Mongolian society had rights to inherit property. Under Communism that right continues to be guaranteed by law. The eldest son inherited part of the family wealth at the time of his marriage, and the youngest son inherited the remaining family property after both parents had died.

Socialization. Historically, cultural transmission occurred informally between parent and child. The common means of discipline are verbal reprimand and corporal punishment. In the MPR, primary education after the age of eight is free and compulsory. Ten years of schooling are required. Ninety percent of the Mongols in the MPR are literate. In the IMAR most Mongols attend primary school. In urban areas, most attend middle school. Very few Mongols attend college.

Sociopolitical Organization

Mongols, throughout Central Asia, lived under governments that promoted a Marxist-Leninist political philosophy with a single, dominant political party. The MPR, the PRC, and the former USSR had a politburo, the chief policy-making body that follows the directives of the Central Committee. In March 1990 the MPR politburo proposed to give up its monopoly on power in favor of a more democratic constitution. In the 1992 parliamentary elections the former Communist party won by a large margin.

Social Organization. Traditionally, Mongolian society was organized around lay and ecclesiastical social classes. Social worth in the present-day MPR and the IMAR is determined by occupation in the command economy. The introduction of market incentives in the IMAR countryside reduced the influence of minor officials but did not undermine the power of the high-ranking officials.

Political Organization. There were six leagues under the Manchu dynasty, which the MPR reorganized into eighteen provinces (*aimags*) and thirteen municipalites. In the MPR, a new administrative unit, the *sumun*, became the county administrative unit. The banner (*khoshuun*) level, between the province and sumun, was abolished. In Inner Mongolia, the Guomindang continued the traditional banner system. In 1947, the Communists established the IMAR and continued the banner administrative organization.

Social Control. Mongols did not develop a codified legal system until the thirteenth century. The Mongol legal code included categories ranging from religious to criminal law. These codes lasted until the Communist party came to power. The legal codes developed in both the MPR and the IMAR stress collective over individual rights. Everyday affairs are regulated primarily by social censure.

Conflict. Historically, at the heart of the Mongolian-Chinese conflict there has been the question of land use. Throughout much of the early twentieth century, the migration of Chinese peasants pushed the herders into inferior pastureland. This led to periodic conflict. Ethnic conflict is, more or less, a moot issue in the MPR, whereas in the PRC's autonomous regions it is not. The Han Chinese believe the state's affirmative-action policy provides too many benefits. The Mongols argue that state has not provided enough benefits.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs and Practices. Historically, the primary religions of the Mongols were shamanism and animism. Mongols believed that the shaman had the capability of "soul travel" and could cure the sick. In the sixteenth century Lamaist Buddhism incorporated into its cosmology many shamanistic symbols and rites. Under the Manchus Lamaism flourished. Monastic centers were developed. The 1921 Revolution in Outer Mongolia brought an attack on Buddhism as a superstition. During the Cultural Revolution all but two of Inner Mongolia's 2,000 temples and shrines were destroyed. In the MPR the state has restricted the performance of festivals associated with shamanism and Lamaist Buddhism. In the IMAR, however, the oboo-shrine ritual festival continues to be an important community event. The oboos are thought to be inhabited by spirits and deities of localities. In the southwestern Ordos region the Chinggis Khan Memorial continues to draw Mongols from throughout the IMAR. There is also a small community of Mongolian Moslems located in the Alshaa Banner in western IMAR.

Arts. Mongolian culture is noted for its epic poetry and music. Modern Russian folk songs and dances, performed in Mongolian, are popular in both the MPR and the IMAR.

Medicine. Diease and sickness were regarded as the result of evil influences and wrongdoing. The most common diseases were smallpox, typhoid fever, bubonic plague, and syphilis. The Russian and Chinese doctors cured syphilis and reduced the occurrence of the other dieases. Modernization has meant increased access to Western medicial facilities. In the MPR women now give birth in hospitals, whereas in the IMAR herders and farmers continue to give birth in their homes. Longevity has increased in both rural and urban areas, primarily due to hygienic and medical development.

Death and Afterlife. After the introduction of Lamaist Buddhism, Mongols switched from earthen burial to "sky burial"—the body was left on the steppes to be eaten by wild animals. Today "sky burial" continues only in the Ujemchin districts of Shiliingol and among the Oirat (or Deed) Mongols living in the Haixi Prefecture of Qinghai. In other banners and districts, rural Mongols bury the dead in community graveyards. In urban China they are cremated.

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Mulam

ETHNONYMS: Bendiren, Jin, Ling, Mulao, Mulaozu

Most Mulam call themselves "Ling" and a smaller group call themselves "Jin" or "Bendiren" (locals). Ninety percent of the 159,328 Mulam (1990 census) live in the Luocheng Mulao Autonomous County, organized in 1984, in the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region. The remainder are in neighboring counties. Their language belongs to the Dong-Shui Branch of the Zhuang-Dong languages of the Sino-Tibetan Family, and is very close to both Dong and Maonan. Most Mulam are bilingual in the local Chinese dialect, and Chinese is the language of literacy.

Mulam villages are located in the valleys and lower hills. The one-storied mud-walled houses usually consist of a central room with a fire pit, and a sleeping room to each side. Livestock are kept in separate shelters. Villages are usually single-surname and households recognize common ancestry. Agriculture, the main occupation, uses the same plow technology as the neighboring Han and Zhuang. Glutinous rice is a main staple crop, together with maize, wheat, and potatoes. Peanuts, cotton, melons, and a variety of vegetables are also grown. Draft animals include oxen, water buffalo, and sometimes horses. Plowing, transport of manure fertilizer, and threshing are men's work, but women participate in all other aspects of the agricultural cycle as well as being responsible for weaving and household chores. Mulam artisan specialties include blacksmithing and pottery production. Many Mulam are also part-time peddlers. Before 1949, most land was concentrated in the hands of landlords. Tenants paid rent in kind and labor service for tillage rights.

Engagements were family-arranged in childhood, usually with the girl being four or five years older than the boy. There was a preference for marriage to mother's brother's daughter. Engagement and marriage were marked by bride-wealth payments. Marriage ceremonies were held when the girl reached puberty. She remained with her natal family until her first child was born. Till then she was free to join the young men and women who came together for responsive singing, flirtations, and courtships at festival times. Divorce and remarriage were permitted, with little restriction. The two-generation household is the most common unit of residence. Households are under the control of the father, and divide when the sons marry, with only the youngest son remaining with the parents. Daughters could not inherit property, and if there were no sons the property went to a nephew or lineage cousin's son.

Descent is patrilineal. The localized patrilineage was of

key importance in controlling the sale of land and playing a role in arrangement of marriages and divorce. Ceremonies to commemorate ancestors and invoke their aid (Yifan) were held once every three or five years. They included feasting, drinking, dancing, and singing (particularly by the younger participants) and were attended by both sexes. The lineage head was responsible for overseeing the ceremonies at the ancestral hall, accounting for income from lineage landholdings, keeping a genealogy book, settling internal disputes, and enforcing lineage rules of behavior. The state now regulates marriage and divorce and is responsible for enforcing public order. State penetration goes back to at least the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368) when Mulam villages were required to pay grain tribute to the imperial court. During the Qing (1644–1911) the state grouped households into units of ten, with a chief responsible for taxes and public order. Since 1949, collectives, Communist party organizations, and the more recent township organization represent and enforce state policies.

Religious beliefs are rooted in an older animism, merged with and overshadowed since the Sung dynasty by Buddhism, Daoism, and ancestral worship and commemoration. There is continuing belief in the presence of a soul force (*yin*) in a variety of natural phenomena as well as within persons, coexisting with additions from the Chinese pantheon. Indigenous priests (*mubao*) study specialized texts during apprenticeship under established practitioners and are ceremonially ordained at the end of their training. Female shaman/diviners (*baya*) receive their authority through spirit possession. The community is also served by a variety of Daoist priests and other ritual experts from nearby Han settlements. In addition to household altars for the ancestors, hearth god, and earth god, there are many small temples for "outside gods" of Chinese origin. Gods, spirits, ancestors, and ghosts are all thought to be actively concerned with human affairs, and their propitiation or consultation is necessary to assure well-being and prosperity and to deal with illness and other calamities. The spread of education and modern medical care in recent decades has led to some decline in religious activity.

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NORMA DIAMOND

Naxi

ETHNONYMS: Hlikhin, Luxi, Moso, Nakhi, Nari

Orientation

Identification. The Naxi are one of China's fifty-six officially recognized "nationalities." "Naxi" (Nah-shee), meaning "people of the black," is the name most Naxi use for themselves. Prior to 1949, they were most commonly termed "Moso" or "Moso Man," the traditional Chinese labels for the Naxi. The chief exception to this is in the work of Joseph Rock, an American botanist-cum-ethnographer who published widely on "Na-khi" history and religion. Reference searches should include all of these names.

Location. The great majority of Naxi live in a fairly small area in northwestern Yunnan Province, in Lijiang, Weixi, Zhongdian, and Ninglang counties (26° to 28° N and 97° to 99° E). Scattered Naxi settlements are also found in neighboring Sichuan Province. The area is rugged and mountainous, with major peaks reaching over 5,500 meters. Habitation extends between 1,800 and 3,300 meters, the lowest elevations being associated with the deep sinuous gorge of the Golden Sand River (the major tributary to the Yangtze), the region's most prominent geographical feature.

Demography. In 1990 the Naxi population numbered approximately 278,000, of whom more than 60 percent lived in Lijiang County.

Linguistic Affiliation. Naxi belongs to the Tibeto-Burman Branch of the Sino-Tibetan Language Family. Chinese linguists divide Naxi speakers into two dialect groups—a western dialect spoken in the Lijiang area and an eastern dialect centered in the Yongning region of Ninglang County. As the area also includes numerous speakers of the related Yi, Lisu, Pumi, and Tibetan languages, bi- or trilingualism in these languages is fairly common among the Naxi. In addition, many Naxi, especially men, also speak Mandarin (Chinese).

History and Cultural Relations

The Naxi are generally thought to have migrated to their present location from somewhere to the north in eastern Tibet, western Sichuan, or Qinghai Province around the beginning of the common era. Some scholars feel that the Naxi may originally have been related to the Qiang people now inhabiting northwestern Sichuan. Present-day Naxi society and culture have been greatly influenced by more that 1,000 years of continual contact with their regionally dominant neighbors, the Tibetan and Han (Chinese) peoples. During the sixth to twelfth centuries, the Naxi were a part of the powerful Nanzhao and Dali kingdoms centered around Erhai Lake, about 150 kilometers south of Lijiang.

These kingdoms (in succession) maintained close but not always friendly relations with both Tibet and China, and at the height of its power in the latter years of the Chinese Tang dynasty (618–906), the Nanzhao controlled an area that covered much of western Yunnan, southern Sichuan, and into Burma and Tibet. In 1252, the Naxi were conquered by the Mongol armies of Kubilai Khan, the founder of the Chinese Yuan dynasty (1260–1368), and since that time they have been under the political hegemony of the Chinese state. During the Yuan and Ming (1368-1644) dynasties, Chinese rule over many of the ethnic groups in south and west China was exercized indirectly through the use of hereditary "native chiefs" (*tusi*), appointed by the Chinese court. Among the Naxi there were two main chiefly lineages, the Mu lineage in Lijiang and the A lineage in Yongning. Military conflict between China and Tibet in the early eighteenth century led to the permanent replacement of the Mu chief by a regular Chinese magistrate in 1723. Members of the A lineage continued as native chiefs in Yongning until 1957. After their southern neighbors, the Bai, the Naxi are among the most highly Sinicized of Yunnan's ethnic minorities. This holds particularly for Naxi living in the town of Lijiang, for as far back as the Ming dynasty the Mu chiefs made a point of welcoming Han (Chinese) merchants, artisans, scholars, and religious specialists to the area. A similarly conciliatory policy towards Tibet is reflected in the region's several Tibetan lamaseries, most of which were heavily financed by the Mu family.

Settlements

Naxi villages range greatly in size from only a few to more than 200 households (20–1,000 people), with the average somewhere around 40. The area also boasts several towns, the largest being Lijiang with a population of about 25,000. The principal factors influencing settlement size are the availability of cultivable land and water for irrigation. The settlement pattern of most villages is characterized by closely clustered domestic compounds, surrounded by vegetable gardens and orchards and, further out, fields of grain and other staple crops. Domestic compounds consist of walled courtyards enclosing at least two principal buildings, a house and a stable. Traditional Naxi houses are of whole-log construction, with roofs made of slats weighted down by stones. Increasingly, houses of this type are being replaced by Han- and Bai-style houses with wood frames, tamped earth or adobe walls, and tiled roofs. House architecture reflects Naxi views of cosmology, kinship, and gender.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. The Naxi economy varies widely between districts due to the range in elevation, and hence temperature. People in the lowlands grow wet rice and a wide variety of vegetables and raise citrus trees. The highlanders grow mostly wheat, maize, legumes, a more limited variety of vegetables, and temperate fruits (mostly apples and pears). In the highest elevations, even these crops grow poorly, and the people raise mainly potatoes and turnips. The Naxi also depend heavily on pastoral production. This is especially true in the higher elevations where good grass is plentiful and crop yields are low. Goats, sheep, common cattle, and, in the highlands, yak and yak-common cattle hybrids form the bulk of the herds. Woolen- and leather-goods factories operate out of Lijiang. Naxi horses and mules are famous throughout southwestern China and form the basis for two annual trade fairs in Lijiang. Farmyard animals include pigs, oxen, water buffalo, chickens, and ducks. During the last several decades, timber sales to the state have come to occupy a large share of the Naxi external economy. Deforestation is a problem.

Industrial Arts. Most villages support a few individuals with full-time employment as tailors, basket weavers, carpenters, medical personel, shopkeepers, and truck or tractor operators. Some families specialize in raising pigs, chickens, or eggs or sell prepared food products, such as bean curd or cheese. Weaving and knitting are done in the home. The Lijiang area is noted for its copper and brassware.

Division of Labor. Exclusively male activities include herding, plowing, logging, house building, and truck or tractor driving. Spinning, weaving, and knitting are solely female activities. Women do the great bulk of the domestic work, but men sometimes cook and wash clothes, and frequently help with cleaning and child care. Except for plowing, both sexes participate more or less equally in all phases of agricultural production.

Land Tenure. Prior to the 1949 Revolution, land was owned by individual families and divided equally between the sons. Some poorer families rented land, or worked as tenant farmers or agricultural wage labors, but these numbers were not high. As in other parts of China, all land reverted to the state during the land reform period in the early 1950s. People were organized into production teams, brigades, and communes to work the land collectively. In the early 1980s, the "household-responsibility system" was implemented. Under this system land continues to be owned by the state, but people are given individual plots to work, and the household rather than any larger group assumes the responsibility for meeting production quotas (essentially a taxes-in-kind system).

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Naxi kinship and descent is a highly contested subject. Largely on the basis of dialect and kinship differences, contemporary Chinese ethnologists distinguish two "branches" of Naxi, the Lijiang Naxi and the Yongning Naxi. The Lijiang Naxi reckon descent in the patriline and maintain patrilineal descent groups. The same is true of the formerly aristocratic lineages in Yongning, but as a whole the Yongning Naxi uphold an ideal of descent from primordial matriclans, and most commoner households today reckon descent in the matriline. This has led most Chinese ethnologists to designate the Yongning Naxi as a "matriarchal" society which, in accordance with the social evolutionary theories of Lewis Morgan and Friedrich Engels, is in the process of becoming a patrilineal-patriarchal society. Accordingly, the Lijiang Naxi are considered the more evolved branch. This theory remains open to debate.

Kinship Terminology. Traditional Naxi kinship terminology follows the Omaha pattern. The terms for same-sex siblings denote birth order.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Traditional Lijiang Naxi society shows a fairly strong preference for patrilateral cross-cousin marriage (between a man and his father's sister's daughter). Marriages were arranged by the parents, often when the marriage partners were quite young. Nevertheless, young people frequently took as lovers individuals other than their intended spouses. Unable to break their parents' arrangements, such couples not infrequently resorted to joint suicide. Today, although all marriages are in principal freely contracted by the individuals involved, arranged cross-cousin marriage remains fairly common in the remote villages. Residence is generally patri-virilocal and divorce is very rare. In Yongning society, by contrast, many people do not marry formally, but establish variable-term sexual relations with one or more *azhus* ("friends"). In azhu relationships, a man will visit his woman friend at night, and return to his own natal, matrilineal household in the morning. Children born of such unions are generally raised in their mother's house.

Domestic Unit. Lijiang Naxi households are initially comprised of a married couple and their unmarried children. Subsequently, all daughters marry out, while elder sons establish independent households nearby upon marriage. Only the youngest son remains with his parents and brings in a wife. Yongning "matrilineal" households are more extended. The recognized head is usually a senior woman, and an ideal household would include her brothers, her younger sisters, her children, her sisters' children, and her and her sisters' daughters' children. Several other household structures, including some based on virilocal marriage, are also found in Yongning.

Inheritance. In Lijiang, sons divide their parents' property equally upon the marriage of the eldest son. Daughters receive a dowry. In Yongning, property can be inherited in either the matri- or the patriline, depending on household composition and descent reckoning as indicated above.

Socialization. While young children enjoy a great deal of unsupervised play, they begin to help around the house at an early age, and by age 12 or 13 are expected to start working alongside their parents. Boys help with the herding, girls in the garden and around the house, and both sexes work in the production and processing of major crops. About 90 percent of the children attend six years of primary school, and perhaps 40 percent of these continue on to middle school. As sons approach a marriageable age they take on an increasingly important role in the business of the patrilineage, and relations with their fathers tend to become more strained. Young brides often have difficulties in adjusting to life in their husband's household, especially as regards their relationship with their mother-in-law.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. In Lijiang Naxi society, seniors and men are accorded a higher status than juniors and women. This reflects the power held by the *coq-o sso*, the "men of the patrilineage." In running the household, however, women exercise considerable authority, and it is women who manage most of the family-run businesses in Lijiang town. In Yongning, the control of women over the domestic sphere is even greater, but political offices were traditionally occupied only by men.

Political Organization. Naxi political organization in the 1980s does not differ markedly from that in other parts of China. In descending order of rank, the hierarchy of political units is: province, prefecture, county, district, township, and village. At each level above the village there are offices for both government and Communist party officials. Locally, party secretaries often exercise greater authority than their counterparts, the township headmen. Due to the proportion of Naxi living there, Lijiang County holds the status of an "autonomous nationality county." This gives the Naxi a degree of freedom to develop their own policies locally, as well as greater flexibility in implementing policies issuing from higher-level government organs.

Social Control. In resolving disputes the Naxi generally try to avoid using the court system and prefer informal mediation through kin networks. In this, the local patrilineage plays an important role. Traditionally, punishments, in some instances including death, were meted out by patrilineage elders. Today, persistent problems are taken to local officials for mediation before legal alternatives are sought. Gossip is also an important mechanism of behavior modification.

Conflict. Historically, warfare with neighboring ethnic groups was fairly common. Groups of Tibetans, Yi, and Pumi, in particular, often raided the more-settled Naxi. During the Qing dynasty (1644–1912), Naxi units fought with Han troops against the Tibetans on several occasions, and against the Hui in the Muslim uprising in Yunnan during the late nineteenth century.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Most Naxi subscribe to an eclectic mixture of Buddhist, Daoist, and indigenous animist and shamanist beliefs. Traditionally, lamas and priests from the several local Tibetan lamaseries and Chinese Buddhist and Daoist temples were called upon to perform wedding and, especially, funeral ceremonies, along with indigenous Naxi ritual specialists. With the exception of the Yongning Naxi, however, few Naxi have played active roles in these organized religious institutions. In the early eighteenth century, the Naxi of Yongning converted en masse to the Gelug-pa sect of Tibetan Buddhism. The lamasery there is well-supported locally, and many men and women take the religious vows.

The Naxi recognize several thousand deities residing throughout the heavens, purgatory, and the human world. Following generally from the Buddhist and Tibetan Bon traditions, specific gods and demons are often conceived in pairs that represent conflict in the cosmos. Virtually all locations and major geographical features have deities associated with them.

Religious Practitioners. Traditional Naxi religious practitioners include ritual specialists, shamans, and diviners. The ritual specialists (*dobbaqs*) possess a voluminous literature of ritual texts, written in a unique pictographic script that few ordinary Naxi are able to comprehend. No new dobbaqs have been trained in the post-1949 period, and the remaining hundred or so are quite elderly.

Ceremonies. Traditionally, a variety of annual ceremonies were held in connection with critical moments in the agricultural and pastoral cycles. Some centered around individual families and others around larger social groups. The most important ceremony, the Sacrifice to Heaven (Meebiuq), was performed twice annually, in the first and seventh lunar months. Many of these ceremonies have been discontinued since the founding of the People's Republic of China. Many events of the Han ritual calendar are also celebrated.

Arts. While there is a tradition of visual arts associated with the dobbaq and Buddhist religions, the most common art forms are music, singing, and dance. Singing involves not only great technical skill, but a rare ability to improvise poetic verse.

Medicine. In contemporary Naxi society, modern Western medicine coexists with traditional Chinese medicine, Naxi and Han herbal traditions, and a belief system in which disease is ascribed to the influence of malevolent spirits. Diseases of the latter type are cured through exorcism or shamanic "soul-catching" journeys.

Death and Afterlife. Naxi ideas about death incorporate Buddhist notions of reincarnation, Han folk beliefs in the soul and ghosts, and the idea that the soul travels backwards along the road by which one's ancestors came to the present location, eventually to reside eternally with the ancestors in the north. Today, most Naxi follow Han funerary customs and burial procedures, but in some places bodies are still cremated in the manner of the old tradition. Traditional Naxi funeral rites are very elaborate, especially those for persons who have died "unusual" deaths, such as suicide.

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CHARLES F. McKHANN

Nu

ETHNONYMS: A Long, A Nu, A Yia, Nusu, Rourou

Orientation

The Nu live in northwestern Yunnan Province, primarily in Bijiang, Fugong, and Gongshan counties of the Nujiang Lisu Autonomous Prefecture and in the neighboring Deqen Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture. The area is mountainous, with large stands of primary forest, and is rich in timber, wild plants, and game. The valleys are at 800 meters. Climate is temperate to semitropical, with heavy rainfall. Various streams and the Nu River (Salween) cut through the region. Population in the 1990 census was 27,000. Nu speak a Tibeto-Burman language, which divides into three or four distinctive sublanguages. The language spoken in Gongshan County is mutually intelligible with Drung but not with the other Nu languages. Chinese linguists hold that Bijiang speech is close to Yi (Loloish). Some Nu also speak Lisu, Bai, or Chinese. All Nu regard themselves as culturally distinct from these other ethnicities and claim to be the original inhabitants of the area. Despite government assistance, the area remains one of the poorest in Yunnan and in China generally. The state has assisted in building roads and bridges and has expanded the rural school system. All schooling is in Chinese.

History and Cultural Relations

Between the eighth and twelfth centuries the Nu were a part of the Nanzhao Kingdom and the Dali Kingdom, after which they came under control of the Lijiang Mu (Naxi) and Bai *tusi* rule. Neighboring Lisu made frequent incursions into the area, seizing lands and livestock and taking slaves. The Nu were involved in several panethnic uprisings against tusi and imperial control in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In 1935 they joined in a short-lived uprising against the Guomindang (Chinese) Frontier Administration, which controlled the region after 1912. The Nujiang Autonomous Prefecture was established in 1954 and Gongshan was made an autonomous county in 1956.

Settlements

The compact villages average about 150 people, and are far apart. Most are made up of households of a single patriline, though some are multilineage and even multiethnic. Single-story plank wood houses predominate, with a fire pit in the front room, a sleeping room to the rear, and a drying and storage area for grain between the ceiling and the pitched roof. Animals are housed in outbuildings.

Economy

Agriculture is the main occupation and techniques include both slash-and-burn and plow agriculture with a team of draft oxen. Chief crops are buckwheat, barley, maize, oats, and rye, with some small amount of paddy rice where possible. Hemp is grown for clothing, and striped homespun is a distinctive feature of the women's skirts and tunics. Live-

stock include cattle, sheep, and horses, which are pastured in unused fields or in the mountains, and also pigs. Before 1949, pasture, forest, and uncultivated uplands were usually communal property of lineages or villages. Much of the economic work was done cooperatively by households of a localized patriline. Agricultural land was household property, and in some areas could be sold, rented, or worked with hired labor. Landlordism was a problem in the early twentieth century. Some Nu had become bondservants or household slaves to Lisu and Yi overlords in the area. Land was collectivized by the state in the mid-1950s. Both men and women farm. Gathering, cooking, spinning, and weaving are women's work. Manufacture of iron tools, care of livestock, and hunting are men's tasks. Other cottage industries include the brewing of liquor and the fashioning of bamboo and wooden articles. Hunting (with bow and arrow), fishing, and gathering were formerly important supplements to the household economy. Both barter and the marketing of surpluses were employed. Until the 1950s, cattle were a medium of exchange.

Kinship, Marriage, and Family

Marriages are monogamous. The bride joins her husband's village. A new house, land, and livestock are provided for the married couple. The youngest son inherits the parental house and remaining lands and livestock. Marriage to cross cousins was encouraged: it was said that they strengthened ties between households. Marriages to parallel cousins were also frequent, though in most areas they were distant cousins related through a common great-grandfather or more remote ascendant. These marriages are no longer permitted under state law. Marriages were usually parentally arranged during childhood, and initiated by the groom's family with gifts of wine and cattle. The boy and girl's agreement was required and the marriage took place when they were in their late teens. However, unmarried youth were free to interact and court, which resulted in "elopement marriages" or "stealing the bride." These marriages required the consent of the groom's family and spared them most of the bride-price costs. In some cases, the couple resided with the girl's family until the birth of the first child. Levirate marriage was encouraged but not mandatory. After several decades of a harmonious marriage a couple will hold a *dimuwa* ceremony to which relatives, friends, and neighbors are invited. At the feast, the couple dress as bride and groom, reenact the marriage ceremonies and are presented with gifts by the guests. Only males could inherit land and livestock, but women's wealth took the form of silver, coral, cornelian, and turquoise jewelry, which were gifts from her parents or husband.

The nuclear family household is the basic unit, and in the past worked together with some ten or twelve closely related households. Under the new socialist government, collectives based on kin ties were discouraged. Above the localized lineage branch is the clan, which has a totemic name drawn from the Nu origin myths, a genealogy going back thirty to forty generations, and its own rituals for the ancestors. Hunting or eating one's totemic animal is forbidden. Community leadership was under the direction of a respected elder male, chosen for his intelligence, ability, and moral standing, who settled internal disputes and represented the community to the outside world. In villages comprised solely of kin he also served as a healer, diviner, shaman, and director of religious rites; in multilineage villages these roles were separated. Women had no public voice in community matters and did not participate in the rituals of their husband's lineage. Chinese sources are vague about women's roles in their natal lineages. Since the 1950s, political criteria have been the main determinants of official leadership at the village, township, and county levels, and religious leaders are discouraged.

Religion

Religion centered on the worship of natural forces and exorcism of ghosts and evil spirits. Separate rituals were held by each of the ten or twelve clans. Other rituals concerned community well-being or healing. Able religious leaders spoke Yi, Lisu, and Bai in order to address the spirit-forces of those groups who might be causing illness or other difficulties. Due to the presence of Tibetan Buddhism in the area, some Nu became followers and sent sons to join the lamasaries, where they became literate in Tibetan. Beginning in the late nineteenth century, and particularly from the 1930s on, many of the Nu responded to foreign missionaries and became Catholics or Protestants. In some areas, 60 percent of the population were Christian in the early 1950s. The missionaries introduced modern medical care and opened village schools with Chinese as the classroom language.

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NORMA DIAMOND

Oroqen

ETHNONYMS: none

Orientation

The Oroqen are one of the fifty-five officially recognized ethnic minorities of the People's Republic of China. They are found in Heilongjiang Province (Huma, Xunke, Aihui, and Jiayin counties) and the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region (mainly in Hulun Buir League). Their language, which belongs to the Tungus Branch of the Manchu-Tungus Family of Altaic languages, has no script. "Oroqen" means "mountain people" or "reindeer herders"; both are accurate descriptions of their environment and traditional way of life. Roving in the Greater and Lesser Hinggan mountains during long cold winters and greatly abbreviated summers, they are known as excellent hunters. According to the 1990 census, the Oroqen population stands at 6,965.

History and Cultural Relations

Originally Oroqen lived between the Outer Hinggan Mountains to the north and the Heilong (Amur) River to the south. Together with Ewenkis and Daurs they were historically termed the "Sulun Tribes." To escape czarist Russian invasion and plunder, they crossed the Heilong River and came to their present habitat in the middle of the seventeenth century. During the Qing dynasty under Manchu rulers, they were divided into Horse-Riding Oroqens and Foot Oroqens, with the former incorporated into the Eight-Banner System serving as soldiers, and the latter still hunting to provide precious marten fur to the Qing court. After 1911 warlords recruited Oroqen youth and organized the so-called forest guerrillas. The rest were forced to settle as agriculturalists. The invading Japanese disbanded them in 1931 and drove them into the forest again, with their youth conscripted to form what the Japanese called the "forest detachment." The Japanese introduced opium and sometimes used the Oroqen as guinea pigs for bacterial experiments. The Oroqen population declined drastically, and at the time of Japanese surrender in 1945, barely 1,000 were left. In 1951 the Oroqen Autonomous Banner and several ethnic Oroqen xiangs (local government units comprising several villages each) were established, and the Oroqen people began to be incorporated into the national life of the People's Republic. Besides their principal economic life as hunters and agriculturists, they also serve as forest-fire fighters, being well known for their bravery and dedication.

Settlements

Traditional Oroqen dwellings are tents constructed of some thirty long poles standing in a circle and tied together at the top, somewhat like Native-American tipis. They are covered with animal skins in winter and birch bark in summer. At the center of the tent is the fireplace for warmth and cooking. These conical dwellings often stand in a single line or form an arch below a mountain slope near a river.

After the 1950s most tents were replaced by houses built with bricks and tiles provided by the local government, as the people were encouraged to settle down for agriculture.

Economy

The Oroqen were hunters who also engaged in some fishing and collecting. Hunting dogs were indispensable. Sturdy and large-hoofed horses obtained from the Manchus and Mongols were the principal transport and source of hunting mobility. Use of shotguns enhanced their hunting activities and later led to their excellent marksmanship. They hunted throughout the year, with different purposes in different seasons: in May and June for antlers, in September for venison and male organs of the deer, and after snowfall for furs.

Collective hunting was normally organized within traditional regional communes called *wulilengs*. Hunting groups of three to five hunters, called *anag*, were formed under the leadership of a *tatanda*, who was usually the most senior member in the group, with rich hunting experience. Meat was divided equally among the participating hunters with portions reserved for the aged, sick, and disabled. The head, internal organs, and bones with little meat were cooked and shared by all wulileng members. Anags were temporary and disbanded at the end of each hunting expedition.

Both genders could hunt and fish, though normally these activities were pursued by men. Young women were trained in tanning, drying meat, collecting, and needlework. The Oroqen are excellent tanners and make handsome leather works. Their embroidery is known for its delicate and exquisite designs. They also make beautiful basins, bowls, boxes, and other containers out of birch bark, with bird, animal, and flower designs. The Oroqen came into contact with the neighboring Daurs, Ewenkis, Mongols, Manchus, and Han quite early. They provided the Qing court with fur, leather, and other forest products as tribute and in return received food grain, cloth, and implements as rewards. Later, their trade with the outside was monopolized by Oroqen officials known as *andas*. In recent years, under China's social reform and economic development policy, the Oroqen economy has been diversified, agriculture and forest-based industry have changed the previous hunting economy, and the Oroqen are becoming more and more integrated into the regional and national economic system. Cultural changes are profound.

Kinship and Sociopolitical Organization

Until the middle of the seventeenth century the Oroqen were organized into seven exogamous clans, called *mokuns*. A *mokunda*, the head of a clan, enjoyed high respect and authority. Decisions were made by consensus. Later, to provide marriage partners, new clans evidently split off following solemn religious ceremonies. These clans developed into wulilengs, meaning "offsprings," comprised of patrilineal families. Wulilengs were basic economic units, each managed by a democratically elected tatanda. Use of iron

implements, horses, and shotguns soon changed Oroqen social organization, with nuclear families replacing wulilengs as the basic economic unit. Each family was free to join or leave a wulileng, and the title of tatanda was only used for hunting leaders.

Marriage and Family

The Oroqen are monogamous. Marriage was traditionally arranged by the parents, with the bridegroom's family paying a bride-price in horses. Before marriage it was arranged for the betrothed to sleep together on the occasion of the marriage contract and the gift-giving ceremonies. The nuptial night was spent in the house of the bride's parents, and the couple went to live with the bridegroom's clan after that. Divorce was not common. After the death of the husband, the widow had to remain unmarried for for at least three years. If a son had been born, she was required to remain a widow all her life. Property was passed down through the male line; a divorced woman was not allowed to take even the dowry she brought from her own parents.

Religion and Expressive Culture

The Oroqen were animists. They worshiped many natural objects and elements with shamans acting as messengers between human beings and gods. Shamans were those who had experienced prolonged illness. Though Oroqens hunted bears, tigers, and wolves, they never dared to mention these animal names as they also would not mention the names of their own ancestors. They called tiger "old man" or "great grandfather" (*wutaqi*) and bear "grandfather," "grandmother," or "maternal uncle" (*yatai*, *taitie*, and *amaha* respectively). They held rituals asking for forgiveness before they ate the meat of the bear, and carried out a formal burial for it. Among the gods they worshiped were the mountain god who ensured successful hunting, the fire goddess who provided warmth, and others such as the rain god, thunder god, sun god, moon god, etc. Behind their tents, they hung birch boxes containing their gods, which were not to be touched by women. Women should avoid going behind the tent altogether. In childbirth, a woman had to stay in a small hut built specially for the purpose.

There were many taboos in Oroqen life. They never made specific plans for hunting, believing that animals had the power to detect such schemes. Every year each family held rituals to worship the fire god, offering meat and wine, and at the same time offering prayers for happiness. During the New Year, guests would bring their own meat and wine, and began their visit by worshiping the fire god with the host family. Ancestor worship formed a part of their belief system. Wind burial was practiced, in which the deceased was placed in a hollowed tree trunk suspended on tree studs 1.5 meters from the ground. If the coffin did not fall to the ground within three years, a special ritual was held to redeem the sins of the dead, so that, like others, he or she would be recalled by the sun god to heaven and become a star.

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LIU XINGWU

Pumi

ETHNONYMS: Pei Er Mi, Peimi, Primi, Xifan

The 29,657 (1990) Pumi live primarily in Lijiang Prefecture and the Nujiang area in northwestern Yunnan Province; a few live in two counties in Sichuan Province. They are mountain people, occupying elevations as high as 2,600 meters. The Pumi language is a member of the Tibeto-Burman Branch of the Sino-Tibetan Language Family. There is much use of Han for written communication. "Pumi" is the name they agreed on for themselves in 1960. Prior to that, they were classified as Qiang. In Chinese texts Pumi were formerly called "Xifan" (Western barbarians). Names in self-use also include "Pei Er Mi" or "Peimi" (whites).

History and legend both indicate that the Pumi people long ago were migratory inhabitants of the Qinghai-Tibet Plateau. They subsequently moved south to the Hengduan Mountains. As they settled, agriculture became of more importance than the raising of livestock.

The Pumi build their villages 500 meters or more apart, on the gentler slopes. Pumi construct two-story houses out of wood; the ground floor is used to house livestock, and the upper floor is living space.

The Pumi staple food is corn, but they also raise rice, wheat, barley, beans, oats, highland barley, buckwheat, Chinese cabbage, carrots, eggplant, and melons. They also practice animal husbandry, raising cattle, sheep, pigs, poultry, and bees. A favorite meat dish is salt pork wrapped in pork skin. The Pumi make wool sweaters, linen, bamboo goods, liquor, lacquered wooden bowls, charcoal, and herbal medicines. Prior to 1950 Pumi society was stratified,

with landlord and rich-peasant families dominating in some areas; 30 percent or more of households worked as tenant farmers. In some areas, the landlords were Naxi. Domestic slavery was also common, particularly in Ninglang County. Some lands were owned by Naxi hereditary *tusi* until well into the twentieth century.

The Pumi were traditionally organized into exogamous clans. Clan members frequently ate together, and disputes were settled by clan patriarchs. Among some Pumi groups, each clan had its own cave to hold the ashes of its deceased members.

Marriages were traditionally arranged by parents, and marriage to cross cousins was preferred. Polygamy was permitted. Only men could inherit property; the parents' house usually went to the youngest son. Postmarital residence is still usually patrilocal. In some areas there are delayed-transfer marriages (bride-price paid only after the wife becomes pregnant or has her first child), and since those in Yongning are influenced by Naxi there is also some following of the Naxi marriage pattern (women stay in their natal families, and the lover visits them there).

The Pumi religion is Lamaism, although there is still considerable belief in traditional spirits and concern with a non-Buddhist array of supernaturals, ancestors, and household tutelary spirits. Holiday activities include sacrifices to the "God of the Kitchen," feasting, bonfires, horse races, shooting contests, and wrestling.

The Communist Revolution has brought schools, health facilities, and new industries, including ironworking and bauxite and salt mining. As a result of irrigation projects, terraced fields have gradually replaced earlier techniques of dry-land and slash-and-burn farming.

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Qiang

ETHNONYMS: Di, Manzi, Rong, Rma, "Stone Tower" Culture; Subgroups: Baima, Ersu, Jiarong, Muya, Muyami, Namuyi, Pumi, Qiang (including Heisuhui Qiang and Boluozu)

Orientation

Identification. This article is concerned with the distinctive culture shared by speakers of languages belonging to the Qiang Language Branch (QLB) of the Sino-Tibetan Language Family, including, but not limited to, the Qiang of northwestern Sichuan, one of China's officially recognized minority nationalities or *minzu*, and concentrating on two groups in particular, the Qiang and their Jiarong neighbors. Historically, the term "Qiang" has been used to refer to a number of groups (including Tibetans), usually characterized as acephalous, warlike, and matrilineal and/or matriarchal, who inhabited extensive areas on China's western frontier. Today's Qiang were given that name (they call themselves the "Rma") because of supposed cultural affinities and historical ties with the historical group. Self-identity, in the sense of being a minzu, is foreign to most of these peoples, an exception being the Qiang themselves. Most QLB speakers, including Jiarong, are officially classified as Tibetan, an artifact of the "United Front" period following Liberation (1949), when the new government was anxious to enlist the support of the Tibetanized ruling class. Today, the idea of being a minzu is taking hold. In 1960 the Pumi were recognized as a separate minzu, and now other groups are asking for similar recognition.

Location. Speakers of QLB languages are found in the mountain corridor separating the Tibetan highlands from the Chinese lowlands to the east. They are distributed in an arc stretching from Nanping in northwestern Sichuan Province (34° N and 105° E) to Lijiang in northern Yunnan Province (27° N and 101° E). The Qiang are situated on the eastern edge of the corridor, while the Jiarong are located to their west, both groups being distributed between 30° and 32.5° N. The distribution of QLB speakers was probably continuous in the past, although groups are now frequently separated by intrusions of Han Chinese, Yi, and Tibetans.

The mountain corridor is a section of the Central Asian plateau that has been deeply dissected by river valleys. Because rivers cut deeper as they approach the lowlands, valley walls tend to be steeper and the relative height of mountains greater in areas adjacent to the lowlands, while higher areas to the west have more gentle slopes. In most areas, the mountain tops tend to be relatively level. Rainfall is plentiful at higher elevations, whereas lower slopes are semiarid and fields below 1,500 meters usually require irrigation. Middle elevations (above 2,500 meters) are forested, and wet meadows cover slopes above treeline; together, forest and high pasture cover about 90 percent of the area. At lower elevations the climate is mild, double cropping being possible below about 2,000 meters.

Demography. Today, there are more than 550,000 speakers of QLB languages, the largest group being the Qiang themselves, with an estimated population of 220,000. In Maowen Xian, where the Qiang comprise over 78 percent of the population, their average density is about 23 square kilometers (effective concentrations being much

higher). The Jiarong, who comprise the second largest group with a population of 180,000, have a much lower population density (about 4 square kilometers). Population growth is rapid (4.2 percent per year for the Qiang, compared with 2.1 percent for China as a whole). Population planning is enforced (a limit of 2 children per family being typical), although most families are willing and able to pay the fines imposed for additional children. In the past, the area suffered from endemic population decline; the population of some areas had fallen by well over 50 percent in the 200 years prior to Liberation, apparently a result of high levels of internal warfare. Mechanisms of recruitment (e.g., raiding the lowland for slaves or migration from the plateau) may have been necessary to maintain the population. Individual mobility is high, especially among males.

Linguistic Affiliation. QLB languages were once considered archaic dialects of Tibetan; today there is an emerging consensus that they should be considered a separate branch of the Tibeto-Burmese Family. There is some dispute as to which languages should be included in this group; this is to be expected, given the complex history of the area and degree of linguistic diversity. QLB languages are basically monosyllabic, although complex words may be built through affixation. Tones exist, but are often not phonemic. QLB languages are more complex than Tibetan languages; some Qiang dialects have 42 or more simple consonants (occurring in clusters of 2 and 3) and 30 simple vowels. Affixation is used with verbs to express person, number, and tense, and pronouns may display case. QLB languages make liberal use of directional prefixes, each utterance tending to fix the position of the speaker with regard to his or her audience. No Qiang language has a true written script, although in several areas simple pictographs are found in conjunction with the shamanic tradition. Tibetan or Chinese is used for written communication, although in 1989 an initiative was begun, at the insistence of the Qiang people, to create a written script for their minzu. Surprisingly, it is the Qiang who are most in danger of losing their language; today most speak Chinese at home.

History and Cultural Relations

The Zhou, who unified China in the twelfth century B.C., themselves came from the western plains at the foot of the mountains; their earliest records identify the Qiang as close allies with whom they may have exchanged women. During this period of early contact, the culture of the lowlands and mountains appears to have been relatively undifferentiated. It was not until the sixth century B.C., with the rise of intensive agriculture in the east, that the two cultures began to diverge. The Qiang gave way before the Chinese; subsequent records tell of mass migrations from the original points of contact in Gansu south through the mountain corridor. There are accounts of Qiang states in the western part of the corridor during the fifth and sixth centuries; these were overrun with the rise of the Tibetan Empire in the eighth century and were replaced with Tibetanized states. The passage of Mongol armies through the area in the thirteenth century resulted in the *tusi* system. Under this system, local sovereigns (called "tusi" in Chinese) were given charters in return for nominal recognition of imperial authority. Eventually, this system spread through most of the corridor as less powerful headmen, often brought in from other minority areas, were given charters of their own. Beginning in the eighteenth century, some of the tusi were deposed in an attempt to bring the area under Chinese control. Most Qiang areas were under direct government control by the end of the nineteenth century. However, most states in the Jiarong area managed to maintain their autonomy until Liberation. Other areas, including areas inhabited by Jiarong and Qiang under Jiarong headmen, were able to retain varying degrees of autonomy.

Settlements

Most QLB peoples live in flat-roofed, multistory dwellings built of unwrought stone. The ground floor is reserved for livestock and the collection of compost, while the second story, which contains the hearth, functions as the main living/sleeping space. The hearth, a square section in the middle of the floor equipped with a three-legged cooking frame, is sacred, and is associated with a rigid seating order. The third story contains a large open area used as a threshing ground and meeting place; it usually also contains storage rooms, extra sleeping quarters, and an altar. There are no chimneys. Smoke from the hearth escapes through a hole in the roof. In Qiang settlements, which are fairly typical of areas on the eastern rim of the corridor, houses are built in close defensive groups on the mountainsides, often in conjunction with stone towers 30–50 meters high. Villages vary considerably in size, averaging around twenty households; they may occur in clusters of two or three, surrounded by fields. Separate clusters are distributed at intervals of 1.5 to 2 kilometers along the valley walls below treeline, frequently above steep cliffs, with valley bottoms often being relegated to Han Chinese settlements. Jiarong villages are higher (2,000–3,400 meters), more widely separated, larger, and more diffuse, often stretching from the valley bottoms up the slopes. Houses may be separate and are sometimes clustered in small, named neighborhoods of three to eight households. Jiarong villages typically contain a fortress with tower and a Lamaist temple.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. Subsistence is based on hillside agriculture supplemented by pastoralism, hunting, and gathering. Fields are sometimes terraced, but often are not. The plow, drawn by a double team of cattle, is widely used, although hoe agriculture is found in some areas. Fields are fertilized by animal manure and compost. Swidden agriculture is used on marginal land. Principal crops include barley, buckwheat, potatoes, and beans. In areas below 2,000 meters, maize has replaced barley as the main staple. Today, apples, walnuts, pepper, and rapeseed have replaced opium as the main cash crops. Other sources of cash include cutting firewood and digging medicinal herbs on the mountain tops. The area is cash-rich; an enterprising youth can earn more in one summer by digging herbs than a worker in the city can in one year. These sources of income are important because many areas must import food.

Industrial Arts. Traditionally, crafts such as carpentry and blacksmithing were done by Han Chinese. Locals also tend to hire itinerant Han Chinese for odd jobs.

Trade. Trade was traditionally managed by Han Chinese living in the valley bottoms, or by itinerant Hui peddlers. Today truck driving has become the occupation of choice for local men, whereas in some areas women may open up shops.

Division of Labor. The separateness of male and female realms is symbolized by formal segregation of the sexes in seating order, ritual, and sometimes even sleeping arrangements. Women are primarily responsible for the family's livelihood and frequently do most of the agricultural work, while men are responsible for warfare, plowing, housebuilding, and transport. Men monopolize spiritual pursuits, although women may have been shamans in the past. Despite this separation of roles, men and women share many everyday tasks, including housekeeping, cooking, and child rearing. In general, men and women share both power and prestige, exercised in different realms.

Land Tenure. Rights to pasture are associated with the community, houses with the family unit, fields and cattle with individuals. Emphasis on the individual is balanced by a strong sense of community; fields are tilled and houses built by groups of neighbors and kin. Under the tusi system, all land was owned by the local ruler; individuals were given the right to use, inherit, and rent land, but not to sell it. In return they handed over up to 50 percent of their crops. In 1958 all individual rights to land were abolished and communities were organized into production teams. Land was redistributed, rights to use the commune's land being given in exchange for payment of light taxes. Previously, swidden fields fell outside the tusi system. Today, swidden fields still fall outside the system and are not taxed. Because of this and because of incentives under the "responsibility system," swidden agriculture is undergoing a revival.

Kinship, Marriage, and Family

Kin Groups and Descent. Villages, or clusters of villages, are largely endogamous groups of close kin who may sometimes think of themselves as descendants (*rus*) of a common male or female ancestor. Exchanges of kin between villages may also occur, especially in the case of wealthier families. There are no lineages, even among elites; house names provide a sense of family continuity, although they may not be passed on to children leaving home. In a few QLB areas, personal names incorporate part of the name of the father or mother. Today many people (including virtually all of the Qiang in areas like Mauwen) have adopted Han surnames.

Kinship Terminology. Kinship terms reflect generation and sex, and with the exception of terms for key individuals (father, mother, mother's brother) are extended to all members of the community. In some areas, cousin terms reflect age level but not sex.

Marriage. Ties between men and women are weak, while sibling solidarity is strong. Romantic love is important and there is considerable sexual freedom. There are few rules; people tend not to have relationships with close neighbors/kin, although unions of siblings sometimes occur. Marriage, in the sense of a discrete event marking an individual's passage from one household to another, does not exist. A gradual transition may begin with a young man performing bride-service, dividing his residence between two households. A ritual may eventually be held to formalize this relationship, although the living arrangement remains unchanged. After there have been one or more children, the man may move in with his new family, although he continues to have rights in his natal household. The transition is not complete until he dies and his new family agrees to bury his ashes with their ancestors. There are several variations; the period of bride-service may be prolonged indefinitely (as in the *azhu* system of the Naxi), or a young woman may come to perform groom-service, or a family may resort to bride-theft (with prior consent of all parties). The ceremony, if held, has strong communal overtones; payment of token bride-wealth or groom-wealth is made, if possible, between representatives of neighborhoods or communities, not families. Today old traditions are changing rapidly, partly because of laws requiring registration of households and sanctions against unmarried parents, and partly because people are encouraged to view these old customs as backward. In many (especially Qiang) areas Han marriage customs have been adopted along with patrilineal ideology. In these areas there may still be a high frequency of uxorilocal marriage, and arranged marriage may lead to love suicide. The tradition of delaying the change of residence until a year or more after marriage is often preserved, along with rights in the natal family.

Domestic Unit. The domestic unit centers around a woman and her children, men being viewed as somewhat peripheral. Households consist of one such unit, although units associated with siblings may share a single household before one takes up neolocal residence. Polygamy within the household is not found, although men may have relationships with more than one family. Both the sororate and the levirate are practiced.

Inheritance. In many areas land and cattle are divided equally among all members of the family, including those leaving home. Individuals taking up residence are expected to bring rights to land and cattle with them (thus family fields are widely dispersed). An heir, often a younger child, is selected while the parents are still living. At this time, the authority of parents is diminished and they may leave to set up a neolocal residence or take up residence with an older child. In "patrilineal" areas, fields may end up being inherited with the house.

Socialization. Responsibility for child care is shared by all members of the family unit; if a woman moves out after bearing children, her children often remain behind in their natal home. Children are assigned simple tasks at an early age. Emphasis is placed on independence and self-reliance and physical punishment is rare.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. The mountain corridor has been associated with matriarchy since the time of the Zhou. Before 1949 the area did have a high percentage of female rulers, at least partly because of the expendability of male

elites. However, the classical pattern involves the sharing of power between male and female rulers, with women managing internal affairs while men took care of "foreign relations." In some areas, power was sometimes passed from mother to daughter. This power was, however, always shared with sons and consorts. QLB society has strongly egalitarian undercurrents, lacking native terms relating to government and class. Even under the tusi system, which was characterized by a hierarchy of strictly endogamous classes (including serfs and slaves), over 90 percent of the people were free farmers, owing, besides taxes for land use, only occasional military service and corvée. There was, however, a tendency to form unequal, binary relationships between communities (e.g., in some Qiang villages "black" villages are subservient to "white" villages, and among the Boluozu in Songpan Xian, "goat-head" villages are subservient to "yak-head" villages).

Political Organization. Prior to Liberation three types of organization were found: (1) autonomous Tibetanized states headed by tusi, (2) local areas ruled by less powerful headmen under the tusi system, and (3) the *baojia* system. The baojia system, found in areas under the direct control of the Chinese government, was designed for defense and extraction of taxes; other functions of government were often left to the people.

Social Control. In areas under the control of tusi or strong headmen, labor was allocated and disputes were settled by a resident elite who represented the lowest level of a hierarchy of nobility. In other areas, disputes were mediated by groups of kin or de facto headmen. In all areas fear of the blood feud was an important factor in social control. Parties to disputes often left the community to seek refuge elsewhere; this constrained the behavior of rulers who had to be concerned with recruiting and maintaining personnel. Today's system replicates some aspects of the tusi system, although the lowest levels of the party and state hierarchy are chosen democratically. A tradition of public debate seems to have been revived under the new system.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. The area is characterized by shamanism and animistic beliefs. White stones are found on rooftops and altars throughout the corridor. In some areas, this practice has been elaborated into what has been called the "White Stone Religion." Elements of Chinese Buddhism and Daoism are found in many areas; other areas, especially those under the control of Tibetanized rulers, have been strongly influenced by Tibetan Lamaism. Many spirits are recognized, although the spirit of heaven is especially revered. There are many myths, which trace the origin of mankind to the union of a daughter of the heaven god (or goddess) with an earthly man/monkey.

Religious Practitioners. In many areas there is a distinctive and highly systematized tradition of shamanism associated with goatskin drums and the recitation of long oral texts. These specialists may also compete with Buddhist and Daoist practitioners. In Lamaist areas, monasticism is relatively unimportant; among the Jiarong, lay priests (*tekben*) account for less than 10 percent of the adult male population. These individuals, who usually have no monastic training, are able to read scriptures and perform simple rituals.

Ceremonies. Major ceremonies are held, often three times a year, in sacred groves or pastures located above the villages. These usually start with the burning of juniper branches and the invocation of spirits, and may include blood sacrifice. These ceremonies often end in camp-fire outings, which are the scene of trysts. In some areas a springtime agricultural festival was attended only by women. Mountain people show great respect for the supernatural world; in many areas, juniper branches are burned daily on rooftop altars. Once suppressed, religion is experiencing a revival; in Li Xian, a Buddhist cult started by Qiang is starting to attract pilgrims from the lowlands.

Arts. Circular dances accompanied by exchanges of song between men and women are found, and the exchange of "mountain songs" is an important part of courtship. The mouth harp is traditionally played by women to serenade their lovers, while in some areas men play a double-barreled "Qiang flute." The best-known handicraft is embroidery, usually in the form of intricately patterned waistbands and cloth shoes.

Medicine. Illness is attributed to spirits, and is treated by exorcism and/or reading of scriptures. Traditional Chinese and Tibetan medicine is also used.

Death and Afterlife. After death, the body is kept in the house for several days of mourning, after which it is removed, sometimes through a hole in the wall opposite the door. QLB people traditionally cremate the dead, burying their ashes in communal plots or placing them in caves. Bodies of children or people who die away from home are not mourned, but thrown into rivers. Earth burial is becoming popular in some (especially Qiang) areas, cremation being reserved for inauspicious deaths. Traditional beliefs about afterlife are unclear, although the spirits of ancestors are sometimes invoked.

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GERALD A. HUNTLEY

Salar

ETHNONYM: Sala

About 70 percent of the 87,697 (1990) Salar people live in Xunhua Salar Autonomous County, Qinghai Province. Most of the remainder live in Hualong County, Qinghai Province, and in Linxia County, Gansu Province. The Salar language belongs to the Turkic Branch of the Altaic Language Family and is closely related to Uigur and Uzbek. Salar is an unwritten language; since the Communist Revolution, the Salar have learned Han and use it in written communication. The Salar appear to be descendants of a Turkmen tribe originating in the Samarkand area. The Salar were under Mongol domination in the thirteenth century and were somewhat less restricted under the Ming dynasty. They revolted against the Qing dynasty, but were defeated in 1781 with considerable casualties.

The largest units of Salar society are the villages, each with its own mosques and cemeteries. The Salar build adobe-walled courtyards around their often two-story adobe houses. Within the courtyards they plant fruit trees, a practice that is apparently a survival from their earlier Samarkand roots, where it also continues.

The mainstay of the Salar economy is agriculture. They produce wheat, highland barley, buckwheat, potatoes, walnuts, vegetables, and fruits such as melons, apples, grapes, and apricots. The basic diet is steamed buns, noodles, and vegetable soup. The Salar also raise sheep for wool and for mutton and many work as lumberjacks.

Traditionally, Salar parents picked their children's mates, using a matchmaker in negotiations. A bride-price of between one and four horses, along with cloth and sugar, was usual. The wedding ceremony took place outside of the bride's house, with the bride herself listening to the ceremony from inside the house. The wedding was conducted by the village *ahung* (Muslim priest). The bride then went to live with her husband's family. Divorce was solely the prerogative of the husband, who had only to say "I don't want you any longer," to send his wife from the house. No woman could divorce her husband; if she left him without his consent, she could not remarry.

The Salar are devout Hafani Muslims; they converted in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The Salar have participated in several Muslim revolts since then. The national government removed the clergy (mullahs) in 1958; religious activity, forbidden during the Cultural Revolution, has revived since 1980. The government has also prohibited the practice of polygyny.

The deceased are buried in cemeteries without coffins. Relatives toss money, tea leaves, salt, and other goods into the grave. There is a funeral feast three days after burial.

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She

ETHNONYMS: Shanda, Shanha, Shemin, Yu

Orientation

Identification. The She are one of China's officially recognized national minorities. Lacking any written language, She traditionally have relied on songs and tales to encode their identity and to preserve their historical experience. Their most important legend, "The Song of Emperor Gao Xin," provides a myth establishing their social origins. In ancient times, a man named Pan Hu acquired the right to marry the third daughter of Emperor Gao Xin for helping the sovereign to defeat a strong enemy. The princess bore three sons and a daughter. The first son, placed on a tray when he was born, was given the surname Pan (tray, plate); the second son, after being put into a basket upon birth, was named Lan (basket); and the third son, because thunder sounded as he was being born, was called Lei

(thunder). The daughter took her husband's surname, Zhong. She today maintain that these individuals are their apical ancestors, and the four surnames are in fact the most prevalent ones within She communities. The original meaning of *she* (and *yu*) was "slash-and-burn," so the name perhaps acknowledges an early mode of production. Han Chinese began using the name "She" during the Southern Song dynasty (twelfth century A.D.). Shemin (which uses a different Chinese logograph for she) roughly translates as "hut people," or "shed people," and refers to the She practice of building small houses that abut the sides of steep hills. Historical records indicate that the She were also called "Dongliao" (cave Liao) and "Dongman" (cave barbarians). The She call themselves either "Shanha" or "Shanda," meaning "mountain guests," implying their past inhabitation of lower-lying regions.

Location. The available evidence suggests that the She once lived primarily in Guangdong Province, but starting in the early seventh century A.D. migrated north to the border region separating the coastal provinces of Fujian and Zhejiang in southeast China. She settlements lie generally at elevations of 500 to 1,000 meters above sea level and are situated on steep slopes that descend to narrow valleys cut by short, fast rivers. Proximity to the East China Sea produces a warm, humid climate with ample rainfall and frequent fog. Fertile soil and the accommodating weather make the area good for certain types of farming.

Demography. Census figures from 1990 put the She population at roughly 630,400, the great majority of whom live in the two provinces of Zhejiang and Fujian. Smaller communities are also found in Guangdong, Jiangxi, and Anhui.

Linguistic Affiliation. She people speak a language very close to Kejia (or Hakka), an important Sino-Tibetan variety found in various parts of southeast China. Because their communities have long been interspersed with those of the Han Chinese, the She also use Mandarin and local Chinese languages and have developed a local dialect. In addition, they have come to rely upon Chinese script in the absence of an indigenous writing system.

History and Cultural Relations

As mentioned above, the She reportedly began moving in large numbers into the boundary areas between Guangdong, Fujian, and Jiangxi provinces during the Sui dynasty (late sixth to early seventh centuries A.D.). One respectable historical account, however, argues that the She and the Yao (another minority people located in pockets throughout southern China) share ancestors who were settled in Hunan Province (around Changsha) as far back as the Eastern Han dynasty (c. second century A.D.). A second, equally respectable account treats the She as descendants of the ancient Yue people native to Guangdong and Guangxi. Whatever their true beginnings, She, by the fourteenth century A.D., were already settled in the mountainous zones of eastern Fujian, northeastern Jiangxi, and southern Zhejiang. Over the course of the next few hundred years, the She grew culturally much closer to their Han Chinese neighbors, with linguistic and technological convergences made inevitable by regular economic and political interaction. Ming-dynasty rule (1368–1644) allowed She communities to operate autonomously to a degree, in exchange for their loyalty and tribute. The Qing dynasty (1644–1911), in contrast, brought military occupation and compulsory changes in certain She practices, including dress. In the mid-nineteenth century, missionaries introduced schools, hospitals, and the Christian faith. According to Chinese sources, the She actively resisted Japanese occupation during World War II and aligned themselves with the Communists in their civil war with the Nationalist party. Since 1949, She communities have experienced a great many of the institutional changes occurring throughout China—for example, land redistribution, collectivization, and the post-1979 decollectivization of agriculture—revealing the influence of the state.

Settlements

The She today live in small, scattered rural villages and hamlets, distributed over five provinces and more than sixty counties. Communities range in size from as many as forty households to as few as three or four. Most settlements lie in river valleys, surrounded and outnumbered by Han Chinese towns and villages. While the She usually reside in ethnically homogeneous communities, some live intermixed with Han Chinese. Their houses, at one time low set and thatched with bamboo, are now giving way to larger, wood-framed structures with walls of rammed earth and roofs of gray tile. Villages are compact and often protected by stockades.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. The She were swidden horticulturalists whose slash-and-burn techniques to prolong the fertility of their gardens required that garden locations and settlements be changed every two or three years. It is only in recent decades, with the introduction of other agricultural methods, that the She have taken to fixed production and residential sites. Since cultivable land in mountainous zones is extremely limited, the She, who were forced to supplement their subsistence in the past with foraging, have built irrigated terraces into hillsides to expand their farming productivity. The primary crops include rice, wheat, sweet potatoes, rape, peanuts, and tea. The latter product, known as Huiming tea, and said to benefit one's eyesight and lungs, is sold throughout China and abroad. Peach, pear, and *yangtao* (carambola) orchards are common, but lumber products provide the most important source of outside income. Hunting continues to be important to She subsistence. During January and February, when farming activities are suspended because of weather conditions, many She communities go hunting in groups. Women, children, and able-bodied elders accompany the adult male hunters, cheering and applauding their efforts; those who kill the prey have rights to the animal's head or legs, while everyone else is entitled to an equal share of the remainder. The She manage several small-scale rice mills and feed-processing plants, and they run tea-processing facilities as well. They also labor in regional mines, helping to extract metals such as coal, iron, gold, and copper. Paved roads and a newly completed rail line now link together most She counties within the

mountain zones. These developments should help stimulate the growth of sideline industries as markets become accessible.

Industrial Arts. The She are noted for their bamboo weaving and embroidery. Women trim their clothing with colorful silk and cotton threaded into geometric patterns and plant and animal designs. Cloud and star designs are woven into bamboo hats, which are rimmed with strings of beads.

Division of Labor. The contribution of women to production is considerable. Responsible not only for routine household chores, such as cooking and cleaning, and generally in charge of raising children, women also assist men with the tasks of gathering and gardening, although the bulk of the cultivation work is carried out by the latter. When a woman marries, her dowry ordinarily includes tools and gear she may have to use to support her new household—plow, hoe, water wheel, straw rain cape, and straw hat, among other things—clearly indicating her important role in production. Hunting, however, is exclusively a male preserve.

Land Tenure. In pre-Communist times, She who inhabited remote areas effectively controlled their own settlements, fields, orchards, and the like. They were otherwise subject to the same limits of petty ownership, and the same forms of landlord abuse and excessive taxation, as peasants in other parts of China. After 1949, government-imposed land reform programs allocated or returned property to She families. Traditional clan management of territory was readily supplanted with the creation of collectives in the late 1950s and early 1960s in many She regions.

Kinship, Marriage, and Family

Kin Groups and Descent. As previously indicated, the She have only four main surnames—Pan, Lan, Lei, and Zhong—marking four major lineage divisions. The average village contains a lineage temple or ancestral hall for every surname found within it. Sometimes several villages with a single surname will share a single temple. Lineages typically are comprised of branches that form when the adult sons of a family split up. The branches themselves will often split over time, and brothers establish branch and subbranch temples accordingly.

She generally observe patrilineal descent rules. Family and lineage heads are male, and heritable property typically transfers from father to son.

Marriage. On the whole, She practice surname exogamy. However, because the respective surnames are sometimes geographically concentrated, marriageable partners who reside close by may at times be hard to locate. In such cases, the She have followed an alternative rule: "incense-burner" exogamy. This permits marriage between persons from different lineage subgroups who worship the same ancestors but distinguish between themselves by their use of different incense burners within the same temple. The practice, nonetheless, remains relatively rare. Interaction and courting between young adults is fairly open and unrestricted; moreover, couples make frequent use of folk songs to express feelings of attraction and affection. Marriage requires the permission of both sets of parents, but they tend to be flexible about mate choices. The She reportedly are casual about extramarital sex, which does not often bring public condemnation when an affair becomes known. While virilocality is the norm for postmarital residence, there is occasional uxorilocality. The husband moves into his wife's village, assumes her surname, and then becomes her family's adopted son.

Domestic Unit. The standard household is nuclear, composed of husband, wife, and unmarried children. There is some variation, of course, and joint families that include grandparents are not uncommon.

Inheritance. The patrilineal bias has been mentioned. It is worth noting, though, that daughters, too, may inherit property from their families in addition to dowry goods. Adopted sons, with their new status, become eligible to inherit from their wives' families.

Sociopolitical Organization

She communities have long existed within the boundaries and political control of the Chinese nation-state. In pre-Communist times, they were administered by soldiers and officials sent by dynastic rulers. Communist party and state functionaries, whether delegated to She settlements or locally recruited, continue the tradition, performing educational, adjudicative, and enforcement roles. At present, there are nine "autonomous areas" of county level or lower in which She are granted some degree of freedom by authorities to administer their own affairs. She, for example, have been exempted from the strict, government-regulated family-planning programs implemented elsewhere in China. The hand of the state is evident, however, in the Chinese-language schools whose curricula offer, among other things, classes on "national policy." She have a formal, if weak, voice in national and provincial affairs through their invited representation at political consultative congresses, which serve as advisory bodies to the effective governing agencies. The She traditionally relied upon lineage elders for the disposition of local affairs. They not only presided at ritual events, but also served as mediators and judges for intracommunity or intrafamilial disputes. Lineage leaders deferred to customary law in dispensing justice, and disputants were obligated to obey their decisions. Punishments for offenses were comparatively light. In a case of stolen property, for instance, the offender typically had only to return what was taken.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religion. The She believe in ghosts and gods and regularly worship or acknowledge them. Three times a year, in the first, fifth, and seventh lunar months, they pay their respects to their ancestors. Every third year there is also a lineage wide ceremony held in honor of family forebears, officiated at by the reigning head of the lineage. Within the lineage temple at such times hangs a likeness, called the "ancestral picture," of Pan Hu, primal patriarch of the She. With the completion of this ceremony, officials inscribe the names of all lineage males above the age of 15 on a banner of red cloth, which is then hung on a temple wall. She ceremonial activities copy Han Chinese practices

in part. Spring, Grave Sweeping, and Mid-Autumn festivals, for example, all Han observances, are also events on the She ritual calendar. Uniquely She occasions include ceremonies held during the third, fourth, and tenth lunar months that honor, respectively, rice, wheat, and a folk hero, King Duo Bei. Besides attaching credence to ancestral spirits and gods, the She also put trust in shamans, part-time specialists with the power to drive away ghosts and cure diseases. The She formerly cremated their deceased, but in recent years have taken to burying them underground.

Arts. She skill in embroidery and bamboo weaving has been noted. Locally, they probably are best known for their singing. Virtually any occasion has its suitable songs—when one is working, relaxing, entertaining a guest, flirting with a lover, participating in a wedding, or attending a funeral. She socialize by means of exchanging songs, particularly during ritual occasions—a good example of which is a wedding. When the groom goes to retrieve his bride from her family residence, he is treated to a banquet. But he first sits down to a bare table, around which are seated relatives and friends of the bride to whom he must sing for his dinner. In response to a song from the groom about wine, the host offers one of his own and then sets drinks upon the table. The ritual continues until the table is filled with foods and dowry items. In general, song topics range widely. Those that recount She history and their migratory past are especially favored. Many songs are handed down through generations, some becoming quite lengthy from verses accrued over the years.

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Shui

ETHNONYMS: none

According to the 1990 census, 245,993 Shui live along the upper portions of the Long and Duliu rivers in southern Guizhou Province. The Shui language belongs to the Zhuang-Dong Branch of the Sino-Tibetan Family. At one time there was a writing system that used pictographs and characters, though now this system is used primarily in religious affairs. Many Shui now read and write Han. The Shui may be descendants of the Luoyues; they took the name "Shui" during the Ming dynasty.

Shui villages are compact. Their houses are either one or two stories; when they are two stories, the ground floor is reserved for livestock.

By the Ming dynasty (thirteenth and fourteenth centuries) many Shui had switched to wet-rice farming where feasible, though others continued dry-field swidden cultivation. They also produced cloth for a national market. The Shui grow rice, wheat, rape (for the seeds), ramie, and several types of fruits, including citrus. They derive timber from the forests and fish from the rivers. Rice and fish, along with corn, barley, and sweet potatoes, make up the mainstay of the Shui diet.

By the twentieth century, certainly, the Shui followed the Han marriage pattern, but in more traditional times marriages involved courtship and free choice. Elopements still occurred after Sinicization, as did delayed-transfer marriages, in which the bride did not join her husband's family until she bore her first child. Unlike the Chinese, the Shui allowed divorce and widow remarriage.

Though there are a few Catholics, by and large the Shui are polytheistic. They used shamans and sacrifices of animals to appease the spirits that they believed caused illness. Until the Communist Revolution, the Shui mounted complicated and lengthy funerals. Animal sacrifices would be made, and there would be singing, dancing, and operatic performances until an auspicious day to inter the dead was reached.

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Tajik

ETHNONYMS: Tadjik, Tadzik

China's 33,538 (1990) Tajik represent less than 1 percent of all Tajik people. The majority live in Tajikistan. In China, most live in the Taxkorgan Tajik Autonomous County, which is located in the eastern Pamir Mountains in the Xinjiang Uigur Autonomous Region, where they make up the majority of the population. The rest are scattered over several counties in southern Xinjiang. The Tajik language belongs to the eastern division of the Iranian Branch of the Indo-European Family; most Tajik also speak Sarikol, and a few speak Wakhan. The Uigur script is used to write Tajik. Many younger Tajik speak and write Han as well.

Tajik live in compact villages located at high elevations. The houses are made of wood, sod, and stone and have very thick walls and flat roofs. The flat roofs ensure that the houses will be covered by snow in the winter, and so reduce the amount of fuel needed to heat them. The inside perimeter of the house is lined with *kangs* (raised heated adobe platforms), which are used for sitting and sleeping. Most families have also a separate animal shed and a cooking building; some larger households also have a guest house and cart shed. All of a family's buildings are surrounded by a stone wall.

The Tajik follow the seasons in their economic activities. They plant highland barley, wheat, and a few other crops in the spring, and in the early summer move their herds of sheep, horses, yaks, and camels to highland pastures. They remain there, living in felt tents or mud huts, until it is time to return in the fall to harvest their crops.

The Tajik live in three-generation households, with the oldest male serving as head of the household. With the exception of a small percentage of marriages to Uigur and Kirgiz people, who are culturally very closely related to the Tajik, Tajik people do not marry non-Tajik people. Parents arrange their children's marriages, which not infrequently took place as early as 7 years of age prior to 1949. There is a bride-price, which includes gold, silver, animals, and clothing. Women have no rights to inherit.

The Tajik converted to Islam in the tenth century. Originally Sunni Muslims, the Tajik in the eighteenth century converted to the Ismail branch of the Shiite sect. As members of the Ismail branch, the Tajik have no mosques, but instead meet weekly for prayer. Pre-Islamic religion exists synchretically; the Tajik maintain animistic beliefs, using amulets to fight the evil spirits that they believe inhabit various natural objects. The amulets are bits of paper with writing by a *pir* (Islamic priest) on them, and are carried in a box or cloth and worn as a necklace. Tajik funerary customs generally follow Islamic practice.

See also Tajiks in Part One, Russia and Eurasia

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Tatars

ETHNONYM: Turks

Tatar peoples living in China represent only 1 percent of all Tatar peoples. The Tatar population in China was 4,837 in 1990, up from 4,300 in 1957. Most Tatars live in the cities of Yining, Qoqek, and Urumqi in the Xinjiang Uigur Autonomous Region, though until the early 1960s a number of them herded livestock, also in Xinjiang. The Tatar language belongs to the Turkic Branch of the Altaic Family. The Tatar have no writing system of their own, but rather use Uigur and Kazak scripts.

In the earliest Chinese references to the Tatars, in records dating to the eighth century, they are called "Dadan." They were part of the Turk Khanate until it fell apart in approximately 744. Following this, the Tatar grew in strength until they were defeated by the Mongols. The Tatar mixed with Boyar, Kipchak, and Mongols, and this new group became the modern Tatar. They fled their homeland in the region of the Volga and Kama rivers when the Russians moved into Central Asia in the nineteenth century, some ending up in Xinjiang. Most Tatar became urban traders of livestock, cloth, furs, silver, tea, and other goods as a result of the trading opportunities created by the Sino-Russian treaties of 1851 and 1881. A small minority of Tatar herded and farmed. Perhaps one-third of the Tatar became tailors or small manufacturers, making things such as sausage casings.

The urban house of a Tatar family is made of mud and has furnace flues in the walls for heating. Inside, it is hung with tapestries, and outside there is a courtyard with trees and flowers. Migratory pastoralist Tatar lived in tents.

The Tatar diet includes distinctive pastries and cakes, as well as cheese, rice, pumpkin, meat, and dried apricots. They drink alcoholic beverages, one made of fermented honey and another a wild-grape wine.

Though Muslim, most urban Tatar are monogamous. Tatar marry in the house of the bride's parents, and the couple usually lives there until the birth of their first child. The wedding ceremony includes the drinking of sugar water by the bride and groom, to symbolize long-lasting love and happiness. The dead are buried wrapped in white cloth; while the Koran is being read, attendants throw handfuls of dirt on the body until it is buried.

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Tibetans

ETHNONYMS: Bodpa, Bhotia (Chinese terms for Tibetans)

Orientation

Identification. The Tibetans are a Central Asian group living primarily on the high plateau of southwestern China and throughout sections of the Himalayas. The term "Tibet," which appeared in various forms on early maps of Arabic explorers, is thought to be derived either from the Tibetan term for "upper Tibet," *stod bod*, or from the early Indian name for Tibet, *bhot*. Ethnic Tibetans often refer to themselves by the place-names of their geographic area or a tribal name, such as the Ladakhi and Zanskari people of northern India and the Golock tribal people of Amdo.

Location. Prior to 1959, the majority of Tibetans lived on the Central Asian plateau bounded on the south by the Himalayas, on the west by the Karakorum, on the east by the Tangkula Mountains, and on the north by the Kunlun Mountains and the Taklamakan Desert. This is a high mountain plateau of more than 3.9 million square kilometers, which averages 12,000 feet above sea level, has extreme temperature fluctuations, and receives 46 centimeters or less of annual precipitation.

Following 1959, a substantial number of Tibetans migrated from the plateau to Bhutan, Nepal, India, and other countries. There are currently several large reserves of Tibetans in India, some with as many as 5,000 inhabitants.

Demography. Estimates of the Tibetan population are subject to dispute. No internal census was taken prior to 1950; various foreign visitors estimated the total population of Tibetans at between 3 and 6 million. The fighting in the 1950s over control of the plateau caused substantial human loss. The current (1990) Chinese figures for the total population of ethnic Tibetans within Chinese borders is 4.5 million, about half in the Tibet Autonomous Region, the rest in Qinghai, Gansu, Sichuan, and Yunnan provinces. The Indian government has estimated the number of ethnic Tibetans currently in India at approximately 100,000.

Linguistic Affiliation. Tibetan belongs to the Tibetan-Burmese Branch of the Sino-Tibetan Language Family. It is also known as "Bodish." There are two Tibetan languages, Central Tibetan and Western Tibetan, with many regional dialects spoken throughout the plateau, the Himalayas, and parts of South Asia. Tibetan is monosyllabic with no consonant clusters, five vowels, twenty-six consonants, an ablaut verb system, tones and a subject-object-verb word order. The Tibetan script is a readaptation of a northern Indian script devised for the first historical king around A.D. 630.

History and Cultural Relations

Archaeological and linguistic evidence indicate that people entered the plateau from the northeast approximately 13,000 years ago. In time they migrated throughout the plateau and settled in larger numbers along the Tsangpo River, which runs parallel to the Himalayas in the southern region. In this southernly arc, Tibetan kingdoms began to develop as early as A.D. 400, according to some commentators. The oldest extant example of Tibetan writing, which dates from around A.D. 767, indicates the presence in this region of a settled kingdom. Tibetan history begins with the Tibetan Empire period (A.D. 632 to 842): armies conquered and controlled large sections of Central Asia to the northwest and northern China and Mongolia to the northeast. After the murder of the last king of the Yarlung dynasty, decentralizaion ensued and many smaller states were formed throughout the plateau. Buddhism, which had first been introduced during the empire period, gained popularity during this time and became a central feature of Tibetan ethnicity.

In the thirteenth century one sect of Tibetan Buddhism (the Sa skyas pa), with the help of Mongolian supporters, took control of much of central Tibet and established a theocracy that lasted for 100 years. Three secular dynasties followed between the years 1354 and 1642—the Phagmogru, the Rinpung, and the Tsangpa. In the middle of the seventeenth century the Gelugspa, or Yellow Hat sect of Tibetan Buddhism, with the help of Mongolian supporters of their charismatic leader, the Dalai Lama, took control of the central part of the plateau, which they held for 300 years. British incursion into the country from the south and Chinese incursions from the north in the twentieth century demonstrated that the Tibetans had not cultivated military strength. In late 1950 the army of the People's Republic of China marched into eastern Tibet and claimed sovereignty over the plateau but left the Dalai Lama as leader and administrator of the country. A decade of negotiation and military skirmishes ensued, which culminated in a general uprising and the flight of the Dalai Lama and thousands of his supporters to India in 1959.

The plateau and contiguous areas of Tibetan settlement are now part of the People's Republic of China (PRC) and divided between the Tibet Autonomous Region and the neighboring provinces of Qinghai, Gansu, Sichuan, and Yunnan, where several prefectures or counties are designated for Tibetans as autonomous areas. In Dharamsala, India, the Dalai Lama heads the administration of the government-in-exile of Tibet, which oversees

the affairs of over 100,000 Tibetans in exile in India, Nepal, and abroad. Negotiations conducted in the 1980s did not produce any compromises nor result in the return of the Dalai Lama to Tibet.

Settlements

Tibetans are traditionally divided into groups according to geographic origin, occupation, and social status. The plateau was divided into five general regions, each with a distinctive climate: the northern plain, which is almost uninhabited; the southern belt on the Tsangpo River, which is the heart of the agricultural settlements; western Tibet, a mountainous and arid area; the southeast, which has rich temperate and subtropical forests and more rainfall; and the northeast terrain of rolling grasslands dotted with mountains, famous for its herding. Traditionally, settlement patterns were determined by region and by the three major occupations: peasant farming, nomadic herding, and monkhood. Peasants lived in single dwellings as well as village clusters, whereas nomads lived in tents, camping both individually and in clusters as they followed their herds through seasonal migration patterns. Monks lived in monasteries of varying sizes, some reportedly with as many as 10,000 individuals. There are only three major urban centers, all located in the southern belt of the plateau. The nonnomadic society was also divided into hierarchic social groups ranging from the ruler and the noble elite to private landowners, peasants, and craftspersons.

Since the incorporation of Tibet into the PRC after 1950, many Han Chinese have migrated onto the plateau, primarily to the urban centers, where they now outnumber the ethnic Tibetans. Nomads were originally settled into camps but have recently been allowed to resume transhumance patterns.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. Prior to 1950, Tibetan farmers' primary crop was high-altitude barley, with wheat, buckwheat, peas, mustard, radishes, and potatoes following in importance.

Irrigation systems were coordinated by the village, which was also the cooperative unit for corvée. Nomads raised yaks (animals particularly suited to the high altitude and severe climate of the north), sheep, a cow-yak crossbreed, and at lower altitudes, cattle and goats. At annual or biennial markets throughout Tibet, rural nomads and farmers exchanged produce and purchased other commodities. For distant nomadic communities, annual grain-trading expeditions occurred in the late fall; each encampment of tents functioned as a unit and each family contributed a member or supplies to the group traveling down to the market in the lower regions. The large urban centers, such as the capital city of Lhasa, had daily markets displaying goods from all over the world. Particular areas of Tibet were well known for the production of certain crops or the manufacture of certain items or raw products. For example, bamboo for pens and high-quality paper came from the southeast, excellent horses from the northeast, wood products from the east, and gold, turquoise, and other gems from two or three specific areas in the south and west. Currently, most of the manufactured products in Tibet come from urban centers in the PRC, but local markets in the rural areas continue to allow for pastoralist-peasant exchange.

Industrial Arts. Tibetans practiced a wide range of traditional trades, including flour milling, canvas painting, paper making, rope braiding, wool and fiber processing, weaving and textile production, tanning, metalwork, carpentry, and wood carving. Individual household or small-scale production was the norm, with the exception of a few activities, such as the printing of religious manuscripts and books, which was handled at large monasteries on more of a mass-production basis.

Trade. There is evidence of Tibetans trading extensively both on and off the plateau as early as the seventh century A.D.—exporting raw materials and importing manufactured products. Overland routes to China, India, Nepal, and Central Asia allowed the large-scale export of animals, animal products, honey, salt, borax, herbs, gemstones, and metal in exchange for silk, paper, ink, tea, and manufactured iron and steel products. The government granted lucrative yearly monopolies on products such as salt. In the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth, British, Russian, and Chinese missions to Tibet tried to control trade and open markets in the country. Since 1950 trade has been regulated by the PRC.

Division of Labor. There were traditional distinctions in wealth and status among both the peasants and nomads. Hired laborers and servants freed wealthier families from most of the manual labor of daily life. Social distinctions between aristocrats and commoners or between different strata of the commoner class were reflected in dress, housing, and speech used to one's superiors, peers, and inferiors.

Although Tibetan women are in charge of child rearing, food preparation, cooking, and other domestic activities and men do the bulk of the work outside of the home, both genders are commonly capable of performing all basic household and nonhousehold tasks. In the monasteries and nunneries, same-sex occupants perform all of the household and external tasks for the community. In larger cities, butchering, metalworking, and other low-status crafts were traditionally confined to particular groups.

Land Tenure. Prior to 1955, much of the Tibetan plateau was considered the ultimate property of the central government in Lhasa and the ruler of Tibet, the Dalai Lama. Each peasant household had a deed, in the name of the eldest male, to the property that it farmed. Many of the peasant farmers were also organized into estates, which were an intermediate form of title holding by monasteries, incarnate lamas, or aristocratic families. The laborers attached to the estate owed taxes and corvée to the lord and were not free to move elsewhere without permission. Being bound to an estate, however, did not prevent some families from hiring others to fulfill their obligations to the lord or from traveling for purposes of trade and pilgrimage. These three levels of ownership constituted the bulk of Tibetan land tenure before 1950. Land-reform policies in Tibet under the Communist government have involved a few experiments with collective farming and ownership. Most

rural peasants still farm the land of their family household, but intermediate titles have generally been extinguished.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. The most important functioning kin group is the extended family constituted as a household. Family names, which are carried by the males of some families, reflect the patrilineal inheritance pattern and are also used to demarcate the noble families.

Kinship Terminology. Formal kinship terminology in the southern region, among the peasant population, distinguishes between patri- and matrilaterals at the second ascending generation, is bifurcate-collateral at the first ascending generation, and shows a typical Hawaiian generational pattern at Ego's generation level. In practice, this system results in a strong bias toward distinguishing between one's matrilateral and one's patrilateral kin for the purposes of inheritance. For relatives of his or her own level, including cousins, the average Tibetan simply uses the terms "brother" and "sister." There is local and regional variation in terminology throughout the plateau.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Among the peasants of the southern arc of the Tibetan plateau, traditional marriage patterns exhibited a great deal of variety and flexibility through the individual's life cycle. The seven forms of marriage were: fraternal polyandry (a set of brothers marries one woman), father-son and unrelated male polyandry, sororal polygyny (a set of sisters marries one man), mother-daughter and unrelated female polygyny, and monogamy. Monogamy was the most frequent form of marriage. Traditionally, Tibetans calculated the degree of relation allowed in marriage as five generations back on the mother's side and seven on the father's, although many were unable to determine genealogy this far back. Although of astrological and cosmological import, marriage was viewed as a nonreligious joining of two households and individuals. Postmarital residence was generally virilocal.

Marriages were class-endogamous. Serfs from different manors who wished to marry required permission from their lords or their lords' agents. Yellow sect lamas do not marry, but lamas of most other sects are free to do so.

Domestic Unit. The peasant household was the chief domestic unit; it was often, but not necessarily constituted of three generations of males and their wives and children. Individuals of both genders rotated in and out of the household with great flexibility.

Inheritance. Although the traditional inheritance pattern for peasant land was patrilineal descent and primogeniture, both males and females could inherit land or receive it as a gift. Maintenance of the household as the landholding, tax-paying unit could be accomplished by any member of the family. Personal property could also be inherited by any member of the family, although women commonly passed on to their daughters their jewelry, clothing, and other personal possessions. Monks and nuns did not inherit. Wills, oral or written, could alter the inheritance pattern.

Socialization. Tibetans dote on their children but believe in strong discipline and religious instruction. Traditionally, the pattern in Tibet was to raise children to follow the same occupations as their parents unless they chose to become traders or take religious vows and leave the family. Only those children entering government service were given formal education.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. The web of bilateral kin associated with households was the basis for local social organization. Villages had headmen and head irrigators who coordinated agricultural projects.

Titleholders coordinated estates into social units. Monasteries and nunneries operated as independent social units within communities. Tibetans also form associations called *skyid sdug* for a variety of purposes: to coordinate prayers, dances, singing, religious festivals, marriages, pilgrimages, funerals, commercial ventures, and other activities.

Political Organization. Much of the Tibetan plateau has been governed, since as early as the seventh century, by a central dynasty or theocracy with a small administrative bureaucracy. This bureaucracy was supplied with officials from the elite nobility and the monasteries in exchange for intermediate title to estates of land. For 300 years prior to 1950, the government was headed by a Buddhist monk, the Dalai Lama, who, upon death, reincarnated into a small child and resumed leadership in a new body. Under his leadership, the bureaucracy was divided into an ecclesiastical branch and a secular branch that handled a redistributive economy based on taxation by household. Networks of monasteries controlled by sects of Tibetan Buddhism were also important political players. Local authority was placed in the village headman or estate steward, who coordinated tax collection and corvée and handled local disputes. Historically, Tibetans have embraced the union of religion and politics and left the functions of the military, thought to be irreligious, to foreign groups such as the Mongols or Chinese. Since 1950 Tibet has been gradually incorporated into the government of the PRC.

Social Control. Tibetans have an ancient and unique set of legal procedures that were based on early law codes and commonly used throughout the plateau. There were few governmental sanctions for any crimes other than murder and treason. A variety of forums was available for the settlement of disputes, and most cases remained open until all parties had agreed. Traditional social control was based on family and village relations.

Conflict. Conflict occurred over land boundaries, animal ownership, commercial agreements, injuries, fights, and a wide range of other issues. In general, it was disdained as an indication of a lack of religious training.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Tibetans are devoutly religious. Tibetan Buddhism, the religion of the entire population except for a tiny Muslim minority, is a syncretic mix of Indian Buddhism, Tantrism, and the local pantheistic reli-

gion. The organization of the religion, its public practice, and the observance of religious holidays are coordinated primarily by monasteries associated with temples. The priests, called lamas, were estimated to constitute from one-sixth to one-fourth of the population prior to 1950. Although the goal of Tibetan Buddhism is individual enlightenment, the social organization of the religion rests on a laity that is expected to support the religious practices of the monastic population. Thus, Tibetans contributed sons, produce, savings, and labor to the monasteries to acquire religious merit.

Religious Practitioners. Monasteries of various sects of Tibetan Buddhism were the centers of educational training in all the basic arts, crafts, and professions, including medicine. Monk initiates were divided into groups according to social status and ability and given training for a variety of tasks. The degree of religious teacher, *dge bshe*, required more than ten years of diligent study, memorization of texts, practice in debate, and examinations. Monks conducted most public religious ceremonies (including operatic performances), which constituted the bulk of Tibetan ceremonial life and followed the traditional Buddhist calendrical cycle. Oracles, mediums, and exorcists were also commonly monks but could be local peasants in rural areas. In western Tibet and pastoral areas of Qinghai, an earlier form of Buddhism mixed with the pre-Buddhist native religion (Bon) is practiced.

Arts. Tibetan traditional arts focused on religious worship and included scroll paintings of deities, sculpture, carved altars, religious texts, altar implements, statues of precious metal inlaid with gems, appliquéd temple hangings, operatic costumes for religious performances, religious music, and religious singing. Most of these crafts were carried out by monks in monasteries. In addition to collections of older Buddhist scriptures, Tibetan writing and literature includes works on history, philosophy, medicine, mathematics, and astronomy as well as works of fiction and poetry. Local peasants produced utilitarian household objects for their own use or purchased them at a local market. Women wore multibanded front aprons, regionally specific headdresses, and jewelry.

Medicine. Tibetan medicine evolved over a thousand years into a series of nonintrusive techniques including listening to blood flow through the wrist, analysis of urine and anatomical parts, listening to the heart and lungs, questioning the patient, and administering carefully prepared herbal pills. The body is considered to be composed of various elements balanced by nutrition, religious practices, mental states, and relations with deities. The training process for physicians was long and often limited to monks.

Death and Afterlife. Tibetans practice sky-burial, a process of returning the corporal body to the environment by pulverizing the parts and leaving them exposed to the elements and the vultures. An individual's karmic seeds are thought to remain in *bar do*, a liminal zone, for forty-nine days after death, during which time they enter a new body (that of a human, a hell being, a god, or an animal) to start a new life cycle. This recurrent process of life, death, and rebirth continues until an individual achieves enlightenment.

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REBECCA R. FRENCH

Tu

ETHNONYMS: Huzhu, Guanting, Mongols, Monguor, White Mongols

In 1990, some 191,624 Tu lived in the Qilian Mountains and on the banks of the Huang and Datong rivers, mainly in the Huzhu Tu Autonomous County, Qinghai Province. The Tu language is a member of the Mongolian Branch of the Altaic Family. Tu is very closely related to Mongolian, Dongxian, and Bonan, and also has a large number of Han and a smaller number of Tibetan loanwords. There are two dialects. Han characters are used in written communication. Louis Schram and other Catholic missionaries who worked in the area call them both "Monguor" and "Tu" in their writings. The Catholics were very active in this area; in the 1920s and 1930s they set up modern schools as well as churches. The Tu also call themselves "White Mongols."

The Tu national minority designation is of relatively recent origin. Their ethnogenesis over the centuries is a result of the Mongolian invasion of the area in 1227. At that time, the local population was comprised of Tibetans, Uigur, and Shato peoples. The Mongolian military men intermarried with the local population, and it is their offspring who formed the ancestors of the modern Tu. The Tu, in fact, call themselves "Mongolians." Their dress clearly distinguishes them from other groups in the area such as Mongols, Tibetans, and Hui. Both genders wear white felt hats in winter; women's dress includes heavy brocaded shoes and brightly colored sleeves that give a "rainbow" effect. Their embroidery work is complex and distinctive.

The Tu have traditionally been goat and sheep herders. As early as the Ming dynasty, though, some Tu adopted agriculture. During the Ming and Qing dynasties,

tusi (enfeoffed native officials) were appointed by the Chinese government. These officials were responsible to the Chinese state for collecting taxes and keeping order. However, since Lamaist (Yellow Hat) Buddhism was encouraged by the Qing court, or possibly because Tibetans still make up 50 percent of Qinghai's minorities populations, some lands were, by special assent, held by the monastaries and controlled by them as well.

In addition to arranged marriages in which the bride went to live with her husband's family, there are two types of "marriage" in which a woman lives with her natal family and takes lovers. The children of such a woman take her name and are members of her patrilineal family. She herself is regarded as married to Heaven, in a ceremony that takes place when she is 15.

The Tu have been Lamaists since at least 650. There are four large monastaries in the area, associated with the Yellow Sect. Families with more than one son were expected to send one to become a monk. The monastaries became wealthy by lending money, by taxing the people, by renting land, and by leasing grain mills. At the same time, much of the income went to support the large number of monks. Presumably, the flow of men into monkhood accounts for the variant marriage forms mentioned above.

There were also white shamans who cured, and black shamans who were employed to exact revenge. Shamans, who were male, inherited their vocation from their fathers; in cases in which a shaman had no sons, he would train a brother's son. In contrast to the lama, a shaman had to work as a farmer to support himself. A third type of religious figure was the *kurtain* (any person who had become possessed of a Daoist spirit and who passed a rigorous examination). Generally, one became a kurtain as a youth and lost the spiritual possession upon becoming aged.

The dead are now cremated, following Han practice, but in the past bodies were interred. Until the 1950s, children were given "sky burials" (their remains were placed on a platform in a tree).

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Tujia

ETHNONYMS: Bizika, Bizka, Tuding, Tujen, Tumin

Orientation

Identification. The Tujia are one of largest minority groups in south-central China. They are an agricultural people who have lived in long association with Han and Miao but who have retained distinctive cultural traits. Their name suggests that they are the indigenous people of the areas they currently inhabit.

Location. The Tujia live in the Xiangxi Tujia-Miao Autonomous Prefecture of western Hunan and in parts of southwestern Hubei and eastern Sichuan provinces. Most of the population are in the Wuling Mountain range, south of the Yangtze, at elevations of 400 to 1,500 meters. The climate is mild, averaging 16° C, with lows of 4° C in January and highs of 28° C in July. The area is well forested, and the You, Feng, and Qing rivers intersect there. Annual rainfall varies from 120 to 140 centimeters, falling mainly between May and October.

Demography. According to the 1982 census, the total population was 2.83 million. Of that number, close to 950,000 lived in the Xiangxi Autonomous Prefecture, with another 1.5 million in Hubei and 595,000 in Sichuan. The population figure reported in the 1990 census was 5,704,223, reflecting both high birth rates and recognition of additional communities and individuals as Tujia. At least 12 percent of the Tujia are urban residents. Population density in Tujia areas ranges from 130 to 150 persons per square kilometer.

Linguistic Affiliation. Many Tujia speak only local dialects of Han Chinese and some are Miao-language speakers. The original Tujia language is still spoken in some areas, particularly Longshan County in the Xiangsi Autonomous Prefecture. It is related to Yi (Loloish) and belongs to the Tibeto-Burman Branch of Sino-Tibetan. Written Chinese is in common use. No written script for Tujia has been found.

History and Cultural Relations

There are conflicting versions of the origin of the Tujia. Some sources trace their descent to the ancient Ba people of northeast Sichuan, while others identify them as the "Wu Man" (black barbarians) who moved from Guizhou Province. Another interpretation is that they originated in Jiangxi Province and moved westward at the end of the Tang dynasty. Our view is that the ancestors of the Tujia were native to the area, and were joined by conquerors and immigrants from different places over a long period of time. They were regarded as a distinct ethnic group in western Hunan and Hubei by the early Five Dynasties period (c. 910 A.D.). From the twelfth century, through frequent contact with Han settlers, they adopted metallurgical and agricultural techniques and became involved in commercial production and local marketing systems. Tujia continue to interact frequently with neighboring Han and Miao communities. They exchange local products, cele-

brate some of the same festivals, and at present their children share the same schools at all levels.

Settlements

Tujia villages may contain anywhere from 100 to upwards of 1,500 people, residing in 20 to 300 households. These are usually located at the foot of a mountain or on the lower slopes, and near a water source. Houses are of wood or a combination of wood, stone, and brick, with a tiled roof following Chinese style. The typical wooden house is two storied. The ground floor serves as the center of daily life. The central room where ancestors are enshrined and worshiped and family ceremonial activities are conducted serves also for entertaining guests. Additional rooms, built to each side of the central room, are subdivided into a kitchen and bedroom area. Seniors dwell in the room to the left, juniors in the room to the right. The second floor provides storage space and bedrooms for the children. The stables, pigsty, chicken coops, and toilet are placed as side structures to the main house. Originally, villages were founded by kin of the same patrilineage, but people from other places were gradually incorporated, so that by now every village is multilineal.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. The Tujia are both valley and mountain-terrace farmers. Wet rice is an important staple, along with wheat, maize, and sweet potatoes. They grow a variety of additional food crops, including potatoes, greens, eggplants, peppers, turnips, sesame and sunflowers (for the seeds), and oranges. Cash crops include beets, cotton, ramie, tea, and tung trees. Tung oil, wine, and tea were traditional Tujia commodities. Pigs and chickens are raised for market and also provide the main source of protein. Some hunting, trapping, and fishing continue. Some farmers have draft animals.

Industrial Arts. Full-time specialists and workers in new industries are more likely to be found in the towns and cities. Tujia are now involved in coal mining and light industry. Most villages include people who are skilled weavers and embroiderers, tailors, cabinet makers, house carpenters, and masons. Weaving and embroidery are of high quality, and the patterned quilts and bags are especially beautiful. Tujia gunny cloth is sought after for its durability.

Trade. Tujia have always participated actively in the local marketing system, which has revived since 1979. Towns and cities have daily markets, and in the rural areas markets are held once every three, five, or ten days at the township government centers, attracting thousands or even tens of thousands of people from the area and farther afield. Frequency of the market depends on population density. Everything from grain and vegetables to livestock, herbal medicines, forest products, commercial items, cloth, items for daily use, and handicrafts appears in the market.

Division of Labor. There is a gender division of labor, with weaving, embroidery, and certain handicrafts being the responsibility of women. But Tujia men share in household chores, and women work together with men in agricultural tasks. In the towns, Tujia women are freer to pursue professional work than women of the other ethnic groups in the area. People who are literate, or recognized as skilled herbalists or shamans, or able to perform and improvise songs enjoy considerable prestige.

Land Tenure. At present, state ownership of lands and forest resources is a widely accepted practice. However, since the breakup of the collectives in the early 1980s, the village communities hold the right to allot land among residents who are registered as farmers or potential farmers. Prior to 1949, tenancy was widespread, as a result of large landholdings by both officials and merchants and local Tujia landlords.

Kinship, Marriage, and Family

Kinship. Beyond the household the significant kin group is the patrilineage, which is now weak in its functions but continues to have generational depth. It appears that in the past many immigrants adopted the surnames of the larger lineages, especially Peng, Tian, and Xiang. Even so, marriage between people of the same surname is disapproved.

Marriage. Marriages are monogamous. Patrilocal residence is the ideal, but neolocal residence is acceptable. In the past, cross-cousin marriage was preferred, and the maternal uncle could claim or renounce his right to have his sister's daughter as daughter-in-law. Today, the maternal uncle's blessing to a marriage of a niece is still considered important. Even so, past and present, young Tujia could court and choose their own spouses, although such marriages once required the approval of the shaman. Under Chinese influence, dowry, bride-price, and arranged marriages became more frequent. It is not clear when the custom arose of *ku jia* (a gathering of the girl and her friends on the wedding eve to sing traditional and improvised songs lamenting the upcoming marriage). Divorce is rare and considered improper.

Domestic Unit. The nuclear family is the most frequent form, though more complex households are not unknown.

Inheritance. An eldest son inherited his father's property but was expected to share it with his brothers. If a man had no son, his younger brother's son became his heir.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. The patrilineage or lineage branch was led by someone of the senior generation who conducted ceremonies for the ancestors, mediated disputes, and was responsible for the behavior of the members. Lineage branches met at ancestral halls, sometimes drawing members from several villages. The village itself was also a community in which people helped each other in daily life, house building, opening of waste land, and defense. Wrongdoers would be ostracized by neighbors, in addition to suffering penalties from their descent group.

Political Organization. Though mentioned over centuries as a distinct ethnic group, the Tujia did not receive official government recognition until 1956. The following year, the Xiangxi Tujia-Miao Autonomous Prefecture was established in western Hunan. In 1980, the counties of

Hefeng and Laifeng in Hubei were declared Tujia autonomous counties, and following the 1982 census the Exi Tujia-Miao Autonomous Prefecture in Hubei and several additional autonomous counties in Sichuan were established.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Tujia religious beliefs and practices incorporate borrowings from the Han (Daoism, ancestral worship) with earlier beliefs involving ghosts and evil spirits and various gods. There are Daoist temples in the Tujia areas, with Daoist priests and nuns attached to them, and also part-time shamans (the term used translates as "native teacher") who can chant the mythic history of the people. A small number of families became Catholic in the years before Liberation.

Arts. Besides embroidery and brocades, handicrafts include elaborate jewelry worn by women. There is a rich repertoire of dance, songs, and longer song-cycles and stories, all of which are passed on orally. The "Hand Dance," with its seventy ritual gestures to indicate war, hunting, farming, and other aspects of life, is popular at the New Year's Festival.

Medicine. Herbal medicine and exorcisms are both used to deal with disease, but Tujia also turn now to modern medicine as it becomes more available in their areas. In the Xiangxi Autonomous Prefecture, the number of medical workers in Chinese and Western medicine rose from some 500 in 1949 to close to 6,000 in 1982.

Death and Afterlife. In the past, cremation was a common practice, but it was replaced by burials during the Qing period. Daoist priests were invited to perform the rituals leading the soul of the dead to the other world, and the shaman performed the Tujia chants and rituals to pacify the dead and protect the living from ghosts and evil spirits.

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LIN YUEH-HWA (LIN YAOHUA) AND ZHANG HAIYANG

Uigur

ETHNONYMS: Aksulik, Kashgarlik, Uighur, Uygur, Turfanlik

At just under 7,215,000 people, the Uigur are one of China's most populous minorities. They live in Xinjiang Province and make up two-fifths of the population there. The Uigur live primarily in the districts of Hotan, Kashgar, Turfan, Aksu, and Korla, where they occupy oasis land at the edge of the Taklamakan Desert and Tarim Basin. The Uigur language belongs to the Turkic Branch of the Altaic Family and is written in Arabic script, which has been modified to express all the sounds to be found in Uigur. There are a large and growing number of Chinese loanwords in Uigur.

The Uigur have a long and well-documented history, at least in part because it has been so intertwined with Chinese history. In the eighth century, the forerunners of Uigur were under the control of the East Turkic Steppe Confederation. When that confederation fell apart, the Uigur, along with the Karluk, took control of the area (western Outer Mongolia) themselves. They came to the aid of the Tang dynasty in 757 and 762, defeating a rebellious Chinese general. During this period, the Uigur converted to Manichaeism. Later they would adopt Buddhism, Nestorian Christianity, and finally undergo a widespread conversion to Islam. In 840, they were routed from the area by the Kirgiz and spread in many directions. Most went west and ended up where nearly all the Uigur are now, in what is now Xinjiang. They set up their own state, but later came under Karakitai control. In the twelfth century they broke away and allied themselves with Ghengis Khan. Following the decline of the Mongol empire, the area was disunified and numerous political powers, in different places and times, held sway. Unification under one leadership did not come until 1884, when the Qing government took control of what they called "Xinjiang." After 1911, it was under warlord rule until 1933, had a short period as a "republic," and was back under Chinese (KMT) rule from 1944 to 1949. Xinjiang became an autonomous region in 1955.

The Uigur traditionally were pastoralists, although the economy had diversified by the tenth century. Some Uigur were oasis farmers. They developed extensive irrigation systems to facilitate growing grains, cotton, fruits, and melons. Many were town artisans and merchants—the area has a number of towns of large size that were points on the Silk Road. Though the Uigur today are heavily involved in manufacturing, mining, oil drilling, trading, and transportation, their pastoralist past still shows itself in their diet; all meals must contain meat (particularly mutton) to be considered a meal and dairy products are part of the daily

diet. The arid Xinjiang Province is unsuited to most types of agriculture, but many Uigur are employed in growing cotton. Wool is also a major export of the region. Uigur have largely adopted Western dress. They are noted for their music and dancing.

The Uigur did not convert to Islam until the mid-fifteenth century. For some five centuries before that the name "Uigur" referred specifically to Buddhist and Nestorian oasis dwellers in Xinjiang. Today, however, all Uigur are Sunni Muslims and adherence to Islamic teachings is one of the key markers of their identity.

See also Uighur in Part One, Russia and Eurasia

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Uzbeks

ETHNONYMS: none

The small Uzbek population in China, which was counted at 14,592 in 1990, is but 1 percent of the total worldwide Uzbek population, most of whom live in Uzbekistan. The Uzbeks in China live in Xinjiang Province, primarily in Uzbek communities in cities adjoining the Russian border (Yining, Qoqek [Tacheng], Kashgar, Urumqi, Yarkant, and Kargilik [Yecheng]). The Uzbek language belongs to the Turkic Group of the Altaic Family; it is closely related to Uigur. Uzbek has many loanwords from Farsi (which was once spoken by Uzbek intellectuals), Russian (due to the proximity of Russia), and Chinese (during the twentieth century). The Xinjiang Uzbeks use the Uigur (Arabic) script; in the 1930s the Soviets attempted to replace it with a Cyrillic-based writing system.

The Uzbeks of China originated in Central Asia. Some Uzbeks moved east to Xinjiang as long-distance traders of silk, tea, porcelain, and other goods. Some settled there, becoming silk weavers, farmers, craftsmen, and, eventually, entrepreneurs. The Uzbek migration to Xinjiang has continued into the twentieth century, as has migration out of Xinjiang. Competition from Russian long-distance traders later forced many into local trading, handicraft production, and laboring.

In the past, as today, the Uzbeks of China were primarily an urban people. Less than 30 percent are farmers or herders today; most are factory workers, technicians, and traders. Their literacy levels are the highest of any population in Xinjiang.

The few Uzbeks making their living as herders do so in northern Xinjiang, where they live among Kazaks. In the cities, most live in adobe houses with flat roofs, though some have distinctive round, pointed roofs.

Since there are so few Uzbeks in China, and since they are so widely dispersed, they frequently intermarry with Uigurs and Tatars. In fact, it is very difficult to distinguish Uzbeks from Uigurs. One visible marker is the shape of hat that they wear; Uzbeks wear round hats, while Uigur wear square hats. Another marker is the embroidery designs on men and women's clothing.

The Uzbeks are Muslims. The Muslim prohibitions on eating pork and drinking alcohol are increasingly violated by younger Uzbeks. The *medrese*, (religious schools located in mosques) have been closed since Chinese public education was introduced.

When an Uzbek dies, the mourning period lasts one week. At 40, 70, and 100 days after death, the *ahung* (Muslim priest) performs a memorial service.

See also Uzbeks in Part One, Russia and Eurasia

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Wa

ETHNONYMS: A va, A vo, Benren, Da ka va, Ka va, La, Le va, Pa rauk, Va, Xiao ka va

Orientation

Identification. "Wa" (Va) refers to a mountain people who reside in southwest China, spreading across the border into Myanmar (Burma). They have a well-defined homeland called "A Wa Shan" (Mount A Wa) by the local peoples. The three names by which the Wa refer to themselves, "Va," "Pa rauk," and "A va," all mean "a people who reside in the mountain." The Wa distinguish themselves by their own language—Wa. Their history has been preserved through legends passed on orally by cultural and religious specialists and the elders. The Wa are well known for their religious practices such as oxen sacrifices. Their material culture is also distinctive, including their method of mountain agriculture, their unique way of cooking, and their hand-woven costume and dress, as well as their mountain villages with bamboo houses.

Location. In China, the Wa inhabit the region between 22° and 24° N and 99° and 100° E, called A Wa Shan. It is the southern part of the Nu Shan Mountains, running between Lancang Jiang and Nu Jiang (Salween) and is formed of steep peaks that are sharply cut through by innumerable deep valleys with rivers and streams. The highest peak reaches 2,800 meters while the deepest valleys lie about 1,800 meters below that point. In the subtropical zone, this region has just two seasons—a rainy one and a dry one—with annual average rainfall of 150 to 300 centimeters falling between June and October, and with an annual average temperature of 17° C, ranging from 0° to 35° C.

Demography. According to the China censuses, the population of the Wa within China was 175,000 in 1958 and increased to 266,853 by 1978 and to 351,974 by 1990. Most of these people inhabit the southwest corner of Yunnan Province, in the counties of Ximeng, Cangyuan, Menglian, Gengma, Lancang, Shuangjiang, Yongde, and Zhenkang. In Ximeng and Cangyuan, the two counties that are the center region of A Wa Shan, the percentage of the Wa population was 88.3 in 1958 and 79 by 1978. In the latter six counties, which they inhabit together with other peoples (mostly Dai, Lahu, and Han), the percentage of the Wa population runs from 9 to 20. Besides these eight counties in the A Wa Shan region, the Wa are also spread through Baoshan, Dehong, and Xishuangbanna and some regions of Myanmar and Thailand.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Wa language belongs to the Mon-Khmer Branch of the Southern-Asian Language Family and is very close to De'ang (spoken by the De'ang or Palaungs, who reside in Yunnan, China and in Myanmar) and Bulang (spoken by the Bulang or Blang, who reside in Yunnan, China).

History and Cultural Relations

There are two major sources for the history of the Wa and their cultural relations: their own oral legends and records about them in the written history of Han Chinese. The name of the Wa legend—Sigangli—means "coming from the cave," referring to the cave in A Wa Shan where the Wa (followed by other peoples such as Han, Lahu, and Dai) originated. This legend records the history of their migration and the origins of their agriculture, use of fire and iron tools, and religious practices. It suggests that the Wa were the original inhabitants of this mountain region, that they went through a transition from a hunting-gathering mode of production to agriculture and from a matrilineal to a patrilineal kinship system, and that for a long time they have interacted with other peoples such as Dai and Han. In the written history of Han Chinese, the earliest records relevant to the Wa are those about the Ailao and the Pu, who were the ancestors of the Wa and other peoples who resided in this region. Beginning in 109 B.C., the Han empire established an administrative district that included the region of A Wa Shan and Wa-De'ang speakers. According to the records of the Tang dynasty (seventh to tenth centuries), the Wa had distinguished themselves from the Ailao and the Pu by their self-designation as "Vang," "Va," "Vo," or "Vu" and their mode of life as basically hunting and gathering combined with early stages of farming. Politically, the Wa were subordinate to the rule of the Nanzhao Kingdom in the Tang dynasty, and to the rule of the Dali Kingdom in the Song dynasty (mid-tenth to thirteenth centuries). From the Yuan to the early Qing dynasties (mid-thirteenth to the end of the eighteenth centuries), the Wa established many permanent villages, and agriculture became their major economic activity with hunting and gathering supplementary. This transition in their life-style was influenced by the large-scale ethnic migrations of the thirteenth to seventeenth centuries; many of the Han, Dai, and other peoples migrated to southwest Yunnan where the Wa were spreading, thus forcing the Wa to concentrate themselves in the A Wa Shan region. Those left in the outskirts of the region lived together with the newcomers, who introduced some new farming techniques to the Wa. Since the nineteenth century, the Wa have gone through dramatic changes due to interaction with a larger cultural context. It is in this period that the Wa divided socially into three strata, became politically unified and conscious to an unprecedented degree (as shown by the famous Banhong event when seventeen Wa tribes allied into an armed force fighting the British military invaders), and took an active part in commodity production and exchange in local ethnic and international markets.

Settlements

The people live in mountain villages, which are the basic units of Wa society. The population of the villages ranges from less than 100 to more than 400 families belonging to several clans. Most larger villages are composed of several smaller ones. Family houses are built in the *ganlan* style (a bamboo structure with a straw roof, raised off the ground, with livestock kept underneath).

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. The Wa rely on mountain farming, which varies in technique and productive power in different regions. Basically, they have three different methods of farming, which developed in different times and now coexist as alternatives for different ecological environments. The oldest method is slash-and-burn cultivation in which they plant seeds by dibbling with a wooden stick, rely on the ash of wild plants as fertilizer, and abandon the land after a year of farming for eight to ten years before reusing. This way of farming became the main source of food for the Wa after the thirteenth century when they started to build permanent villages. The second method of farming combines slash-and-burn farming with plowing and spreading the seed by hand, using iron hoes and plows that were introduced by Han people who came for the silver mines from the mid-eighteenth century on. This method preserves fertility by crop rotation and intercroping or mixing crops together, and thus they can continue using the land for two or three years, leaving it to lie fallow for four or five years before reusing. For the remote land on steep hillsides, however, the first method is still the only choice because the second method is only good for flatter and lower hills where the soil is richer and won't be washed away as easily by the tropical rain. These two methods of farming provide the major subsistence for the Wa; each is applied to about half of the total farmland. Their third farming method is to cultivate rice-paddy fields, which were introduced by rice-producing peoples in the nineteenth century and exist mostly in the outskirts of the A Wa Shan region, where the Wa and rice-producing peoples live together and the land is level and close to water supplies. Rice paddies account for about 5 percent of the total farmland.

Trade. Interaction with a larger cultural context not only gave the Wa access to new farming techniques but also stimulated the growing need for exchange. By the end of the nineteenth century, the Wa participated in regular markets for trading—largely with other ethnic groups—in iron tools and living necessities such as pottery, salt, cotton cloth, and thread. In the late nineteenth century, British dealers introduced opium to this region. As a result, opium became the large-scale commodity product of the Wa, which they exchanged for living and productive necessities, including rice, cows, tea, iron instruments, and weapons. Opium provided one-fourth to one-third of their total income before it was prohibited in the 1950s.

Industrial Arts. Craft is subsidiary to agriculture. In most Wa villages, one or a few farmers serve as part-time blacksmiths who make and repair iron tools and silver work using raw material bought from other peoples. The family crafts—hand weaving cotton cloth, pottery making, rice wine making, basket weaving, and so forth—are mostly for family consumption.

Division of Labor. Labor is divided by gender. Males do the cutting, burning, and plowing, and females, with some help from children, do the seeding, weeding, harvesting, cooking, and weaving. Warfare, politics and religious activities were male dominated and used to consume much of men's time prior to 1949. Women became the major laborers in the field and household, but today men are more engaged in economic activities than in the past.

Land Tenure. By 1950 land tenure had developed into three different kinds in different regions. In the central region of A Wa Shan, where roughly one-third of the Wa population resided, more than 80 percent of the total farmland was the private property of families, with the other 20 percent of poorer quality land remaining the common property of the village community. In the area bordering A Wa Shan, where about two-thirds of the Wa population lived, all the land, including moutains and rivers as well as the animals in the forests, belonged to the "princes," the hereditary rulers of about one and one-half dozen "Dahu" communities, with each consisting of about five villages. The members of the Dahu had to pay tributes and taxes as well as unpaid labor to the princes and the heads of the Dahu in order to use the land. In Zhengkang and Yongde, where 8 to 9 percent of the Wa were living together with the Han and the Dai, the landlords owned the land and rented it to the poorer peasants and farm laborers. From 1954 to 1958, the government directed a collective movement that led to all of the Wa being organized into People's Communes by 1969. This meant that the government and the communes owned all the land and other productive property and people worked collectively, shared their products, and sold the after-taxes surplus to the government and the communes. Since 1979, the communes have gradually been abandoned and a new government policy has been practiced; each family can use a share of the land by contract and pays some taxes to the collective and the government, which actually own the land.

Kinship, Marriage, and Family

Kin Groups and Descent. A village is based on several clans, which are composed of many families that descend from the same ancestors. Each clan has its own name and a chief. Members of the same clan have common duties and rights such as paying debts for those who cannot afford to pay themselves. The descent line of a family and a clan is remembered through a patrilineal naming system that combines the name of the son with that of the father, whose name in turn is a combination of his own and the grandfather's; the family line can be traced back in this manner to twenty or thirty generations.

Marriage. Marriages are monogamous, with some exceptions of polygamy that were legitimate according to the Wa customary law and were practiced by a small number of people before the 1950s. One of their strictest rules is the prohibition of marriage or any sexual relation between people who have the same clan names; they believe that violation of this rule causes disasters for the whole village and thus should be seriously punished. For a marriage, the groom provides feasts for the engagement and the wedding and pays a bride-price to the bride's family—one or more cows plus gifts of cash, clothing and foods. After marriage, the wife lives with the husband either alone or with his parents. About 50 percent of the marriages are of the cross-cousin type, partially because a man can delay paying his bride-price and instead marry his daughter to his wife's family as compensation. Furthermore, a widow usually re-

marries to a brother of the former husband in order to avoid having to return the bride-price. As a norm, divorce is allowed as long as one spouse wants it, but in practice it seldom happens.

Domestic Unit. The domestic unit is the nuclear family, which includes the husband and wife, children, and, for some, the husband's parents.

Inheritance. The sons inherit the property of the family by dividing it into shares. If there is more than one son, the parents will choose either the oldest or the youngest son to live in the old family house and will give him more inheritance privileges. Daughters have no right to inherit anything. If the family has neither son nor stepson the clan will inherit its property, unless they bring in a son-in-law to marry one of their daughters.

Socialization. Young people choose marriages freely, with little interference by parents. Teenagers start to socialize with the other sex at age 14 or 15 through a group activity called "visiting girls"; groups of young men visit groups of young women, and over time everyone finds a partner. But having sex before marriage is not allowed and will be punished seriously if it causes a pregnancy. After marriage the husband can still participate in "visiting girls," but the female must cease this activity immediately after her engagement.

Sociopolitical Organization

The villages, which are formed of several clans, are the basic territorial, economic, political, military, and religious organizations. A village clearly distinguishes its territory from that of others, and within it a small portion of farmland and all the forests and rivers remain the common property of the village. The villages that are related by kin, territory, and political and economic interests form a tribe, and some tribes used to form temporary alliances. Before the 1950s, villagers used to have common rights and duties in common affairs such as the election of leaders, military action against other villages or invaders, building houses for other villagers, and religious rituals. Each village had three kinds of administrators: *wolang* (the hereditary chief of the village, usually the chief of the village's oldest clan); *kuat* (formerly the chiefs of all the other clans, and later elected); and *moba* (religious experts in charge of ritual, divination, recounting legendary history, and interpreting customary law). Decisions for affairs of the village or the tribe used to be made through the "council of the chiefs," at which all three kinds of administrators have equal rights. The most important decisions required a meeting of the whole village, in which all men could speak up and which women could audit. Since the 1950s, the Chinese government has established new political structures called ethnic autonomous counties, districts, and villages; the leaders are Wa cadres trained by the Communist party and other Communist leaders of Han or other ethnicities. The Menglian Dai, Lahu, and Wa Autonomous County was organized in 1954, and the Gengma Dai and Wa Autonomous County in 1955. Two more autonomous counties were established in 1964–1965, in Ximeng and Cangyuan.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. The Wa believe in a kind of animism and spiritualism according to which human and natural affairs such as disease or weather are controlled by spirits—spirits of water, mountains, fire, trees, grains, and so on. Ancestral worship is a part of their religion because they believe that the soul of the deceased becomes a spirit and thus can protect or influence the lives of the descendants.

Religious Practitioners. Rituals used to be performed under the guidance of the religious experts—moba—who were selected by the villagers for their knowledge and experience. All men of the village have equal rights in performing rituals, but women are generally excluded except for watching from the outside and joining in the dancing and singing.

Ceremonies. Before the 1950s, rituals to serve the spirits ran year round. Besides the sacrificial rituals and chicken-bone divinations for family or individual affairs such as sickness, birth, building houses, weddings or funerals, there were four annual ceremonies for the whole village that came one after the other. At the beginning of a year (December in the Western calendar), they used to conduct the service to the water spirit, in which the whole village sacrificed animals and built a new bamboo water pipe for drinking water. The next ritual was "dragging the wooden drum"—a more than ten-day-long ritual in which all the men of the village cut a big tree from the forest and made a huge drum out of it. This drum was used for important rituals and emergency military actions. The third ritual was headhunting for sacrifice to the grain spirit. They hunted a human head either from outsiders or enemy villages. Next came a series of oxen sacrifices for the purpose of transporting the previous year's head from the "Wooden Drum House," where it had been kept, to the "spirits forest" outside of the village, where all the previous heads were put on top of wooden stakes, which stood together as a wood. Called "cutting the tail of the oxen," this ritual lasted seventeen days, during which time the whole village raced to tear the flesh off from a dozen to dozens of live oxen, one after another, with knives. In addition to the headhunting that has been prohibited since the 1950s, all the other rituals were also prohibited as "superstitions" during the Cultural Revolution in the 1960s and 1970s. In the 1980s, some of the rituals and divinations were revived, but since many old moba died during the Cultural Revolution without bringing up a younger generation, much tradition was lost and revived rituals are fairly different from the old ones, having lost a lot of old practices, functions, and interpretations, and having added new ones of their own.

Arts. Wa arts are mostly related to their religious life, which is at the same time their daily life. In all important rituals and events like weddings and building houses, the people of the whole village will dress up to sing and dance in one big circle, holding hands together. Sometimes the dance can last for days and nights. Paintings are religious as well, done by males on ritual places and objects. The ritual objects are often carved with images of humans and animals in relief. There are no professional artists.

Medicine. Before the 1950s, moba treated all diseases by doing service to the spirits. They also used the bile of

bears and a few kinds of plants to treat some diseases as a supplement to the service to the spirits.

Death and Afterlife. The dead are buried either inside the village near the family house or outside in the common cemetery of the clan or village, in a coffin made from a hollowed tree that is split down the middle. The Wa believe in the afterlife of the soul, so they used to put a piece of silver or a coin in the mouth of the deceased and buried some tools, weapons, and living utensils as furnishing for the grave.

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WANG AIHE

Xibe

ETHNONYM: Sibe

The Xibe people numbered 172,847 in 1990, a sizable increase in population from the 82,629 enumerated in 1982. Many still live in Liaoning Province, and over half live in Xinjiang Province along the Ili River. The Xibe language belongs to the Manchu Division of the Manchu-Tungus Branch of the Altaic Family. The Xibe use an altered Manchu writing system. They have been taking on elements of Han Chinese cultures, with two groups doing so at greatly different rates: the Xinjiang Xibe have been culturally more conservative than have the Northeast Xibe. The Xinjiang groups are also influenced by large neighboring groups such as the Uigur and Kazak.

The Xibe attribute their ancestry to the ancient Xianbei people, though there is no hard evidence to support this contention. At the time of the Mongol invasion, the Xibe were hunters and fishers living in the far northeastern portion of China. By the late sixteenth century, they had come under the domination of the Manchu leader Nurhachi; at this time they settled and began agricultural activities. In the late seventeenth century, the Qing government moved many Xibe military and civilians to the frontiers, to larger Liaoning cities, and to Beijing. In 1764, 5,000 Xibe troops and their families were sent to Xinjiang to control the recently defeated Jungars, and this accounts for the present-day population of Xibe in the far northwest.

In Xinjiang, Xibe live in walled villages of between 100 and 200 houses. The central part of the house has a stove, and there are two to four rooms off to the side with heated *kangs* (beds/sitting places). The door faces south. Each house has a courtyard in which vegetables and fruit trees are planted.

The Xinjiang Xibe settled in a relatively good area for both herding and farming, and now do both. They raise wheat, wet rice, cotton, sesame, and fruits with the aid of irrigation. The eldest son inherits his father's land.

The Xibe are patrilineal, as are most in China's northeast. The *hala* (phratry) consists of people having the same patronym. Each hala has several *mokon* (local patrilineages the members of which can trace descent from a common ancestor). Xibe societal organization, however, has been changing to a territorial system. The new system is one of *gashan* (groups whose members live together to work together). Among the Northeast Xibe, hunting gashan are formed; among the Xinjiang Xibe, farming and irrigation-work gashans are favored.

In earlier times, Xibe marriages were arranged by parents.

Traditional Xibe religion featured ancestor worship and was polytheistic. They paid homage to the Insect King, the Dragon King, the Earth Spirit, the representative of the Smallpox Spirit, and especially to Xilimama (who maintains domestic tranquility) and to Hairkan (who protects livestock). In addition, there were Xibe shamans. There is no information available on whether these practices have revived since the reforms of the 1980s.

Xibe funerary traditions are distinctive. Most bodies are interred, though shamans, girls, women who die in childbirth, and people who commit suicide by hanging are cremated. With the exception of girls, whose ashes are scattered, the remains of those cremated are saved in urns. Moreover, husband and wife must be disposed of in a like manner. Thus, the wife of a shaman must be cremated; if she dies first, her body is buried until her husband dies, and then is exhumed and cremated.

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Yao

ETHNONYMS: Byau Min, Kim Mun, Mien, Pai Yao, Yao Min

The 1990 census reports 2,134,000 Yao in China. Sixty percent of them live in Guangxi Province, with the remainder located in bordering areas of Hunan, Guangdong, Jiangxi, Guizhou, and Yunnan. Most live in mountainous areas. Their language belongs to the Miao-Yao Family. The most widely kown of four Yao dialects is Mien, which is spoken by about one-half of the Yao population. The four dialects are related but not closely enough to be mutually intelligible. About 20 percent of the Yao speak Zhuang-Dong, Miao, or Chinese languages rather than Yao. Dress styles serve as visible markers of language and territorial affiliation.

The Yao are mentioned in Chinese writings from Tang times on. They were called "Mo Yao," meaning that they were exempt from the corvée and taxes imposed on Han settlers in the area. The ancestors of the modern Yao probably derived from a number of ethnic groups, including some Han. Over the centuries a Yao ethnic identity emerged, and "Yao" is the name they use to identify themselves to outsiders.

Yao economic strategies vary according to regional conditions. The majority, long before 1949, were settled agriculturalist whose crops and techniques were strongly influenced by their Zhuang and Han neighbors. Depending on locale, forestry or hunting and gathering were as important or more important than agriculture. Some Yao continued slash-and-burn shifting cultivation into recent times. Women play an active role in the agricultural cycle and are responsible for household chores, weaving, embroidery, batik production, and clothing manufacture. Traditionally, in many communities in Guangxi, plowing, sowing, and transplanting of rice seedlings was done in mutual-aid groups of ten to twenty households. Hunting is also a communal activity.

Despite considerable variation, some cultural features are widely shared. The Yao follow principles of patrilineal descent and inheritance, adopting sons or bringing in sons-in-law when necessary and usually providing daughters with a share of land as part of the dowry. Marriages tend to be endogamous with regard to dialect and local territorial unit. Same-surname marriages are frowned upon but sometimes occur. There is a preference for marriage with mother's brother's daughter. Frequent festivals provide opportunities for courtship and love matches. Marriage requires parental consent and the payment of bride-price and dowry. Marriages are monogamous and residence is usually patrilocal. Divorces and remarriages are permitted.

The Yao are organized in patrilineal clans that subdivide into lineages and lineage segments. These named groups have ritual and legal functions, and their members provide mutual assistance. Formerly they held property, but today all agricultural and forest land is owned by the state.

The Yao have a rich heritage of music and song, which accompanies work activities, courtship, feasts, and festivals. Their religious life has been heavily influenced by Han versions of folk Daoism.

See also Yao of Thailand in Volume 5

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Yi

ETHNONYMS: Axi (also Lolo, Luoluo), Misaba, Nosu, Sani

Orientation

Identification. The Yi are one of the largest minority groups in China. They are uplands farmers and pastoralists. Most live in Sichuan and Yunnan provinces, in the areas of the Greater and Lesser Liangshan mountain ranges, at elevations ranging from 2,000 meters to 3,000 or 3,500 meters above sea level. The main areas of settlement lie south of the Dadu River and along the Anning River. Altitude and access to water varies, making for differences in economic activities in various areas.

Demography. There are about 1,300,000 Yi in the Liangshan Yi Autonomous Prefecture in Sichuan. Another 3,000,000 live in Yunnan Province, with large populations in the Chuxiong Yi Autonomous Prefecture and in a number of autonomous counties and townships in both northern and southern Yunnan. Another 560,000 live in Guizhou Province, and some 4,600 have located as far east as the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region. The 1985 estimate of the total population was 5.45 million or more, and the 1990 census estimate is 6,572,173.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Yi languages belong to the Tibeto-Burman Branch of Sino-Tibetan. There are six distinct dialects. The Yi have a syllabic script developed in the thirteenth century or earlier, which has been replaced with a reformed writing system in recent times.

History and Cultural Relations

The Yi share common ancestry with other ethnic groups such as the Bai, Naxi, Lahu, and Lisu of Yunnan, and seem also to be related to the Di and Qiang peoples of western Sichuan. Between the second century B.C. and the early Christian era, the forerunners of the Yi made their appearance in the areas of Dianchi (present-day Kunming) in Yunnan and Chengdu in Sichuan. After the third century A.D. their activities were extended to northeastern and southern Yunnan and into northwestern Guizhou and Guangxi. Present areas of settlement are shared with a

number of different ethnic groups, including Miao, Lisu, Hui, Hani, Dai, Zhuang, and Tibetans. There has also been a long history of interaction with neighboring Han people; Han systems of agriculture influenced the Yi in some areas. Much of the Yi area of settlement was governed indirectly by the Chinese state, through appointment of local Yi nobility as rulers. Some Yi families became powerful landlords. Before 1949, many Han people were captured or purchased to become slaves in Yi communities. At the same time, the trade between Han and Yi developed, with the Yi exchanging medicinal materials, furs, and other local products for salt, cloth, and iron provided by Han merchants. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Yi were engaged in the opium trade. After 1949, Han and other ethnic groups migrated into the Yi areas. Many modern techniques of farming and stock raising were introduced, as were changes in general life-style. As a result, local industries and enterprises, as well as science, education, and cultural developments have been strongly promoted.

Settlements

Mountain hamlets tended to be small, averaging some ten to twenty households. Traditionally, the Yi lived in windowless single-storied houses built of wood and earth. The house style was distinguished by double-slope roofs covered with small pieces of wooden plate held down by stones. The houses were simply furnished. The main area of activity was a fire pit cornered by three stones. Sleeping areas were on the ground, behind the fire pit; cattle and sheep were penned at one end of the house during the night. More recently, there has been a shift to brick-and-tile housing following the Han pattern, with livestock penned in adjacent buildings.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. In recent historical times, most Yi people grew maize, potatoes, buckwheat, and oats as their staples. The maize and potatoes were late borrowings that rapidly became a major part of the diet: potatoes cooked in plain water (salt was scarce) were considered one of the better foods. In the Liangshan ranges and wherever else possible, livestock included cattle, sheep, goats, horses, pigs, and chickens. Sheep and goats were the most numerous, raised for their meat and wool. The diet was supplemented by gathering acorns, roots, wild greens, and herbs year round, particularly among the poorer families, and by hunting and fishing. Farmland was prepared by the slash-and-burn method; lands were often left fallow for five to seven years after use. Little attention was given to seed selection, and use of animal manure was insufficient or unknown. Commercial activities were frequent in the areas inhabited by both Yi and Han, where markets were run by the Han merchants. Animal furs, lard, Chinese prickly ash, and various herbs were sold, as were opium and livestock. In the Liangshan area, trade was done by barter and exchange of goods, but elsewhere the coinage was used. From 1949, state-run shops have been introduced in the township centers and serve the rural areas. From the early 1980s, private merchants and peddlers have been encouraged by state policy and the local government.

Industrial Arts. Among the Yi, there were no full-time artisans. All families were engaged in agriculture and pastoral work, and various handicrafts were done during the slack seasons. These included ironwork, woodwork, stonework, masonry, silversmithing, and coppersmithing. The silver and copper were obtained through the market. Women wove cloth, tailored clothing, and did the decorative embroidery.

Division of Labor. Prior to the various reforms under the new socialist government, there was no marked division of labor by class even though the Yi were a stratified society, headed by a hereditary class of nobles (Black Yi), with a subordinate class of commoners (White Yi) and a lower class of slaves. These classes were endogamous, but members of all classes engaged in similar tasks in agriculture and pastoralism and in various handicrafts, which were part of the household economy. The division of labor by sex was more crucial: Men cleared the land and did the plowing, whereas women (and also children or aged men) did the sowing and cultivation of the crops. Men were responsible for most of the handicrafts save for the making of clothing, which was the responsibility of women. Before 1949, men were also engaged in hunting and in military pursuits. In the Liangshan area and elsewhere, the one clear specialist was the *bimo*, or "shaman/magician," who was held in high respect. He presided over many different kinds of religious ceremonies.

Land Tenure. Before Liberation, most of the land belonged to Black Yi landlord/slaveowner households, who accounted for about 5 percent of the total Yi society. These lands were rented to members of the White Yi group or use was granted to them in return for military service and loyalty. In parts of Yunnan and Guizhou, Yi landlords also drew tenants from other ethnic groups, particularly the Miao. After land reform in the early 1950s, all ownership of land was transferred to the state. As elsewhere in China, the Yi areas went through a series of different policies. Since the early 1980s, the contracting of land use to households has become widespread.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. The patrilineage was the significant kin group in the Liangshan mountain areas in the past. Such patrilineages were strong in function, especially among the Black Yi, whose territories were clearly demarcated by mountain ridges or rivers. No trespass was tolerated. Each patrilineage had a headman (*suyi*) who was the elder in charge of public affairs. The position of *degu* went to senior members who were gifted with a silver tongue, and whose responsibility was to uphold the interests of the Black Yi as a high-ranked group. Important issues within the patrilineage, such as the settling of blood feuds or the suppression of rebellious slaves, had to be discussed in meetings among the headmen (called a *jierjitie*) or by a general conference of the lineage membership (*mengge*).

Kinship Terminology. In areas of settlement where there are few Han and little intermarriage, the Yi system of

kinship terminology continues to be consonant with a system of bilateral cross-cousin marriage between patriclans. Parallel cousins, whether children of father's brother or mother's sister, are equated with siblings, while different terms apply to cross cousins, who, like siblings, are distinguished by sex. Father's brother and mother's sister's husband are called by the same term, whereas a second avuncular term stands for mother's brother or father's sister's husband. Similarly, mother's sister and father's brother's wife receive the same term, and a second "aunt" term refers to father's sister or to mother's brother's wife. Male Ego's terms for parents-in-law are the same as those for mother's brother and wife.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Yi marriages are usually monogamous. The marriage partner must be of the same rank and of a different patrilineage. Cross-cousin marriage is preferred, and marriage with parallel cousins prohibited. In the past, parents had the final say in the arrangement of a marriage even though young people had considerable social freedom compared to the Han population. It was common for the bride's family to ask for a heavy betrothal-price, particularly among the Black Yi. Delayed-transfer marriage was common, with the young bride remaining at her parental home until the first child was born. In some instances, ceremonial kidnapping of the bride was the custom. The groom's side would send people at a prearranged time to snatch the girl and carry her on horseback to the groom's house. The bride was expected to cry for help, and her family members and relatives would come to her aid, chasing after the kidnappers, but not in a serious fashion. A related custom was one in which the groom's emissaries would go to fetch the bride and would undergo a mock attack by the bride's relatives and friends who would throw water and ashes at them and beat them with cudgels. After this initial show of hostility, the groom's side would be treated to a feast of wine and meat and finally be allowed to take the bride away on horseback. Part of the wedding night would be spent in a ceremonial "fight" between the newly wed bride and groom.

Domestic Unit. Patriarchal, monogomous families were the basic units in the Liangshan Mountains. At marriage, sons would be set up in independent households of their own. In the occasional instances of polygynous families, each wife and her children had a household of their own, with the husband rotating visits between them.

Inheritance. Both sons and daughters could inherit, although women were disadvantaged compared to their brothers. The youngest son, who would continue to live with his parents after marriage, was privileged to inherit a larger portion of the family property. There were rigid differences between sons by a wife and those by a concubine: Property handed down from the ancestors usually went only to the former. Among the Black Yi, if a man died without issue his property would be received by his full brothers and his widow would be married to one of his kinsmen. Women received part of their inheritance as dowry at marriage, and dowry goods might include livestock and, in the case of the Black Yi, slaves.

Socialization. Children were treated indulgently and learned about their roles and tasks in the daily life of the family and the community through oral transmission and example. In the past, the aristocratic class paid much attention to the training of their sons, especially in physical training, horsemanship, and handling of weapons. Customary laws and moral standards were also taught at an early age, and youngsters were expected to learn their clan genealogies by heart. For Black Yi this meant knowing some twenty generations or more. Even today, White Yi know the details of their ancestry for seven or eight generations. There was a special coming-of-age ceremony for girls at the ages of 15 or 17, known as the "Change Skirt" ceremony. Odd numbers were considered lucky. During the ceremony, the girl changed into long colorful skirts, and her hair style changed from a single plait into double plaits looped behind each ear. She also received earrings.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Before Liberation, the Yi in the Liangshan area were stratified into four different ranks: Nuohuo, Qunuo, Ajia, and Xiaxi. The top rank of Nuohuo was determined by patrilineal descent and remained permanent: Members of other ranks could not move up to that position. However, over time there was some upward and downward mobility within the other ranks.

Political Organization. During the late Qing dynasty, the system of appointed hereditary local rulers (*tusi/tumu*) was abolished in some places in Yunnan and Guizhou, while in others it continued well into the twentieth century. In the Liangshan region, slavery continued until 1949. In more egalitarian communities, the patrilineages were vested with political, legal, and religious functions in addition to regulating marriage and descent.

Social Control. Social controls were generally maintained through moral pressures and customary law. Violations of social norms, particularly sexual relations that crossed class lines, personal attacks on the Black Yi, or encroachments on their private property, would be severely punished. In areas under tusi/tumu controls, the ruling family often provided its own military and police forces and prisons, and the tumu served as judge and jury.

Conflict. There were frequent conflicts between patrilineages or even lineage branches over possession of slaves, land, or marriages. Armed feuds ensued, and many lives were lost before reconciliations were reached. At various times in the Ming and Qing dynasties, Yi were also involved in uprisings against the expanding Chinese state and local Han military settlements.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. In Yunnan, Guizhou, and Guangxi the Yi religion was a polytheistic one, mixing older beliefs with elements of Daoism and Buddhism. Both Catholic and Protestant missionaries had some success in making converts among Yi in Yunnan and Guizhou in the early twentieth century, and an indigenous church continues in some areas at present. In the Liangshan, religion was less affected by Chinese religions. It included belief in a variety of natural spirits, encompassing animals, plants, the sun,

moon, stars, and other natural phenomena. Sacrifices to the ancestors and worship of gods and ghosts were an important part of religious activity. The bimo and suyi presided at religious ceremonies, explained religious concepts, and served as intermediaries between the human and the supernatural world. The bimo was responsible for carrying out sacrifices, whereas the suyi could control ghosts through magic, but sometimes these roles overlapped.

Ceremonies. There were various ceremonies for marriage, the onset and reconciliation of feuds, initiations, etc. Sacrifices were offered to the ancestors of the lineage and household and to other spirits. There were common ceremonies that were held as the need arose and special sacrifices that took place on calendrically fixed occasions. The Yi had a well-developed knowledge of astronomy, though it was mainly the bimo who could read and interpret the texts.

Arts. Cooking utensils were usually made of leather or wood. Tubs, plates, bowls, and cups were handcarved and then painted inside and out with black, red, and yellow colors. Typical patterns included waves, thunderclouds, bull's-eyes and horses' teeth. Wine cups were carved from cattle horns or hooves.

Medicine. In the past, the Yi dealt with disease through both ritual and the use of herbal medicines. If someone died of illness, the bimo would be invited to compound additional medicines to offer to the dead. There have been great changes in medical care since 1949, with modern medicine available at all levels in the Yi areas of settlement.

Death and Afterlife. The dead were believed to travel to the netherworld where they would continue their lives. A properly held sacrificial ceremony was necessary to satisfy and calm the deceased: An unsatisfied spirit would haunt the people and offer no protection to descendants and kin.

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LIN YUEH-HWA (LIN YAOHUA) AND NARANBILIK

Yugur

ETHNONYMS: none

As of 1990, 12,297 Yugur lived in the Hexi Corridor of Gansu Province, with 90 percent of them living in the Sunan Yugur Autonomous County. Those living in western Sunan speak Yohur, a language belonging to the Turkic Branch of the Altaic Family and closely related to Uigur and Salar; those living in the eastern part of the same county speak Enger, a language belonging to the Mongolian Branch of the Altaic Family and related to Bonan, Tu, and Mongolian. Other Yugur speak only Han, which also functions as a lingua franca among the various Yugur groups. There is no writing system for either Yohur or Enger; Han is used in written communication. A few Yugur also speak Tibetan.

The Yugur are essentially a people who were separated from the Uigur and who came to have their own identity. After an attack by Kirgiz from the north in the ninth century, the Uigur fled Mongolia. Those who moved into what is now Dunhuang, Zhangye, and Wuwei came under Tibetan control and came to be known as Hexi Ouigurs (later, Yugur). They have alternately been free and under the control of external forces, including the Tufan (Tibetan) kingdom, the Tangut state of Xixia, the Mongol Empire, and the Ming and Qing court. It is during the period between the mid-eleventh and the sixteenth centuries that a distinctive Yugur culture and identity emerged. In this period they moved farther to the west beyond the Great Wall, where they hunted, herded, and interacted with a great many different peoples. By the sixteenth century, the Turfan people had become so aggressive that the Yugur returned to safety behind the Great Wall, in Sunan and Huangnibao. Those who went to Huangnibao became agriculturalists, whereas those in Sunan have remained migratory pastoralists who live in tents.

The Yugur living in the higher elevations raise Tibetan oxen, sheep, goats, horses, and Tibetan/Chinese cross oxen. Those at lower elevations keep Chinese oxen and camels, as well as a few sheep and goats.

The Yugur were traditionally organized into nine tribes, seven of which were ruled by a *datomu* (great chief), and two of which were associated with each other and independent. In addition, each had a chief and an assistant chief. All three leadership positions were inherited. There were other minor noninherited positions. The tribal leaders also collected taxes from its members (to be paid to the Chinese), and each tribe met several times a year to decide how much each family was to be taxed. Local monasteries worked closely with the tribal leaders. In the past, some of the pastureland was owned by rich households, other lands by the tribe as a whole or by the local Lamaist monasteries. Today, lands are owned by the state.

The Yugur are monogamous, and parents arranged marriages when their children were 12 or 13 years of age. When the couple reached 15 to 17 years of age, the groom's family presented gifts to the bride's family, and this initiated the final preparations for marriage. The wedding involved a feast in which the couple ate a sheep's

thigh; they kept the thigh bone for several years afterward. The newlywed bride moved in with her husband's family, except when she had no brother, in which case postmarital residence was with her own family. If a woman could not find a mate, she "married heaven," and bore the children of any man she chose.

At one time the Yugur followed shamanistic religions or were followers of a Gnostic Christian sect that spread into Central Asia and China in the eight and ninth centuries. When they moved to Gansu, they came under Tibetan rule and influence, and became converted to Lamaism. Each tribe had its own Lamaist monastery, and all households were expected to contribute to its support. The poorer Yugur maintained a belief in the cult of the emperor of heaven, Han Tengri.

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Zhuang

ETHNONYMS: Buban, Budai, Budong, Bulong, Buman, Bumin, Buna, Bunong, Bupian, Bushuang, Butu, Buyang, Buyue, Gaolan Nongan, Tulao

Orientation

Identification. The Zhuang are the largest of China's minority peoples. Their autonomous region covers the entire province of Guangxi. They are a highly Sinicized agricultural people and are closely related culturally and linguistically to the Bouyei, Maonan, and Mulam, who are recognized by the state as separate ethnicities.

Location. Most Zhuang live in Guangxi, where they constitute about 33 percent of the population. They are concentrated in the western two-thirds of the province and neighboring regions of Guizhou and Yunnan, with a smaller group in Lianshan in northern Guangdong. For the most part, villages are in the mountainous areas of Guangxi. Numerous streams and rivers provide irrigation, transportation, and more recently, hydroelectric power. Much of the province is subtropical, with temperatures averaging 20° C, reaching 24 to 28° C in July and lows between 8 and 12° C in January. During the rainy season, from May to November, annual rainfall averages 150 centimeters.

Demography. According to the 1982 census, the Zhuang population was 13,378,000. The 1990 census reports 15,489,000. According to 1982 figures, 12.3 million Zhuang lived in the Guangxi Autonomous Region, with another 900,000 in adjacent areas of Yunnan (mainly in the Wenshan Zhuang-Miao Autonomous Prefecture), 333,000 in Guangdong, and a small number in Hunan. At least 10 percent of the Zhuang are urban. Elsewhere, population density ranges from 100 to 161 persons per square kilometer. The reported birth rate in recent years is 2.1, which is in line with China's family-planning policies.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Zhuang language belongs to the Zhuang Dai Branch of the Tai (Zhuang-Dong) Language Family, which includes Bouyei and Dai and is closely related to the standard Thai language of Thailand and the standard Lao of Laos. The eight-tone system resembles that of the Yue (Cantonese) dialects of the Guangdong-Guangxi area. There are also many loanwords from Chinese. Zhuang consists of two closely related "dialects," which are termed "northern" and "southern": the geographical dividing line is the Xiang River in southern Guangxi. Northern Zhuang is more widely used and is the base for the standard Zhuang encouraged by the Chinese government since the 1950s. A romanized script was introduced in 1957 for newspapers, magazines, books, and other publications. Prior to that, literate Zhuang used Chinese characters and wrote in Chinese. There was also Zhuang writing that used Chinese characters for their sound value only, or in compound forms that indicated sound and meaning, or created new ideographs by adding or deleting strokes from standard ones. These were used by shamans, Daoist priests, and merchants, but were not widely known.

History and Cultural Relations

The Sinicization of the Tai-speaking peoples of the Lingnan (Guangdong and Guangxi) has been a long process. Chinese forces first penetrated the area in 211 B.C., sparking local resistance and the creation of the Nan-Yue Kingdom, which expanded its rule to what is now northern Vietnam. In 111 B.C., Nan-Yue was integrated into the Han dynasty domain but not until the Tang (c. 600 A.D.) was state control established. Military farm colonies opened the way for further Han Chinese settlement. The indigenous Tai peoples either assimilated or were pushed westward or into the uplands, whereas the newcomers settled in the lowlands and interior river valleys. The crushing of a major Zhuang uprising in Guangdong during the Song led to further assimilation or dispersement of the ancestors of the current-day Zhuang. From the incoming Han settlers, the Zhuang adopted new agricultural techniques, where applicable, such as the iron plow, application of manure ferti-

lizer, triple-cropping of rice, and more sophisticated irrigation systems. In the western part of Guangxi, the Zhuang remained in control of much of the area suitable for wet-field rice agriculture, as well as holding sway in the uplands where the introduction of Chinese technology was less feasible. From Tang onward, successive dynasties, landlord officials, and state-appointed local landlords ruled a large part of the Zhuang area, with most of the population reduced to tenancy and owing feudal service. This system continued into the nineteenth century, despite a number of major peasant uprisings. In the 1850s Guangxi was the origin point for the Taiping Rebellion, and Zhuang played an active role in the Taiping army and leadership. In 1927, the predominantly Zhuang area near Pai-se (Bose) was one of the earliest soviets. In 1949, the Zhuang of western Guangxi, who regarded themselves as oppressed by former Chinese governments, were warmly receptive to the Liberation army and new government. In 1952, a Zhuang autonomous region was organized in western Guangxi: By 1958, all of Guangxi became a Zhuang autonomous region, shared with the Han and with other ethnicities such as Yao, Miao, Maonan, Dong, Mulam, Jing, and Hui (Chinese Muslims). Soon after, the government organized the Zhuang-Miao Autonomous Prefecture in southeastern Yunnan and the Lianshan Zhuang-Yao Autonomous County in Guangdong. In 1984, Zhuang together with other minority people accounted for about one-third of the cadres (government employees and officials) in these areas.

Settlements

Some Zhuang areas in Guangxi are relatively homogenous, while elsewhere Zhuang villages are scattered between villages of other nationalities. Zhuang villages range in size from 20 to 2,000 persons, with a few larger communities that are traditional marketing centers located along riverways or a crossroad. Often, a village or cluster of villages traces its descent from a common male ancestor. In multilineal villages, houses tend to group according to surname (patrilineage). Newcomers to the area live on the outskirts, often at a considerable distance. Typical villages are located on a mountain slope facing a river. Under Han influence, most Zhuang have adopted the one-story brick house, but some retain the wooden-pile house common to other ethnic groups in the area: a two-story structure, with living quarters upstairs, and the lower floor serving as stables and storage rooms. Both styles nowadays have tiled roofs.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. Paddy rice, dry-field uplands rice, glutinous rice, yams, and maize are staples, with double- or triple-cropping in most areas. Many tropical fruits (pineapple, banana, orange, sugarcane, litchi, mango) are grown, as well as a number of vegetables. River fisheries add protein to the diet, and most households raise pigs and chickens. Oxen and water buffalo serve as draft animals but are also eaten. Hunting and trapping are a very minor part of the economy, and gathering activities focus on mushrooms, medicinal plants, and fodder for the livestock. There is additional income in some areas from tung oil, tea and tea oil, cinnamon and anise, and a variety of ginseng. During the agricultural slack seasons, there are now increased opportunities to find construction work or other kinds of temporary jobs in the towns.

Industrial Arts. Most villages have always had some craft specialists skilled in carpentry, masonry, house building, tailoring, and the weaving of bamboo mats. Brocades, embroidered works, and batiks made by Zhuang women are famous throughout China and were mentioned as early as the Tang dynasty. Ordinarily, the Zhuang tend to dress like their Han neighbors, but ethnic dress has reemerged and is now encouraged by the state.

Trade. Households are heavily dependent on local markets for obtaining daily necessities and luxury goods and for selling their own products such as vegetables, fruits, fish, poultry, furniture, herbs, and spices. Participation in the market is also a social pastime. Both sexes participate in market trading. These periodic markets, held every three, five, or ten days, are now the site of township, district, and county governments. A small number of Zhuang are shopkeepers in a village or market town, and with the recent reforms some now are long-distance traders, bringing clothing from Guangdong Province for resale on the local markets.

Division of Labor. Men are responsible for plowing and management of the draft animals, while women are primarily responsible for transplanting rice in the flooded fields, weeding, and harvesting. Young men are more likely to be educated and are encouraged to learn an artisan skill or seek an urban job. The development of forestry and industries in the area makes some wage labor available. With adult women engaged in agriculture, the tasks of child care, feeding of domestic animals, and some of the housework is taken on by the elderly members of the family.

Land Tenure. From the Tang through much of the Qing dynasty, a feudal landownership system was prevalent, in which households received land-use rights for their own subsistance in return for labor on the landowner's estates and other labor services. A more commercialized landlord system developed from the eighteenth century on into the twentieth, creating a large number of poor peasants. Under the current reforms, land is allocated on contract to households, according to the number of people registered as rural residents. A village administrative committee (formerly a production brigade or team under the socialist economy) oversees the allotments of arable land, particularly irrigated fields. The contract is usually for five years. All land now belongs to the state, but use rights and redistribution rest with the village. Conflicts over land boundaries between households, villages, or even townships and counties are not uncommon. Population density is now high relative to available land.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Beyond the three-generation household, the significant group is the localized patrilineage, which shares a common surname and traces descent from a common ancestor. There is an elder recognized as the head, and households participate together at ancestral worship ceremonies, weddings, and funerals, with the line-

age branch head directing. There are no reliable data on local variations of kinship terminology. The mother's brother plays an important role for his nieces and nephews, from choosing their name and participating in their marriage arrangements to playing a role in their parents' funerals.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Marriages are surname exogamous, and usually village exogamous as well. There is some preference for a boy to marry his mother's brother's daughter, whereas marriage with parallel cousins is forbidden. In the past there was also a preference for early engagements and for a girl to be five or six years older than her prospective groom. Perhaps because of the age difference, there was delayed transfer of the bride: after the marriage ceremony she remained with her parents, making frequent visits to her in-laws to assist with planting and harvest, but maintaining her social freedoms and natal residence until the birth of her first child. Only then did she move to her husband's village. Sinicized Zhuang utilize go-betweens, matching of horoscopes, sending of gifts to the girl's family, sending of a dowry, and the general patterns of Han marriage practice. However, older patterns or borrowings from neighboring ethnic groups also continue. Groups of unmarried boys visit to serenade eligible girls at their homes; there are singing parties for groups of unmarried youth (and those not yet living with their spouses); and there are other opportunities for young people to choose a spouse for themselves. In the past, there were "elopement" marriages, accepted by the family and community. Divorce is frowned upon, and if it occurs, fathers retain custody of their sons. Remarriage is permitted.

Domestic Unit. The domestic unit is monogamous and nuclear except for youngest sons, who are obliged to live with their parents. Residence is generally patrilocal: about 20 percent of marriages bring the groom to the wife's village.

Inheritance. The youngest son inherits a larger share of the parental property. Both sons and daughters inherit movables, and also parental debts. In the absence of surviving offspring, other lineage members inherit.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Prior to 1949, village organization was based on the patrilineage and on villagewide religious activities focused on gods and spirits who protected the community and assured the success of the crops and livestock. Ceremonies were led by recognized village elders.

Political Organization. Since 1949, various government-designated forms of organization have appeared. At present, villages are administered by a committee; and the next-highest level is the township government, which is responsible for a number of villages and which manages agriculture, local industry, and collection of taxes and required quota sales to the state. Within the village and township there are branches or groups of the Communist party, the Women's Federation, and the Youth League, all of which seek to ensure that party policy is carried out. While some problems are handled informally by family or community, some matters go through government courts at the township, district, or county level. About one-third of government employees in Guangxi are Zhuang.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Ancestral worship differs from that of the Han in that it includes "kings" and mythic or historical heroes and heroines as well as actual ancestors in the patriline. The names of the ancestors, written on strips of red paper, are displayed on home altars together with the names of other spirits to be honored and receive special offerings at Spring Festival and at the Festival of the Dead in the seventh lunar month. In addition, there are a variety of local gods drawn from precontact religion or fused with gods from the Chinese folk tradition. These include Tudigong, who protects the village boundaries from his crossroads temple; She Shen, who is the village tutelary spirit; the Mountain Spirit (some mountains are sacred and should not be opened to farming); the Dragon King (Long Wang), who also protects the villages; and a number of spirits drawn from the pantheon of natural forces. Both Daoism and Buddhism or a fusion of the two are important in community life, particularly at the time of funerals. Catholic and Protestant missionaries came to the area in the late nineteenth century, but the number of followers is small and mostly limited to the urban areas.

Religious Practitioners. Female divination specialists treat sickness and in trance can communicate with spirits and ghosts. A second kind of local shaman, who is male, differs in that he serves at an altar and is skilled in either the Zhuang writing system or a Zhuang reading of Chinese characters. His texts, which serve as a basis for performance (songs, chants), include myths, history and geography, astronomy, and tales. He performs at funerals, local festivals, and at times of crisis. The sacrifices of oxen, chickens, and other livestock are in part used to pay him for his service. Daoist priests, who are also part-time practitioners, perform at many of the same events as the shaman. They chant in Chinese and use Han texts. Buddhism in the Zhuang areas has been strongly influenced by Daoism and earlier traditional religion. The priests can marry and are semivegetarian. They cast horoscopes, serve as geomancers, and exorcise ghosts, as well as chanting sutras at life-crisis times.

Ceremonies. Honoring ancestors at home altars and in ancestral halls is of key importance. The Chinese Qingming Festival for sweeping ancestral graves (third lunar month) is often combined with an Ox Birthday Festival and ceremonies for the goddess who protects at birth and during infancy.

Arts. There is a rich repertoire of songs, dances, local opera, oral literature, and music. Hundreds of decorated bronze drums have been found in archaeological sites in the region, and there are frescoes dating back some 2,000 years at sites along the Zuo River.

Medicine. Divination, shamanistic healing, and herbal medicines from an older tradition are augmented by borrowings from Chinese traditional medicine (cupping, acupuncture) and the more recent introduction of clinics and health stations using both Chinese and Western medicine.

Death and Afterlife. Souls of the dead enter a netherworld but can continue to assist the living. Corpses are wrapped in white cloth and buried after three days, together with some of their favorite items of daily use. Daoist priests preside over the funeral: in some areas, two special singers are called upon to sing traditional mourning songs. The corpse is disinterred after three years and the bones are cleaned and placed in a pottery urn that is deposited in a cave or grotto. Those who died violent or untimely deaths are potentially evil spirits. Their bones are burned and a Daoist priest is called to transform the ashes into proper ancestors. Families arrange "spirit marriages" to appease the souls of those who died unmarried.

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LIN YUEH-HWA AND NORMA DIAMOND

Glossary

adat Traditional law in Muslim areas (vs. Sharia).

affine A relative by marriage.

agnatic descent. *See* patrilineal descent.

airan/ayran Sour milk or buttermilk of cow, sheep, or goat's milk (the latter being the most desirable), especially favored in the Caucasus; also used for burns, stomach upset, etc.

alim (pl., ulema) Literally, "scholar," Sharia judge.

animal husbandry. *See* pastoralism

arak Homemade vodka; liquor from milk or barley.

arbaz A closed-off courtyard.

arkhalug/arkhaluk/arkhalukh A robelike woman's dress, open at front; long shirt worn by men under the cherkeska.

Asia Minor Also known as Anatolia, the peninsula of land that forms the Asian portion of Turkey.

ASSR An Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, which is a subdivision of a Union republic. In the former Soviet Union there were twenty such republics, based on ethnicity.

atalïk/atalyk Education and rearing of children by a ritually related family (usually a peasant family raising a noble child); life-long ritual bond formed between persons so raised.

aul A mountain village, encampment; semisedentary or mobile village.

autonomous area (AA) A subunit of a kray or oblast and the lowest ethnic-based administrative division. In the former Soviet Union there were ten autonomous areas.

autonomous region (AR) An autonomous (usually, ethnically based) region of a Union republic. In the former Soviet Union there were eight autonomous regions.

ayran. *See* airan

bay/bey A feudal leader in Muslim areas; a wealthy cattle breeder.

beg/bek A member or chief of the feudal aristocracy.

beshmet A quilted, caftanlike man's outer garment.

bilateral descent The practice of tracing kinship affiliation more or less equally through both the female and male lines.

blood feud (vendetta) A conflict between two groups (usually families or other kin groups) in a society. The feud usually involves violence or the threat of violence as a means of avenging some wrongdoing against a member of one of the groups. Feuds often are motivated by a desire to protect or restore a member's honor.

Bronze Age The third stage in the conventional development of civilization, marked by the production of bronze tools and objects. The Bronze Age, which began as early as 5000 B.C. in some places and ended about 1000 B.C., followed the Neolithic Period and preceded the Iron Age.

Bolsheviks The wing of the Russian Social Democratic party that advocated revolution to achieve socialism and seized power in the Revolution of 1917–1920.

brigades Name for villages in China, used since 1958.

burka A man's sleeveless coat of sheepskin or felt.

buza A drink fermented from barley, millet, or buckwheat flour; like beer but made without hops; important ritually in some areas.

Carpathian Mountains A mountain range in east-central Europe in the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland, Hungary, Romania, and nations that were formerly part of the Soviet Union.

Caucasus A system of mountain ranges running from northeast to southwest between the Black and Caspian seas; the general geographical-cultural area between the Black and Caspian seas and the south Russian steppe and the Iranian plateau.

cherkeska Man's frock, with wide sleeves and no collar and worn tight at the waist.

chongur Stringed musical instrument, like a mandolin.

chukht/chukhta/chukhtu Woman's traditional dress.

chum Hut of hides, conical tipi of poles and hides.

clan, sib A group of unilineally affiliated kin who usually reside in the same community and share common property.

cognates Words that belong to different languages but have similar sounds and meanings.

cognatic kin Kin related to one another through the female line.

collaterals A person's relatives not related to him or her as ascendants or descendants; one's uncle, aunt, cousin, brother, sister, niece, nephew.

collectivization A process by which peasant farms were converted into large-scale, mechanized economic units. The process began in the late 1920s and during the early 1930s resulted in a great loss of life and economic displacement (through famine and deportation). The system of state farms (sovkhozy) and collective farms (kolkhozy) began to break up in the 1990s.

Communist Party A conglomerate of political organizations that controlled virtually all aspects of life in the Soviet Union; about 6 percent of the citizens belonged to it.

Confucianism A secular set of ethnical teachings focused on individual behavior, human relationships, and the relationship between the rulers and the ruled.

continental climate In the Köppen system, a climate characterized by large seasonal temperature variations, with hot summers, cold winters, and year-round precipitation.

cousin, cross Children of one's parents' siblings of the opposite sex—one's father's sisters' and mother's brothers' children.

cousin, parallel Children of ones' parents' siblings of the same sex—one's father's brothers' and mother's sisters' children.

Cyrillic alphabet A writing system developed in the ninth century for Slavic languages. Russian, Serbian, Bulgarian, and other Slavic languages today are written with somewhat different versions of the basic Cyrillic alphabet.

czar Ruler of Russia before 1917.

dolma Stuffed grape leaves.

dowry The practice of a bride's kin giving substantial property or wealth to the groom or his kin before or at the time of marriage.

Ego In kinship studies "Ego" is a male or female whom the anthropologist arbitrarily designates as the reference point for a particular kinship diagram or discussion of kinship terminology.

ekmek Leavened bread.

endogamy Marriage within a specific group or social category of which the person is a member, such as one's caste or community.

evil eye An idea that a person can cause harm to another by simply wishing him or her harm (casting the evil eye).

exogamy Marriage outside a specific group or social category of which the person is a member, such as one's clan or community.

fictive kin Individuals referred to or addressed with kin terms and treated as kin, although they are neither affines nor consanguines.

foreign workers. *See* guest workers

gazyry Cartridge cases sewn across the cherkeska, purely ornamental after the nineteenth century (e.g., reinforced with wood, bone, or metal).

glasnost A policy initiated by Mikhail Gorbachev that sought to have open discussion of social issues and to expand peaceful relations with non-Communist nations, especially the United States.

guest workers A term originally coined in Germany for immigrant workers who have been invited and/or contracted by the host country or individual agents for a specified term.

iasak/yasak Tribute paid by indigenes to the czarist government in furs (typically sable, arctic fox, or squirrel; ten squirrel skins was a unit of exchange).

Industrial Revolution An economic transformation marked by the decline of small-scale, domestic production of goods and the rise of large-scale, centralized mass production and distribution based on power-driven machines.

Iron Age The fourth stage in the development of civilization, characterized by the production and use of iron tools and objects. The Iron Age followed the Bronze Age.

Islam Mohammed the Prophet chose the name "Islam" for the new faith he began preaching in Arabia in A.D. 622 (A.H. 1). The term signifies "submitting oneself to God." The faithful are called Moslems, Muslims, or Mohammedans.

izba Peasant hut or house.

jamaat Village council.

joraby Knitted woolen socks.

kadi. *See* qadi

kalym Bride-price or bride-wealth (amount paid by the groom's parents and other relatives, often commensurate with the dowry, much of it often spent at the wedding).

karlag Sacred stone pile, usually one per village, at holy places (e.g., site of a murder, the death of a martyr).

kebin Supplement to the bride-price intended for the support of the bride should she be divorced or widowed.

KGB The Committee for State Security, which was formed by the Soviet government in 1954 to manage both internal security and foreign intelligence-gathering activities; successor to the Cheka and other prior organizations.

khanate A territory in eastern Russia, Central Asia, or Siberia that was under the control of a khan—many were formed following the Mongol conquest in the thirteenth century. The three major khanates were the Crimea, Astrakhan, and Kazan.

khinkal Boiled dumplings stuffed with meat, cheese, sour cream, lard, or drippings.

khurin Woolen or carpet saddlebag.

khutor A farmstead or small village.

kindred The bilateral kin group of close kin who may be expected to be present and to participate on important ceremonial occasions.

kinship Family relationship, whether traced through marital ties or through blood and descent.

kin terms, classificatory Kinship terms, such as aunt, that designate several categories of distinct relatives, such as mother's sister and father's sister.

kin terms, descriptive Kinship terms that are used to distinguish different categories of relatives such as mother or father.

kin terms, Eskimo A system of kinship terminology in which cousins are distinguished from brothers and sisters, but no distinction is made between cross and parallel cousins. Sometimes also called European kin terms.

kin terms, Iroquois A system of kinship terminology in which parallel cousins are referred to by the same terms used for brothers and sisters, but cross cousins are identified by different terms.

kolkhoz (pl., kolkhozy) A collective farm in which the land is owned by the government and its use given to the kolkhoz members who work it communally, the products being shared somehow by the government and member households. Each household has a small private plot for its own use.

Köppen System A system of climatic classification developed in 1900 based on mathematical values assigned to temperature and rainfall. The system is named for its developer, the German climatologist Wladimir Köppen (1846–1940).

Korban The great feast of Abraham.

krai/kray A territorial division of a Union republic.

kulak Wealthy peasant; wealthy peasant in any indigenous area.

kumis Fermented mare's milk.

kunak/qunaq A person with whom one has contracted a bond of friendship, mutual support, and defense, etc.

Lamaism A form of Buddhism with a central role played by the priests called lamas; often called Tibetan Buddhism.

levirate The practice of marrying one's brother's widow.

lineage A unilineal (whether patrilineal or matrilineal) kin group that traces kinship affiliation from a common, known ancestor and extends through a number of generations.

literary language A language used for literature (e.g., poetry); a written form of a language used for newspapers, documents, etc.

maat A village council or commune.

magal/mexle A section of a village.

matrilineal descent The practice of tracing kinship affiliation only through the female line.

medresseh An Islamic secondary school (Arabic: madrasah).

minorat Inheritance by the youngest son of the hearth and home (of the typically patrilineal, patriarchal family).

mir Russian village commune.

monogamy Marriage between one man and one woman at a time.

murkhal Central support pillar in a house.

national minorities In China, the fifty-five groups, not including the Han, classified as ethnicially distinct by the government.

nationality As used in reference to the peoples of the former Soviet Union, the members of an officially recognized ethnic group.

Neolithic Period A stage in the development of human culture characterized by the use of polished or ground stone tools. It followed the Paleolithic Period and preceded the Bronze Age.

neolocal residence The practice of newly married couples living apart from the immediate kin of either party.

nimat Customary reciprocal aid between clan members, especially as regards hunting spoils.

oblast Province, an administrative division of a Union republic. In the former Soviet Union there were 121 oblasts, some of which contained autonomous areas.

okrug Region. *See* also autonomous area

oraza/uraza Muslim fast period.

Ottoman Empire The empire created by Turkic peoples from 1300 to 1922 in what is now Asian Turkey.

papakha Man's tall hat of felt or (astrakan) fur.

parallel cousin. *See* cousin, parallel

pastoralism A type of subsistence economy based on the herding of domesticated grazing animals such as sheep or cattle.

patrilineal descent The practice of tracing kinship affiliation only through the male line.

peasant, peasantry Small-scale agriculturalists producing only subsistence crops, perhaps in combination with some fishing, animal husbandry, or hunting. They live in villages in a larger state but participate little in the state's commerce or cultural activities. Today, many peasants rely on mechanized farming and are involved in the national economy, so they are called "post-peasants" by anthropologists.

Peoples of the North The official designation for twenty-five indigenous ethnic groups of northern Russia and Siberia.

perestroika A policy initiated by Mikhail Gorbachev that sought, among other things, to encourage economic development by increasing the power of the republic governments, to decentralize the economy, and encourage foreign investment.

permafrost Land that is permanently frozen, with only the top few milimeters thawing in the warmer months.

pir Muslim shrine.

posyolok Settlement.

qadi/kadi Judge of Sharia law.

qunaq. *See* kunak

raion An administrative district within any other republic, kray, oblast, okrug, or city. In the former Soviet Union there were 3,160 raions, most of them rural.

Ramadan Major Muslim holiday lasting one month.

RSFSR The Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic of the former Soviet Union.

Russian Orthodox church A branch of Christianity that began in what is now Russia in the ninth century. At times it was closely allied with the Russian government, although it fell from formal influence following the 1917 Revolution.

Russification Assimilation to Russian language, culture, political control; process of encouraging or enforcing the spread of Russian influence, sometimes including the forced relocation of ethnic populations, the settlement of Russians in republics other than Russia, the use of Russian, and Russian control of politics and economics.

seck Descent line, often coincident with clan.

serf A tenant farmer who subsisted by farming land owned by a lord or landowner. Serfs were generally bound to the land they farmed and their rights to move from the land were greatly restricted.

shaman Religious specialist in Siberia who protects clan members from enemies, foretells future events, helps individuals suffering from Arctic hysteria, brokers between the human and supernatural.

shamkhal Feudal leader.

Sharia Quaranic law.

sib. *See* clan

Siberia Territory from the Ural Mountains to the Pacific Ocean and from the Arctic Ocean to the borders of Kazakhstan, Mongolia, and China.

Slavs (Slavic Peoples) A generic term for peoples who speak Slavic languages. In Russia and Eurasia it encompasses Russians, Ukrainians, Belarussians, and Carpatho-Rusyns, as well as Southern and Western Slavs.

soviets Adminstrative and representative bodies that existed at all levels of the governmental structure. There were the Supreme Soviet, the supreme soviets of the Union and autonomous republics, and local soviets at all regional and local levels.

sovkhozy (sing., sovkhoz) State farms owned by the government and from which the government takes all that is produced, the workers being paid wages and given a small plot for their own use.

SSR Soviet Socialist Republic. In the former Soviet Union there were fifteen SSRs.

stem family A residential group composed of a nuclear family and one or more additional members who do not comprise a second nuclear family.

steppe Open grassland, relatively treeless plain.

Stolypin reforms A series of legislative reforms between 1906 and 1911, under Premier and Minister of the Interior P. A. Stolypin, whose policy was to break up the communes (*mirs*) by encouraging and enabling peasants to acquire and work land on an "individual" basis (by household as represented by the elder); by 1916, 500,000 to 2 million households had separated from the communes in this way and about half of Russia's peasants were working their land on this basis.

sub-Arctic climate In the Köppen system, a climate characterized by a long, cold winter with low humidity and relatively little precipitation, mainly in the form of snow.

taiga Area of heavy forest, both coniferous and deciduous, often with poor soil and bogs and marshs in low-lying drainage areas; an ecological zone across nothern Eurasia, south of the tundra belt.

tamada System of ritualized and intense hospitality at feasts and other similar situations; master of ceremonies or presiding elder at such occasions.

tariqa Sufi religious brotherhood (clandestine in the Soviet period).

tipi Conical, portable dwelling of skins or hides, covering the poles.

tonir Conical clay oven for baking bread.

transhumance Seasonal movements of a society or community. It may involve seasonal shifts in food production between hunting and gathering, horticulture, and the movement of herds to more favorable locations.

tukhum Patrilineal clan; set of patrilineally related families; patrilineally based quarter of a village; patrilineally based settlement; patrilineal name group.

tundra Environment marked by long winters, permafrost, poor soil, and little vegetation.

Turks (Turkic Peoples) A generic term that refers to modern-day descendants of the people who formed an empire that, in the sixth century A.D., extended from the Black Sea east to Mongolia.

tusi Quasi-fiefdoms ruled by local hereditary landed officials who collected and paid taxes to the Chinese state.

ulema. *See* alim

ulu A group of patrilineally related families; a rural commune; an administrative unit.

unilineal descent The practice of tracing kinship affiliation through only one line, either the matriline or the patriline.

Union republic Soviet socialist republic of the former Soviet Union.

Ural Mountains Mountain range running north-south that separates European and Siberian Russia.

uraza. *See* oraza

uterine descent. *See* matrilineal descent

waqf Mosque property.

yasak. *See* iasak

yurt A usually portable multifamily dwelling with a circular ground plan and sides of felt or skins attached to a folding wooden lattice framework.

zakat/zekat Tax for the support of the mosque or the clergy.

zurna Clarinet-like instrument.

Filmography

The following is a list of films and videos on Russia, Eurasia, and China. The list is not meant to be complete; rather, it is a sampling of documentary films available from distributors in North America. Listing a film or video does not constitute an endorsement by the volume editors or any of the summary authors, nor does the absence of a film represent any sort of nonendorsement. Abbreviations for names of distributors are provided at the end of each citation. The full name and address may be found in the directory of distributors that follows the indexes to the filmography. Many of these films are also available through the Extension Media Center of the University of California at Berkeley and/or the Audio-Visual Services of Pennsylvania State University, indicated by (EMC) or (PS) at the end of the citation.

Russia and Eurasia

1. *First Encounters: A Russian Journal.* (Russia) 1978. Directed and produced by Laura Morgan. Color, 16 minutes, 16mm. BNCHMK (PS).
2. *Heritage: Civilization and the Jews, 6—Roads from the Ghetto.* (Jews) 1984. Produced by WNET. Color, 59 minutes, 16mm. FI (PS).
3. *People of Influence (Politics and People).* (Soviet Union, politics) 1980. Produced by Film Australia. Color, 28 minutes. LCA (EMC).
4. *People of the Cities (Urban Life Styles).* (Russia, cities) 1980. Produced by Film Australia. Color, 28 minutes. LCA (EMC).
5. *People of the Country (Rural Collectivism).* (Russia, collectivism) 1980. Produced by Film Australia. Color, 28 minutes. LCA (EMC).
6. *Russia: The Unfinished Revolution.* (Russia) 1968. B&W, 60 minutes, 16mm. IU (PS) (EMC).
7. *The Russian Consumer.* (Russia) 1968. Produced by Julien Bryan. Color, 13 minutes, 16mm. IFF (PS).
8. *The Russian Peasant.* (Russia, peasants) 1968. Produced by Julien Bryan. Color, 20 minutes, 16mm. IFF (PS).
9. *Russian X-Ray Film.* (Russia) 1962. B&W, 11 minutes, 16mm. PS.
10. *The Russians: People of Influence.* (Russia) 1979. Directed by Arch Nicholson and produced by John Abbott and Tom Manefield for Film Australia. Color, 29 minutes, 16mm. LCA (PS).
11. *The Russians: People of the Country.* (Belarussians) 1979. Directed by Arch Nicholson and produced by John Abbott for Film Australia. Color, 30 minutes, 16mm. LCA (PS).
12. *Siberia: Russia's Frontier.* (Siberia) 1970. Color, 27 minutes, 16mm. NGS (PS).
13. *Soviet Television: Fact and Fiction.* (Soviet Union) 1985. Produced by the BBC. Color, 110 minutes, VHS. FI (PS).
14. *Soviet Union.* (Central Asia) 1987. Color, 25 minutes, VHS. NGS (EMC).
15. *Soviet Union: Epic Land.* (Russia) 1971. Color, 29 minutes. EBEC (EMC).
16. *Soviet Union: Faces of Today.* (Soviet Union) 1972. Color, 26 minutes. EBEC (EMC).
17. *The Soviet Union: A New Look.* (Soviet Union) 1978. Color, 25 minutes, 16mm. IFF (PS).

China

1. *Acupuncture: An Exploration.* (Medicine) 1973. Color, 16 minutes. FILMF (EMC).
2. *Agonies of Nationalism, 1800–1927.* (China) 1972. 23 minutes, 16mm. FI (EMC).
3. *An Army Camp: Nanking.* (China) 1976. Produced by Joris Ivens and Marceline Loridan. Color, 55 minutes, 16mm. ICARUS (PS).
4. *The Barefoot Doctors of Rural China.* (Medicine) 1975. Produced by Diane Li. Color, 50 minutes, 16mm. PS.
5. *Beijing.* (China) 1980. Produced by Sue Yung Li and Shirley Sun. Color, 46 minutes, 16mm. PS (EMC).
6. *Buddhism in China.* (China, Buddhism) 1972. Produced by Wan-go Weng for the China Institute in America. Color, 30 minutes, 16mm. PIC (PS).
7. *China: A Hole in the Bamboo Curtain.* (China) 1973. Produced by WWL, New Orleans. Color, 28 minutes, 16mm. PS.
8. *China and Japan: 1279–1600.* (China, history) 1985. Color, 26 minutes, VHS. EMC.
9. *China: A Portrait of the Land.* (China) 1968. Color, 18 minutes, 16mm. EBEC (EMC).
10. *China Coast Fishing.* (China, fishing) 1975. Color, 19 minutes. EMC.
11. *China in Transition: 581–1279.* (China, history) 1985. Color, 26 minutes, VHS. EMC.
12. *China's Only Child.* (China) 1985. Color, 57 minutes, VHS. T-L (EMC).
13. *China's Villages in Change.* (China, village life) 1968. Color, 20 minutes, 16mm. EBEC (PS).

14. *Chinese Bronze of Ancient Times.* (China, art) 1952. Color, 17 minutes, 16mm. PS.
15. *Chinese Farm Wife.* (China, women) 1975. Color, 17 minutes. EMC.
16. *Chinese History: 1—The Beginnings.* (China, history) 1976. Produced by Wan-go Weng. Color, 19 minutes, 16mm. IU (EMC) (PS).
17. *Chinese History: 2—The Making of a Civilization.* (China, history) 1976. Produced by Wan-go Weng. Color, 18 minutes, 16mm. IU (EMC) (PS).
18. *Chinese History: 3—Hundred Schools to One.* (China, history) 1976. Produced by Wan-go Weng. Color, 19 minutes, 16mm. IU (EMC) (PS).
19. *Chinese History: 4—The First Empires.* (China, History) 1976. Produced by Wan-go Weng. Color, 19 minutes, 16mm. IU (EMC) (PS).
20. *Chinese History: 5—The Great Cultural Mix.* (China, history) 1976. Produced by Wan-go Weng. Color, 17 minutes, 16mm. IU (EMC) (PS).
21. *Chinese History: 6—The Golden Age.* (China, history) 1976. Produced by Wan-go Weng. Color, 23 minutes, 16mm. IU (EMC) (PS).
22. *Chinese History: 7—The Heavenly Khan.* (China, history) 1976. Produced by Wan-go Weng. Color, 22 minutes, 16mm. IU (EMC) (PS).
23. *Chinese History: 8—The Age of Maturity.* (China, history) 1976. Produced by Wan-go Weng. Color, 23 minutes, 16mm. IU (EMC) (PS).
24. *Chinese History: 9—Under the Mongols.* (China, history; Mongols) 1976. Produced by Wan-go Weng. Color, 18 minutes, 16mm. IU (EMC) (PS).
25. *Chinese History: 10—The Restoration.* (China, history) 1976. Produced by Wan-go Weng. Color, 21 minutes, 16mm. IU (EMC) (PS).
26. *Chinese History: 11—The Manchu Rule.* (China, history) 1976. Produced by Wan-go Weng. Color, 18 minutes, 16mm. IU (EMC) (PS).
27. *Chinese History: 12—Coming of the West.* (China, history) 1976. Produced by Wan-go Weng. Color, 20 minutes, 16mm. IU (EMC) (PS).
28. *Chinese History: 13—The Enduring Heritage.* (China, history) 1976. Produced by Wan-go Weng. Color, 19 minutes, 16mm. IU (EMC) (PS).
29. *Chinese Jade Carving.* (China, arts) 1950. Color, 10 minutes, 16mm. EMC.
30. *Chinese X-Ray Film.* (China) 1962. B&W, 22 minutes, 16mm. PS.
31. *A City of Cathay.* (China, urban life) 1968. Color, 24 minutes, 16mm. PS.
32. *Communist Triumph and Consolidation, 1945–1971.* (China) 1972. 20 minutes. FI (EMC).
33. *Depending on Heaven: The Desert.* (Mongols) 1989. A Film by Peter Entell. Color, 28 minutes, 16mm, VHS. ICARUS.
34. *Eight or Nine in the Morning.* (China) 1973. By Felix Green. Color, 25 minutes, 16mm. T-L (EMC).
35. *Enemies Within and Without, 1927–1944.* (China) 1972. B&W, 25 minutes, 16mm. FI (EMC).
36. *First Moon: Celebration of a Chinese New Year.* (China, Festivals) 1987. Produced and directed by Carma Hinton. Color, 37 minutes, 16mm, VHS. NEWDAY.
37. *The Forbidden City.* (China, urban life) 1973. Produced by NBC. Color, 43 minutes, 16mm. FI (PS).
38. *Friendship First, Competition Second.* (China) 1973. By Felix Green. Color, 25 minutes, 16mm. T-L (EMC).
39. *Good Earth.* (China) 1943. Directed by Sidney Franklin. B&W, 40 minutes, 16mm. FI (EMC).
40. *Great Treasurehouse.* (China) 1973. By Felix Greene. Color, 25 minutes, 16mm. T-L (EMC).
41. *The Heart of the Dragon: 1—Remembering.* (China). Directed by David Kennard and Mischa Scorer, and produced by Patrick Lui. Color, 55 minutes, 16mm. AMBVP (PS).
42. *The Heart of the Dragon: 2—Caring.* (China) 1984. Directed by David Kennard and Mischa Scorer, and produced by Patrick Lui. Color, 55 minutes, 16mm. AMBVP (PS).
43. *The Heart of the Dragon: 3—Eating.* (China) 1984. Directed by David Kennard and Mischa Scorer, and produced by Patrick Lui. Color, 55 minutes, 16mm. AMBVP (PS).
44. *The Heart of the Dragon: 4—Believing.* (China, Daoism; Buddhism; Confucianism) 1984. Directed by David Kennard and Mischa Scorer, and produced by Patrick Lui. Color, 55 minutes, 16mm. AMBVP (PS).
45. *The Heart of the Dragon: 5—Correcting.* (China) 1984. Directed by David Kennard and Mischa Scorer, and prooduced by Patrick Lui. Color, 54 minutes, 16mm. AMBVP (PS).
46. *The Heart of the Dragon: 6—Working.* (China) 1984. Directed by David Kennard and Mischa Scorer, and produced by Patrick Lui. Color, 55 minutes, 16mm. AMBVP (PS).
47. *The Heart of the Dragon: 7—Living.* (China) 1984. Directed by David Kennard and Mischa Scorer, and produced by Patrick Lui. Color, 55 minutes, 16mm. AMBVP (PS).
48. *The Heart of the Dragon: 8—Marrying.* (China) 1984. Directed by David Kennard and Mischa Scorer, and produced by Patrick Lui. Color, 55 minutes, 16mm. AMBVP (PS).
49. *The Heart of the Dragon: 9—Understanding.* (China) 1984. Directed by David Kennard and Mischa Scorer, and produced by Patrick Lui. Color, 55 minutes, 16mm. AMBVP (PS).
50. *The Heart of the Dragon: 10—Mediating.* (China) 1984. Directed by David Kennard and Mischa Scorer, and produced by Patrick Lui. Color, 55 minutes, 16mm. AMBVP (PS).
51. *The Heart of the Dragon: 11—Creating.* (China) 1984. Directed by David Kennard and Mischa Scorer, and produced by Patrick Lui. Color, 55 minutes, 16mm. AMBVP (PS).
52. *The Heart of the Dragon: 12—Trading.* (China) 1984. Directed by David Kennard and Mischa Scorer, and produced by Patrick Lui. Color, 55 minutes, 16mm. AMBVP (PS).
53. *Hong Kong Dresses Up.* (Hong Kong) 1983. Color, 30 minutes, VHS, U-mat. LCA (EMC).
54. *Hoy Fok and the Island School.* (Hong Kong) 1975. Color, 32 minutes, 16mm. EMC.
55. *Inside China: Living with the Revolution.* (China) 1983. Color, 52 minutes, VHS. FI.

56. *Inside China: The Newest Revolution.* (China) 1983. Color, 52 minutes, VHS. FI.
57. *Island Fishpond.* (China) 1975. Color, 13 minutes, 16mm. EMC.
58. *Island in the China Sea.* (China) 1975. Color, 33 minutes. EMC.
59. *It's Always So in the World (Urban Communal Living).* (China, urban life) 1980. Produced by Film Australia. Color, 28 minutes, 16mm. LCA (EMC).
60. *The Kazakhs of China.* (Kazaks) 1983. Color, 53 minutes, VHS. FI
61. *The Long Search: 11—Taoism: A Question of Balance—China.* (China, Daoism) 1977. Produced by the BBC. Color, 53 minutes, 16mm. AMBVP (PS).
62. *Masterpieces of Chinese Art.* (China, art) 1973. Color, 28 minutes, 16mm. (PS).
63. *Mind, Body, and Spirit (Health Care for the Masses).* (China, medicine) 1980. Produced by Film Australia. Color, 28 minutes, 16mm. LCA (EMC).
64. *Misunderstanding China.* (China) 1972. Color, 51 minutes, 16mm. EMC.
65. *Old Treasures from New China.* (China) 1977. Color, 55 minutes, VHS, U-mat. EMC.
66. *One Hundred Entertainments (State Supported Arts).* (China, art) 1980. Produced by Film Australia. Color, 28 minutes, 16mm. LCA (EMC).
67. *One Nation, Many Peoples.* (China, Uigur; Mongols; Thai) 1973. By Felix Greene. Color, 25 minutes, 16mm. T-L (EMC).
68. *People of "People's China".* (China) 1973. Produced by ABC News. Color, 52 minutes, 16mm. XEROX (EMC).
69. *People's Army.* (China) 1973. By Felix Greene. Color, 25 minutes, 16mm. T-L (EMC).
70. *People's Commune.* (China, rural life) 1973. By Felix Greene. Color, 25 minutes, 16mm. T-L (EMC).
71. *Requiem for a Faith.* (Tibet) 1968. Color, 28 minutes, 16mm. HP (EMC) (PS).
72. *Something for Everyone (Rural Communal Living).* (China, rural life) 1980. Produced by Film Australia. Color, 28 minutes, 16mm. LCA (EMC).
73. *Son of the Ocean (Changing Life Styles).* (China) 1980. Produced by Film Australia. Color, 28 minutes, 16mm. LCA (EMC).
74. *Stilt Dancers of Long Bow Village.* (China, dance) 1980. Directed and produced by Carma Hinton and Richard Gordon. Color, 27 minutes, 16mm. FI (PS).
75. *Suzhou.* (China) 1980. Produced by Sue Yung Li and Shirley Sun. Color, 28 minutes, 16mm. EMC (PS).
76. *A Taste of China.* (China) 1984. Produced by Sue Yung Li. B&W, 16mm, VHS. EMC.
77. *Three Island Women.* (China, women) 1975. Color, 17 minutes, 16mm. EMC.
78. *Tibet—A Buddhist Trilogy.* Part 1, A Prophecy. (Tibet) 1981. Color, 54 minutes, 16mm. EMC.
79. *Tibetan Medicine: A Buddhist Approach.* (Tibet, medicine) 1976. Produced by Sheldon Rocklin. Color, 29 minutes, 16mm. HP (PS).
80. *To Taste a Hundred Herbs: Gods, Ancestors, and Medicine in a Chinese Village.* (China, village life; medicine) 1986. Produced by Richard Gordon and Kathy Kline, directed by Carma Hinton and Richard Gordon. Color, 58 minutes, VHS, U-mat. NEWDAY.
81. *Zengbu after Mao.* (China) 1987. Produced by Thomas Luehrsen in collaboration with Jack Potter and Sulamith Potter. Color, 27 minutes, VHS. NEWDIM.

Index to Filmography

Reference numbers correspond to the entry numbers in each section of the Filmography.

Directory of Distributors

AMBVP	Ambrose Video Publishing, 381 Park Ave. S., New York, NY 10016
BENCHMK	Benchmark Films, Inc., 145 Scarborough Rd., Briarcliff Manor, NY 10510
EBEC	Encyclopaedia Brittanica Educational Corporation, Division of Encyclopaedia Brittanica, 425 N. Michigan Ave., Chicago, IL 61611
EMC	University of California Extension Media Center, 2176 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley, CA 94704
FI	Films Incorporated, Subsidiary of PMI, 5547 N. Ravenswood Ave., Chicago, IL 60640
FILMF	Film Fair Communications, Division of Film Fair, Inc., Box 1728, 10900 Ventura Blvd., Studio City, CA 91604
HP	Hartley Productions, Inc., Cat Rock Road, Cos Cob, CT 06807
ICARUS	First Run/Icarus Films, 153 Waverly Place, New York, NY 10004
IFF	International Film Foundation, 155 W. 72nd St., Room 306, New York, NY 10023
IU	Indiana University, A–V Center, Bloomington, IN 47405
LCA	Learning Corporation of America, 130 E. 59th St., 10th Floor, New York, NY 10022
MCI	Mass Communications, Inc.
NEWDAY	New Day Films, 22 Riverview Drive, Wayne, NJ 07470
NEWDIM	New Dimensions Films, 85895 Lorane Highway, Eugene, OR 97405
NGS	National Geographic Society, Washington, D.C.
PIC	Pictura Films Distribution Corporation, 111 8th Ave., New York, NY 10011
PS	Pennsylvania State University, Audio-Visual Services, Special Services Bldg., University Park, PA 16802
T-L	Time-Life Multimedia, 100 Eisenhower Drive, P.O. Box 644, Paramus, NJ 07653
XEROX	Xerox Films, Department of Xerox Educational Publications, 245 Long Hill Road, Middletown, CT 06457

Ethnonym Index

This index provides some of the alternative names and the names of major subgroups for cultures covered in this volume. The culture names that are entry titles are in boldface. The symbol (*R*) following a title indicates that the article is to be found in Part One, Russia and Eurasia; (C) indicates that the article is in Part Two, China.

The Editors

Editor in Chief
David Levinson (Ph.D., State University of New York at Buffalo) is vice-president of the Human Relations Area Files in New Haven, Connecticut. He is a cultural anthropologist whose primary research interests are in social issues, worldwide comparative research, and social theory. He has conducted research on homelessness, alcohol abuse, aggression, family relations, and ethnicity. Among his dozens of publications are the award-winning text *Toward Explaining Human Culture* (with Martin J. Malone), *The Tribal Living Book* (with David Sherwood), and *Family Violence in Cross-Cultural Perspective*. Dr. Levinson also teaches anthropology at Albertus Magnus College in New Haven, Connecticut.

Volume Editors
Norma Diamond (Ph.D., Cornell University) is professor of anthropology and an associate of the Center for Chinese Studies at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. She is one of the founders and editors of the journal *Modern China*. She is primarily a cultural anthropologist, with particular interests in economic anthropology, gender, ethnicity, and social change. She has done fieldwork in Taiwan and Shandong on Han rural communities, and more recently has done fieldwork in Yunnan on the Miao. Recent and forthcoming publications include "Writing and Power: Christianity and the Hua Miao" (in *Christianity in China*, edited by Daniel Bays), "Defining the Miao: Ming, Qing, and Contemporary Views" (in *China's Civilizing Project*, edited by Stevan Harrell), and "Building Socialism with Chinese Characteristics" (*Women and International Development Annual Review*, no. 4).

Paul Friedrich was born in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and educated at Williams College, Harvard University, and Yale University (Ph.D. in anthropology). He has done almost five years of fieldwork with Mexican and East Indian Indians and Russians and has written numerous articles and eleven books, including *Agrarian Revolt in a Mexican Village*, *The Language Parallax*, and, most recently, *Music in Russian Poetry* (in press). He has taught at several universities and, since 1962, at the University of Chicago, where he is professor of anthropology, linguistics, and social thought and an associate in Slavic languages and literatures.

Associate Editors
Robert Austerlitz was born in Bucharest, Romania, came to the United States in 1938, and took his B.A. at the New School and his M.A. and Ph.D. (in linguistics) at Columbia University; he has also studied in Finland and Japan. He is a specialist in Finno-Ugric and Paleosiberian languages and cultures, on which he has published many articles and a book: *Ob-Ugric Metrics*; he has also coedited several anthologies. He has taught at Yale University, the University of Cologne, the University of California at Berkeley, the University of Ohio, the University of Washington, and other institutions, but mainly at Columbia University, where he started in 1958 and is currently professor of linguistics.

Clementine Creuziger was born in New York City and educated in France, Germany, and the United States, taking her B.A. at Bowdoin University (Russian) and, at the University of Chicago, her M.A. (geography/Ukrainian focus) and her Ph.D. (anthropology)—the latter with a thesis titled *Childhood in Soviet Russia* (based on over a year of fieldwork)). She teaches languages at the U.S. Naval Academy and is currently researching Russian child lore and spiritual education in Russia.

Kevin Tuite was born in South Bend, Indiana, and received his B.A. at Northwestern University (chemical engineering) and his Ph.D. (linguistics) at the University of Chicago—the latter with a thesis that won the Mark Perry Galler Prize. After teaching classical and modern Georgian at the University of Tokyo, he joined the University of Montreal, where he teaches in the Department of Anthropology (e.g., a course on the cultures of the Caucasus). A specialist on the languages, cultures, and poetic systems of the Caucasus, particularly of Georgia and Svanetia, Tuite has published or presented numerous papers.